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MUNTAKHABU-'T-TAWĀRIKH.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

MUNTAKHABU-'T-TAWĀRIKH

BY

‘ABDU-’L-QĀDIR IBN-I-MULŪKSHĀH

known as

AL-BADĀONĪ.

VOLUME III.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN AND EDITED BY

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

This volume completes the translation of the *Muntakhabu-'l-tawārīkh* of 'Abdu-'l-Qādir b. Mulūk Shāh, al-Badāoni, in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series. Its sources are those enumerated by Lieutenant-Colonel G. S. A. Ranking in the preface to his translation of volume I.

It was begun as long ago as 1897, but owing to the constant pressure of official duties was not finished until 1909, and even then could not be immediately printed owing to difficulties in the way of allotting funds for the expenses of publication. The index and list of errata have only lately been finished.

Frequent interruptions in the work are responsible for some inconsistencies in transliteration—such, for instance, as Shamsu-'d-din and Shams-ud-din, Khāja, Kh'āja, and Khwāja. My excuse for the frequent omission of any equivalent for the letter *j*, in transliterating the latter word is that the translation was made, for the most part, in India, where the frequent pronunciation of this mute letter was so offensive that at the time I judged it better to preserve the correct pronunciation by omitting it. I confess that this is not a very good excuse for the omission of a letter, but it is the best that I can offer.

I have nothing to add to Lieutenant-Colonel Ranking's remarks on the difficulty of translating from Persian, except that they apply with peculiar force to an author like Badāoni, writing in a language not his own. His style is stilted and inelegant, as must nearly always be the case with an author labouring under this disadvantage, and he persists in one error—the misuse of the word *akbar*, which means "ungrudging emulation," but is always used by him in the sense of "envy"—but it is free from the bombastic prolixity and gross affectation of that of his compatriot and contemporary, Shaikh Abū-'l-Faḍl.

As this volume of the historian's work consists to a great

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extent of literary criticism, I have been careful to translate both his text and the excerpts of verse quoted by him as literally as possible, in order to convey some idea, however faint, of his standard of literary excellence. In only one or two passages, to which reference is made in notes, have I ventured to modify expressions which in an English dress would have been merely ridiculous; but I am conscious that many of the passages which I have rendered more exactly will appear grotesque. This was unavoidable, and is due partly to the wide divergence between the standards of taste of Persian writers of the sixteenth and English readers of the twentieth centuries, and partly to Badāoni's own defects.

A few passages are so indecent that I have been constrained to veil them in such disguise as a dead language affords. To this practice it may be objected that it calls attention to what is unseen, but a book of this nature will seldom be taken up but by genuine seekers after knowledge, who are not likely to suffer harm from the obscenities of Badāoni, or of those whom he quotes.

Interruptions in the work of translation are also responsible for a rather long list of *errata*, for which, and for other imperfections I crave the indulgence of my readers.

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

April 7, 1924

W. H.

"IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE!"

CHAPTER I.

I will state at the outset¹ that as the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Nizāmi*² has given an account of the nobles of the realm immediately after his history of the empire, and as most of them are now dead, and gone to perdition,³

[In no one have I seen fidelity,
If thou hast found one who possesses it convey to him my blessing.]

I will refrain from polluting the nib of my pen with a description of such worthless wretches, and will commence with the enumeration of some of the holy men of the age, for an account of noble men who have chosen the way of God is in every way to be preferred to an account of scoundrels and debauchees. And so will I not be a mark for threats and comminations.⁴ ("Throw dust on the faces of those who praise without stint," and again, "may God protect us from the wickedness of tyrants."⁵) An account of the base acts of the followers (of the Divine Faith),⁶

¹ مخفی نمائد literally, "let it not be concealed," a common form of commencing a history.

² Nizāmu'd-Din Ahmad, vide *Ām-i-Akbari passim*. His history is generally known as the *Tuhfat-i-Akbari*.

³ Such expressions as this explain Budāunī's reason for keeping this history secret. The literal translation is "and have not been pardoned."

⁴ I.e., "were I to mention these men at all I could only mention them in such a manner as would lead to my being persecuted, for I will not give praise where it is not due. I will therefore keep silence regarding them."

⁵ Two pious ejaculations in Arabic, the former, which is one of the *ahādīth*, or traditional sayings of Muḥammad, denouncing flatterers, while the latter prays for protection from tyrants.

⁶ These are evidently the persons intended by the word *طلبه*. Budāunī as a good Muslim was much scandalized by the strange freaks of the followers of this new religion of Akbar's.

with whose unclean existence the age is polluted may be thus described :—

Their letters do not spell sense,¹
 Nor do their thoughts tend in the direction of sense;
 Think meanly of the base, and of those whose faith is weak,
 Form the same estimate of the latter as of the former.
 When one can call to mind one's friends,
 And so make thy heart a garden of sweet memories,
 Pity were it to mention one's enemies
 For that were to quit the sweet garden for the midden.²

2. The holy men by whose noble existence the reign of Akbar
 2. *Shāh* was adorned have now, for the most part, withdrawn, as the '*angā*'³ retires to the mountains of Qāf, to the neighbourhood of the Great God. It is as though they had all conspired together to roll up and remove the baggage of life from this dwelling of care and deceit and to take up their abode in the home of joy and bliss. And now of that caravan not one remains to encourage strugglers.

"The mansions are deserted, temporary and permanent dwelling alike,
 "Nothing remains but owls and rubbish."⁴

I shall begin with that class of men who were regularly employed in the Imperial service until⁵ their fame reached such a pitch that it was as manifest as the sun at midday.

¹ The reference to the idiomatic use of the word حرف (*ḥarf*) "a letter of the alphabet" as in the phrase حرف زدن, "to talk," is hard to reproduce in a translation. The meaning of the line is :—"The letters (or sounds) of which their talk is composed do not spell (or make) sense."

² کلغن *lit.*, 'dustbin,' otherwise 'the furnace used for heating a bath.' The unavouriness of the latter would be due to the nature of the fuel used.

³ A fabulous bird, described as being "known as to name, but unknown as to body." Its abode is in Qāf, a mountain encircling the world, which may be described in much the same terms as is the bird. In practical, as opposed to mythical geography, the name is given to the Caucasus.

⁴ This Arabic couplet is clearly a parody on the opening couplet of the fourth *qasidah* of the مبع معلقات. In the second hemistich the word مم appears in the text, and also in MSS. (A) and (B). This does not make sense. I prefer to read تم.

⁵ ب in the text, despite the clear meaning of the passage and the authority of both MSS.

I. MIYÂN ḤĀTIM OF SAMBHAL.¹

(May God sanctify his tomb.)

Miyân Ḥātim² was a profound sage who passed very many years in teaching. He was endowed with both inward and outward perfection. While he was engaged in acquiring knowledge he was overcome by religious ecstasy,³ and, forsaking scholastic disputations, attached himself as a disciple to his teacher, Shaiḥ Azizu-'llāh, a learned man of Talaumba,⁴ who was of those who are truly wise in the way of God, and was one of the most highly regarded of the holy men of his time. He also spent some time in the service of Shaiḥ 'Alāu-'d-Dīn Cishtī⁵ of Dihli, (may God sanctify his soul!) following his rule, and obtained from both of these holy men permission to perfect their students and disciples. At the time when he was first drawn towards God he wandered about for ten years, bareheaded and barefooted, in the waste country round about Sambhal and Amroha,⁶ and during all this time his head touched not bed or bolster. He was a man who took keen pleasure in contemplating God and whom the singing of God's praises threw into an ecstasy of delight, and ever, as he spoke and smiled, the name of God was on his tongue. In his last years the intoxication of joy which he experienced in his love for God so overpowered him that to listen but for a short space to the chanting of God's praises

¹ Sambhal was then the principal town of the *Sarkār* of the same name in the *Ṣūba* of Dihli. It is now a Tahsil town and Municipality in the Murādābād District. N.-W. P.

² Vide Vol. I (trans. Ranking), p. 428.

³ I.e., the ecstasy of the *Sāfīs*, or mystics of Islām, which will be described hereafter.

⁴ Now a municipal town in the *Sarāi* *Sidhū Tahsil* of the Multān District, Panjāb. (Hunter's "Imperial Gazetteer of India," xiii., 163.) Vide *Badā'uni* I. (trans. Ranking), p. 349 n 2.

⁵ A family and order of ascetics. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. III. trans. Jarrett, pp. 354, 357, 361, 369, 370, 422. Also *Tazuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, 'Aligharh edition (1864), p. 1, and preface, pp. 3, 4. *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I (trans. Blochmann), p. 309, *Qānūn-i-Islām* (Ja'far Sharif and Dr. Horklots) ed., 1832, p. 289, and *Akbarnāma* text, p. 151.

⁶ A town in the *Sarkār* of Sambhal, *Ṣūba* of Dihli. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I. (trans. Jarrett), p. 289.

placed him beside himself. He had not the strength to listen to hymns.

- When I, in the year 960 A.H. (A.D. 1553), being then in my twelfth year, arrived in company with my father at Sambhal, and there entered the service of the Shaiikh, I learnt by heart, in his hospice, the *Qasida-yi-burda*,¹ and thus gained admission (to the ranks of his disciples), and there I also read, to my great spiritual advantage and profit, part of the book *Kanz-i-fiqh-i-Hanafi*.² The Shaiikh then enrolling me among his direct disciples said to my father, "I have bestowed upon your son the cap and the tree³ which descend from my spiritual teacher Miyān Shaiikh 'Azizu'llāh for this reason, that he may acquire also some exoteric knowledge" (i.e., beyond the esoteric knowledge which he was to acquire). And for this praise be to God. In the year 969 A.H. (A.D. 1561-2) the holy Shaiikh went into God's Presence, and the words "the wise *darvish*"⁴ give the date of his death. May God make his dust fragrant! And it so happened that my father too received the summons of God's mercy in the same year. One might say that the position in

¹ There are two *Qasidahs* which go by this name. The former, the original *Qasidatu'l-burda*, was written by Ka'bu'-bnu-Zuhair, in praise of Muḥammad, during the latter's lifetime. Muḥammad bestowed upon the poet as a reward his own *burdah* or cloak of striped cloth of Yaman. Hence the name given to the poem. The latter was written by Shaiikh Sharafu'd-Din Abū 'Abdu'llāh Muḥammad bin Sa'ad Buṣrī, who died in 694 A.H. (1294 A.D.), and was at first named *Al Kawākibu'd-darriyah* or "glittering stars," various reasons are given for the bestowal on it of the name *Qasidatu'l-burda*. This latter poem was also written in praise of Muḥammad. (Vide *Hajji Khalifa* Fluegel, 1845, Vol. IV., 523-533.) The latter poem is the better known of the two, and it was probably this that Badā'uni learnt.

² This book was probably the *Kanzu'd-dalā'il, ul-jī furū'i-l-Hanafiyah* by Shaiikh Al Imām Abū'l-Barakat 'Abdu'llāhi bni-Aḥmad, known as *Hāfiẓu'd-din-n-Nasafi* vide *Hajji Khalifa*, Vol. V. (ed. 1850), pp. 249-253. The author died in 710 A.H. (1310 A.D.).

³ *شجره* (*Shajara*) or *شجر نامہ* (*Shajar-nama*) a list of saints, or holy predecessors, which is drawn up in the form of a genealogical tree, and should go back to the time of Muḥammad. It is delivered into the hands of a student when he is made either a *murid* (disciple) or *Khalifah* (deputy) as evidence of his spiritual descent. Vide *Qānūn-i-Islām* by Ja'far Sharif and Dr. Herklots (1832), pp. 283, 300.

⁴ *درویش دانشمند* (*darvish-i-dānishmand*) giving the figures

$$4 + 200 + 6 + 10 + 300 + 4 + 1 + 50 + 300 + 40 + 50 + 4 = 909.$$

which he stood to the Shaikh as his disciple made it necessary that he should so follow him.

II. SHAIKH JALĀLU'-D-DĪN OF THĀNESAR.

He was the Khalifah¹ or deputy of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddūs of Gangoh² (may God sanctify their tombs!) His attainments, both in exoteric and in esoteric learning, were great, and he employed himself in imparting instruction in divinity and in the spreading abroad of those branches of knowledge which are, as the subject of divine revelation, certainly proved. In his last years he abandoned the pursuit of secular knowledge and, choosing privacy rather than publicity, spent his valuable time in reading through the blessed *Qur'ān*, in performing works of supererogation, and in praise and prayer. When he was ninety-three years of age he was exceedingly weak and feeble, so that there seemed to be nothing remaining of him but skin and bone.

Couplet.

When the veins of an aged man, in consequence of his abandonment of worldly desires, stand out on his skin.

Then it is that he becomes, as it were, a ruler to guide disciples in the way of righteousness.³

And although he had not so much strength left as enabled him to sit down and rise up⁴ and to move about, and used, in consequence of his feebleness and weakness, to lie all day long in a reclining position, yet no sooner did he hear the call to prayer than he would, without the assistance of anybody, rise

¹ Vide *supra*, note 1.

² Vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I. (trans. Blochmann), pp. 538, 546, and Vol. III. (trans. Jarrett), p. 374. 'Abdu'l-Quddus asserted that he was descended from Abū Ḥanīfah. He died in A.H. 959 (A.D. 1543) and was buried at Gangoh, where he had lived. Gangoh is a town now in the Saharanpur Dist. N.-W. P.

³ The translation may not perhaps render the meaning of this couplet clear, owing to a confusion of terms. The word *مسطر* (*misṭar*) means "a ruler," the instrument for ruling lines. In the original Persian a comparison is drawn between the prominent veins of an emaciated old man, grown old in the way of holiness, and the ruler which directs the pen, or rather the hand of him who holds the pen, in a straight line.

⁴ The text omits the words *برخاستن* (*bar khāstan*) "to rise up," as does also MS. (B). In inserting them I follow MS. (A).

up, put on his shoes, take his staff in his hand, perform his ceremonial ablutions by himself and without any help, and stand up for his prayers.¹ This done he would again recline in his wonted position on his couch. I twice had the honour of attending on him, once in the year H. 969 (A.D. 1561-2), in Āgrā, when he had come there to settle the matter of his *aima*² holding in Thānesar³ and to have the subject represented, and again in the year A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573-4) when I was accompanying Husain Khān in his pursuit of Ulugh Mirzā.⁴ He seemed to me to be a quantity of (divine) light in bodily form. He bade farewell to this transitory world in the year A.H. 989 (A.D. 1581), May God remember him to his good!

III. SHAIKH MUHAMMAD GHAFI OF GWĀLIYĀR.⁵

He was the disciple of Shaiikh Zuhūr and Hāji Huzūr, other-

¹ The miraculous part of this fact is that the ceremonial prayers of Muslims contain various genuflexions and prostrations, in addition to the standing position. The ceremonial prayers are recited five times every day. This was no mean performance for an old man of 93 who had no strength to rise or stand on ordinary occasions. If what Badāoni says is true the probability is that Shaiikh Jalāl-u-d-Dīn, finding that the regular ceremonial prayers so exhausted him that he could not undergo any exertion in addition to them, kept his bed except at prayer times, reserving all his strength for his religious exercises.

² Lands held on *aima* tenure were rent-free grants given as *madad-i-ma'āsh*, or subsistence allowance, to deserving individuals. For an account of the troubles that used to befall persons who came to Court on business connected with *aima* holdings vide Badāoni, Vol. II. text pp. 204-6, trans. pp. 207-8.

³ A *maḥall* in the *sarkār* of Sarhind, *Sābah* of Dihlī and a place of pilgrimage among the Hindus (*Āin-i-Akbari* (trans.), Vol. II. 281). It is now a small town in the Ambāla district, Panjāb.

⁴ This happened before Badāoni left the service of Husain Khān for that of the Emperor. Husain Khān, nicknamed *Tukriya*, or "the patcher," from his having ordered Hindus, as unbelievers, to wear a patch on their garments near the shoulders, was "the Bayard and the Don Quixote of Akbar's reign" (Blochmann). For accounts of him vide *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I. (trans. Blochmann), p. 372. He was Badāoni's first patron. Ulugh Mirzā (whose name had been changed from Sikandar to Ulugh by the Emperor Hümāyūn) was the elder son of Ulugh Mirzā, the eldest son of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mirzā of the House of Timūr. Muḥammad Sulṭān Mirzā was the great-great-grandson of 'Umar Shaiikh Mirzā, the second son of Timūr. He was thus a distant cousin of Akbar.

⁵ Gwalior, the famous fortress.

wise known as Hāji Hamid, and his spiritual descent could be traced back, through the line of the *Shaffārī* order of ascetics to *Shaikh* Bāyazīd of Bustām,¹ the prince of knowers of God. (May God sanctify his soul!) When entering on the religious life he spent twelve years on the lower slopes of the hills of Canār² and the adjoining country, practising the most severe austerities, having his dwelling in caves and subsisting on the leaves of trees. He was an acknowledged master in the science of exorcism,³ he possessed supernatural power, and was drawn in a mysterious manner towards God.⁴ He obtained leave to practise this science (*scil.* exorcism) from his elder brother, *Shaikh* Buhlūl,⁵ who was a worker of miracles and wonders.

¹ *Shaikh* Bāyazīd of Bustām (a small town in the hills of Tabaristān, between the ancient city of Rai and Nishāpur) was originally named Tūfūr, and founded the *Tūfūriyah* order of ascetics. He is said to have been born in A.H. 136 (A.D. 753-4) and to have died at Bustām, the date of his death being variously given as A.H. 231, 234, 261, 262 and 269. One of his "spiritual descendants" was *Shaikh* 'Abdu-'Ilāh-i-Shaffārī, who founded the *Shaffārī* order. He came from Persia to India and died in Mālwa, where he is buried, in A.H. 809 (A.D. 1403). Jahangir erected a mausoleum over his tomb in Māndū. The word شافاری (*Shaffārī*) is derived from the Arabic root شفر (*Shafara*) meaning "he travelled in the direction of." Its meaning as applied to 'Abdu-'Ilāh and his followers is "one who outstrips and is quick in attaining nearness to God." In the language of the order علم شافاره ('ilm-i-*Shafārah*) means "the working and aspirations of the soul." From the facts of Badā'uni applying the title *Sultān* to *Shaikh* Bāyazīd, and of *Shaikh* Muḥammad's penance of twelve years it is pretty clear that their conceptions of Bāyazīd were coloured by the ridiculous Indian legends concerning him,—unsavoury stories shewing a strong bias towards Hindu superstitions, and coined by wandering *faqirs* in order to invest with a spurious sanctity a cenotaph which they had erected in Bāyazīd's name at Cātgañv (Chittagong).

² The famous fort on the Ganges, nineteen miles above Banāras.

³ دعوت اسماء Vide *Qānūn-i-Islām* (Ja'far Sharif and Dr. Herklotz, 1832) c. XXIX. *Shaikh* Muḥammad wrote a book under the title of الجواهر الخمس (*Aljawāhiru-l-Khams*) "the five jewels." It is divided into five parts:—(1) on the worship of God, (2) on the ascetic life, (3) on exorcism, (4) on the recital of God's praises, (5) on the acts of those followers of the true path who have attained to knowledge.

⁴ جذب Vide art. الجذب in Sprenger's edition of the *Iftilāḥ-ut-Tajīyyah*.

⁵ MSS. (A) and (B) have a word which looks like پهل (phul) but بھل (*Buhlūl*) is undoubtedly the correct reading.

His late Majesty, the Emperor Humāyūn, on whom God's mercy has descended, had the greatest faith in and attachment to these two saints, so much so that there were very few that ranked with them in his estimation. From these venerable men he learnt the science of exorcism. After the rebellion in India, when **Shir** 5. **Shāh** began to oppress **Shaiikh** Muḥammad, he betook himself to Gujarāt where also he brought princes and rulers under the yoke of subjection to him and ¹ belief in his teaching, so that all alike were ready to do him service. **Shaiikh** Wajihu-'d-Din too, a knower and a ² doer of the things that belong to God, a profound thinker and a teacher, drew upon his shoulders the saddle-cloth of obedience to **Shaiikh** Muḥammad. All these things are an indication of the **Shaiikh's** perfections and of his power of working miracles. Many other great and famous holy men in Dihli, Gujarāt, and Bangāl have risen from the fringe of his robe,³ and memorials of his perfection still remain in Hindūstān. One day in the year H. 966 (A.D. 1558-9) I saw him from afar off, riding along in the market place at Āgra, a throng of the common people surrounding and preceding him, so that no one could pass through the crowd. In his courteous humility his head was never for one moment still, as he returned the salutations of the people on either side of him, bowing continually down to his saddle-bow. It was in this year that he came from Gujarāt to Āgra, and with much exhortation and persuasion, availing himself of the influence of those about the Court, enrolled the Emperor Akbar, then a youth, among his disciples, but the Emperor soon rejected his teaching, and since **Shaiikh** Muḥammad's companionship was distasteful to the **Khān-i-Khānān**, Bairam **Khān**,⁴ and to **Shaiikh** Gadāi,⁵ he withdrew, ill pleased,

¹ The text omits the words اعتقاد و after بقیاد, although they appear in both MSS.

² The text omits the word عامل after عالم, although it appears in both MSS. **Shaiikh** Wajihu-'d-Din is mentioned in the *Tibhāt-i-Akbari*, vide also *Amr-i-Akbari* I. (trans. Blochmann) *passim* and *Akbarnāma* (text), III. 63-744.

³ i.e., have "sat at his feet."

⁴ The famous Bairam **Khān**, **Khān-i-Khānān**, also entitled **Khān Bābā**. He was Akbar's *atāliq* or tutor. He was assassinated by an Afghān named Mubarak on the 14th Jamādi I. A.H. 968 (A.D. 1561).

⁵ **Shaiikh** Gadāi was a Shi'ah who had been appointed *Sadr-i-ʿl-Sadr* on the recommendation of Bairam **Khān**, whom he had joined in Gujarāt. He

to Gwāliyār, where he spent his time in perfecting his disciples, and, having built an hospice, occupied himself with the ecstatic dances of *darvishes*,¹ chanting, and giving way to transports of religious ecstasy.² He himself also wrote books on these subjects. Clad in the garments of poverty he held a high and majestic position, and possessed a subsistence allowance of a *karor* of *tankas*.³ Whomever he saw, were he a beggar even, he treated with great honour, standing before him. For this reason some few from among those who were vowed to poverty blamed him,⁴ and denied (that he was a true ascetic).⁵ But God alone knows what his motives were in this matter.

Couplet.

Since God in His omniscience alone knows whether a soul is
to be rejected or accepted,

"Judge not lest thou be judged."⁶

6

In the year H. 970 (A.D. 1562-3), after completing his eightieth

was Šadr till A.H. 968. Vide Badā'oni, Vol. II, text, pp. 29, 30, trans., pp. 22, 23, 24. For the disappointment of *Shaiḫ* Muḥammad *Ghaṣ* at Court vide Badā'oni, Vol. II, text, pp. 34, 35, trans., pp. 28, 29.

¹ *سماع* (*samā'*).

² *وجد* (*vajd*).

³ The *tanka* was worth about 4*d*. Badā'oni's statement means that *Shaiḫ* Muḥammad *Ghaṣ* had a yearly allowance of £166,666. 13*s*. 4*d*., or its equivalent in land. It is hardly possible that he can have possessed such a grant, either in land or money. Badā'oni probably uses the word *كرور* indefinitely, to signify "a large sum," or it may be that the *tanka* referred to was the *tanka-yi-siyāh*, a copper coin, worth only $\frac{6}{64}$ of the silver *tanka*, (vide Badā'oni, Vol. I, trans. Ranking, p. 87, n. 1.) This would bring *Shaiḫ* Muḥammad's annual allowance to £15,625 sterling, still an incredibly large sum.

⁴ The objection of other "holy men" to the manners of Muḥammad *Ghaṣ* will be understood by those who have any experience of the manners, or rather lack of them, displayed by most "holy men" in India. Affecting complete indifference to all worldly matters, they too frequently attempt to establish a claim to superior sanctity by means of a demeanour of insulting indifference towards all with whom they are brought in contact. Numerous instances of this occur in history, the eccentricities of "holy men" being generally tolerated, just as the quips of professional jesters were formerly tolerated in Europe.

⁵ Literally "Beware of bringing forward the faults of others, for to do so is a fault in thee."

year, he died in Āgra, leaving this world for the next, and was buried in Gwāliyār. He was generous to a degree, and it is said that the word "I" never passed his lips, and that he always referred to himself as "this humble one." So particular was he in this matter that even when giving away corn in charity he would say "*Mim* and *Nūn*,¹ give this much corn to such an one," in order to avoid the necessity of saying "I." May God shower his mercy plentifully upon him !

IV. SHAIKH BĒRHĀN.

Burhān was an ascetic of great resignation and piety, and a very prince among those who have chosen a life of religious seclusion and retirement, and of independence of worldly concerns. It is said that he was once for three days in company with Miṡān Ilāhdād of Bārī,² of the spiritual line of the famous Mir Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpur,³ (may God sanctify his soul), there being only one intermediary between them, and that it was on that occasion that he acquired this excellence, and attained to perfection. He had subjected himself to severe discipline and possessed great self-control. For nearly fifty years (before his death) he had abstained from flesh-meat and from most other articles of food and drink, contenting himself with a little milk and some sweet-meats; and at the end of his life he abstained also from drinking water, so that to outward appearance he was an incorporeal spiritual form, supernaturally illuminated. He had in Kālpi a very small and dark cell in which he constantly,

¹ i.e. م and ن, the letters of which the word من is composed. This practice may appear to be an absurd affectation of humility, but it must be remembered that too free a use of the first person, whether in writing or in conversation is, even at the present day, and among men who lay no special claim to sanctity, considered a breach of etiquette among Orientals.

² There are three places of this name given by Sir W. W. Hunter in his *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. One is a town in *Tahsil* Sidhauri, Dist. Sitāpūr, Oudh; another is a village in the Garhwāl State, N.-W. P.; and the third is a town in the Dholpur State, Rājputāna. I cannot identify the Miṡān's abode. Bārī was also the name given by Akbar to the Dāb between the Bīyāh and the Ravi. Four worthies of the name of Ilāhdād are commemorated in this Vol., 112 : Nos. XIII, XXXV, LXIII and LXX, ch. ii.

³ At one time the capital of a Muḥammadan kingdom. Now the chief town of the District of the same name in the N.-W. P. Mir Sayyid Muḥammad, the *Mahdavi* will be subsequently referred to.

sat, engaged in reciting God's praises and in meditation and contemplation. He used also to retain his breath,¹ after the fashion of the *Mahdavis*, and although he had never studied any of the sciences treated of in Arabic literature he used to give most eloquent dissertations on the *Qur'ān*. He was a reader of the secrets of human hearts. When I was returning from Canār (Chunār) in A.H. 967 (A.D. 1559-60) during the rule of 'Abdu-'llāh *Khān* the Ūzbak² I spent a night in attendance on the *Shaiikh*, whose conversation was sublime. He recited, appositely³ 7. to the occasion, some of his own Hindi poetry of which the subjects were exhortation, admonition, mysticism,⁴ the longing of the human soul for God,⁵ the Unity of God, and withdrawal from the world. The next day Mihr 'Alī Sildāz,⁶ who, in spite of his friendship towards holy men, was to some extent a slave to his own Turkish nature, and was something of a bully and a tyrant,

[I have been the slave of that man of perfect nature, from the day on which he said,
"The Turk, though he become a *mullā*, can never become a man."]

was honoured, by means of an introduction from me, with an interview with the *Shaiikh*. Now it so happened that about an

¹ پاسِ انْفاس (*pās-i-anfās*) lit. "guarding, or holding, the inspirations and respirations," *Hindūstānī* دم بڑھانا (*dam barhanā*) and دم سادھنا (*dam sadhnā*). A practice borrowed from Hindu ascetics.

² Vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, (trans. Blochmann), pp. 320-1. He was a noble of Humāyūn's Court. Having been by Akbar appointed to the government of Mālwa, he re-conquered that province and reigned in Māndu like a king, whence the expression in the text. Akbar moved against him and he fled. After many wanderings and vicissitudes he made his way to Jaunpur, where he died a natural death during the rebellion of *Khān-i-Zamān* (A.H. 974 = A.D. 1567).

³ تصرف (*taṣawwuf*) the mysticism of the Sūfis.

⁴ ذوق (*ẓauq*). Vide *Iqtilāḥāt-u-ṣ-Ṣūfiyyah* (Dr Sprenger, 1845), p. 162.

⁵ In the previous year (A.H. 966 = A.D. 1558-9) Mihr 'Alī Khān Sildāz had been sent to Canār to treat with Jamāl Khān, the Afghān commandant, who wished to hand over the fort to the Mughals for a consideration. Jamāl Khān, however, did not deem Akbar's offer of five *parganas* near Jaunpur sufficient and the negotiations fell through, whereupon Mihr 'Alī returned to Agra with Badāoni who had accompanied him to Canār. Mihr 'Alī who

hour before this time he had severely beaten and kicked some of his servants and attendants, and had abused them in most unbecoming language before mounting his horse to go for a ride. When we sat down together the first words the *Shaiikh* uttered were, "The prophet (may God bless and save him!) said, 'The (true) Muslim is he who (courteously) salutes (other) Muslims both with his hand and with his tongue.'" The *Shaiikh* uttered this precious aphorism and sublime truth with special reference to the occasion, and Mihr 'Ali rose to his feet for the purpose of excusing himself, and, after expressing his contrition and shame he begged the *Shaiikh* to recite the *fātiḥah*¹ on his behalf, offering to him, at the same time, something by way of a present, which was not accepted.

The *Shaiikh* reached the age of nearly one hundred years and departed this life in the year A.H. 970 (A.D. 1562-3). I have made the following chronogram on his death:—

My heart said he was the chief of Saints.²

• In accordance with the terms of his will he was buried in the cell to which he had retired—may God shed light upon his resting-place!

V. *SHAIKH MUHAMMAD-I-KAMBŪ*,³ OF SAMBHAL.

8. He belonged to the *Qādiri*⁴ order. On first entering the religious life he subjected himself to a most rigorous discipline. He was a man who was mysteriously drawn towards God⁵ and was subject to fits of religious ecstasy. He had a sweet voice and when he was in one of his fits of ecstasy he would chant so

was at this time a *ḥij* was afterwards created *Khān* and Governor of Citōr (Chitor). For an account of Mihr 'Ali's mission vide Badā'uni, Vol. II., text, pp. 32-34; trans, pp. 26-29. Mihr 'Ali had evidently a great regard for Badā'uni. *Sidda* is the name of a Caghatai clan.

¹ The opening chapter of the *Qur'ān*. Its recital, in combination with a gift made to a holy man, forms an offering to God.

² شيخ اربيا بود giving 300 + 10 + 600 + 1 + 6 + 30 + 10 + 1 + 2 + 6 + 4 = 970.

³ The name of a tribe to which the famous Shahbaz Khān, Commander of two thousand in Akbar's reign, belonged. Vide *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I (trans. Blochmann), pp. 399-402.

⁴ A religious order founded by *Shaiikh Muhiyyin-'d-dīn 'Abdu-'l-Qādir-i-Jilī*, a Sayyid of the race of Husam. Jil is a village near Baghdad. Vide *Āin-i-Akbari*, text II., 212.

⁵ ذوق (zūq) vide *Iqtisādāt-u-'l-Sharīyyah* (Spranger) sub voc.

sweetly as to touch the hearts of all who heard him; the flavour of that ecstatic song still lingers on the palate of my soul. In his earlier years he acquired exoteric knowledge and was engaged in teaching. He had an ardent love for such forms as display, in their beauty, the power of the Creator, nor was he ever at any time free from the bonds of that love which is transferred from the Creator to the creature,¹ and when in these bonds he lost all self-control, and, putting aside all dissimulation and restraint took no account of the praise or blame of others, careless alike of their disapprobation and their approval. For this reason was he known as *Shaykh Muḥammad-i-Āshiq*, or "the lover." In A.H. 985 (A.D. 1579) he transferred the baggage of his existence to that land where the soul is united to God.² The words "the sixth of *Shavvāl*"³ give the date of his death. May God make his soul fragrant!

VI. *SHAYKH FAKHRU-'D-DIN.*

He was an old man in whom shone the Divine Light, ascetic in his habits, having complete trust in God, and uncontrollable religious enthusiasm. He lived a retired and solitary life, keeping the door of ingress and egress shut to himself. Every Friday

¹ عشق مجازی ('*ishq-i-majāzi*). This *Sufi*-istic expression requires some explanation. *مجازي* is an adjective formed from the Arabic word *مجاز* which means literally "a thing transferred from one place to another," and hence "a metaphor," or "trope." It was a belief among the *Sufis* that the love of a creature for the Creator, a love which they named عشق ('*ishq*), might be manifested in that creature's love for other creatures. The word عشق means "sexual love," and was no doubt originally used by pious *Sufis* to denote the love of a creature for the Creator in consequence of the ecstatic nature of that love. Setting aside the profanity of placing love for God, and a passion (not necessarily love) for a creature on the same, or nearly the same footing, it may easily be conceived that the idea that the latter differed but slightly in merit from the former furnished an excuse for the vilest sensuality, the nature of which need not be touched upon here.

² The expression used here (در الوصال—*dār-u'l-wisāl*) is a further reference to the *Sufi*-istic notion described in note 1. The mention of 'blame' and 'disapprobation' is sufficient to indicate the nature of Muḥammad Kambū's "love" for the creature.

³ ششم از شوال (*shashum az 'Shavvāl*), giving 300+300+40+1+7+300+6+1+30=985. This is a neat chronogram, the words themselves giving the day of the month and the letters of which they are composed the year in

he held in his hospice a meeting of *Sūfīs*,¹ and would insist upon the assembly joining in ecstatic songs and dances, and, how much soever one might excuse himself from this, the *Shaiikh* would work himself up into a state of religious ecstasy, and his phrensy would extend, in its full power, to the rest. On the conclusion of this religious exercise food was served. The *Shaiikh* made no distinction between king and beggar. Bairām Khān, the Khān-i-Khānān,² used generally to recite his Friday prayers in the *Shaiikh's* *masjid*, and the effects of his companionship with the *Shaiikh* were seen in his increased tenderness of heart. In sitting down and rising, in taking food, and in all other observances of etiquette no difference was made by the *Shaiikh* between him and anybody else.

9.

VII. SHAIKH 'AZĪZU-'LLĀH.

He was a conspicuous example of the degree of divine knowledge which is within the reach of man. He was a very crucible of love for God, in which the pure gold of his being was ever at melting heat, until it reached the extreme limit of refinement and purity. This being his condition he was constantly weeping in his ardent desire for God, to such an extent that the world has never seen his equal. No sooner did the sound of a holy song or chant fall upon his ear than one would say that a violent wind had arisen, and was blowing through a fiery tempest. Praise be to God! What love and affection for God were seen in the noble nature of that great man! In the phrensied dance (of *darrīshes*) and when he was vying with other mystics in working

which the *Shaiikh* died. A similar chronogram has been composed for the date of Bābar Shāh's birth, ۱۴۵۰: *شش محرم* (the sixth of *Muharram*) giving A. H. 888

¹ The mystics of *Islām*. Some reference to their extraordinary doctrines has already been made. Their mysticism is "a hypertrophy of the religious feelings," "a monomania in which man blasphemously attempts to fathom the depths of the essence of God." (Sprenger. Preface to "*Iftihāt-u'-s-Sunniyyah*," 1845).

² Bairām Khān was a *Shi'ah* by religion. He was a pious Muslim, and long desired to make the pilgrimage to the Hijāz. He had no opportunity of doing so until after Akbar's estrangement from him (Badāoni II (text), p. 38, (translation), p. 32). He was assassinated in Gujarāt on his way to Makkah, in A. H. 968 (A.D. 1560), vide *Lin-i-Akbari* (trans. Blochmann) II, p. 315

himself up into a state of ecstasy,¹ occupations which formed the morning and evening exercises of his blessed condition, a hint, could it have looked upon his face, would have become softer than wax.

Shaikh 'Azizu-'llāh had been the disciple of his own respected father, Shaikh Ḥasan, and acquired some of his excellence from his own elder brother, Shaikh Muḥammad Ḥasan, the spiritual guide and master of Shaikh Mān of Pānīpat. His life was governed by the rules of poverty, indigence, and humility. To champion the cause of the poor and helpless who came to him with their complaints he would travel long distances on foot, even though he had at the time entered into a forty days' retreat,² and though he had to visit the house of one who was without the pale of the faith in order to gain his object. After successfully fulfilling the wants of the applicant he would return to the cell of retirement and engage in his religious exercises as though no break had occurred in his retreat. He used to give to this worship, which benefited others, precedence and place before that worship the rewards of which are confined to the worshipper.³ And it would sometimes happen that an unbeliever or an oppressor would pay no heed to his intercession on the first occasion, or, (knowing that the Shaikh was without), would purposely remain within doors, and the Shaikh would sit the livelong day expectant at his door, without being able to see his face. But on successive days⁴ the Shaikh would go again and

¹ Vide Hughes, "Dictionary of Islām" s. v. *zīkr*.

² اعتكاف أربعين (*'itikāf-i-arba'ina*). "Sometimes a Mahdawi enters a solitary cell, and remains in it for forty days and nights, fasting from daybreak till sunset the whole of this period." They "employ their time in repenting the testimony of the faith, imploring forgiveness, praising God, etc." (Lane's "Modern Egyptians," ed 1860, p. 244). This was the nature of the retreats observed by Shaikh 'Azizu'd-Din, and that he allowed them to be thus interrupted says much for his practical piety. He continued his period of retreat as though it had not been interrupted.

³ The translation of this passage is unavoidably ponderous. The original is exceedingly neat, and, translated literally, runs, "He gave place and preference to this transitive worship over intransitive worship." The terms are borrowed from grammar. The trope is somewhat obscure in English.

⁴ Lit. "The next day," but from the use of the word مكرّر (*mukarrar*) "frequently," it is clear that the Shaikh did not confine himself to a second day's attendance only.

- again¹ to his door and would sit in silence, nor would this slighting treatment produce on the clear mirror of his heart, which reflected the hidden knowledge of God, the rust of resentment. He would thus sit until the person to whom the intercession was to be made fell, shamed and remorseful, at his feet, and promptly and obediently fulfilled the desire of the beggar.

One day the *Shaiikh* was present at a meeting of the mystics engaged in ecstatic songs and dances, as their custom is,² held by that prince of holy men *Shaiikh Nizāmi-i-Auliya*, (may God sanctify his most pure tomb!), when a wretched maniac, uttering a yell, seized the *Shaiikh* by the knees, and, lifting him up, turned him heels over head on the floor, so that his turban was disarranged, and he was hurt, but in outward appearance³ he was in no way disturbed. At the time this act of the maniac was attributed to religious ecstasy and he was held to be excused, but the demented fool repeated his abominable trick on a subsequent occasion, when the magistrate of the city proposed to recall his scattered senses by means of a severe caution, a beating, and threats of what would happen to him in the future. The *Shaiikh* made much intercession for him, and, kissing his hands and feet, kept him under his own protection, and did not suffer them to molest him in any way. In exoteric knowledge he was perfect himself,⁴ and used to perfect

¹ The text inserts here the words *بدر بار او* (*bī-darbār-i-ū*) "to his levee," which occur in neither MS., and are clearly an interpolation. They convey a wrong impression, for the context shows us that the *Shaiikh* sat at the door of the oppressor. If he had gone to his levee he would at least have had an opportunity of speaking to him, which we are told he had not, until the oppressor, hearing of the *Shaiikh's* continued attendance, felt compunction.

² This passage, and the fact mentioned in it, that the maniac's rude practical joke was attributed to religious ecstasy, give us some insight into the nature of the religious exercises of the *Sūfis*.

³ The word here used is *بشر* (*bagharah*) the primary meaning of which is "the external skin," "the cuticle, or epidermis." It also means (rude Laue "Arabic Lexicon," sub voce) "the complexion." The meaning of the passage is clear. The *Shaiikh* did not even change colour.

⁴ *کامل - مکمل بود*. This passage may also be translated "In exoteric knowledge he was a perfect man made perfect," if we mark the last syllable of *مکمل* with *نتحه*. I prefer to mark it with *کسره*, and translate it as above, for the mention of the *Shaiikh's* teaching, immediately following this sentence, seems to me to indicate that *مکمل* is to be taken as an active and

others, and he used to instruct his pupils in the expounding of the 'Arā'is,¹ and of the 'Awārif² and of the *Fuṣūṣu'l-Hikam*³ and its commentary. He was also the author of some well-known works, among them being the *Risāla-yi-'Iṭīyāh* written as a reply to the *Ghā'iriyāh*⁴ of *Shāikh* Mān of Pānīpat. Many obscure questions relating to the unity of essence⁵ are therein treated of,⁶ in accordance with the interpretation of perfect knowers of God.⁷

not as a passive participle. No diacritical point is given, either in the text or in the MSS.

¹ There are five well-known works having the word *عرائس* ('arā'is) as part of their title. The work here mentioned is without any doubt the '*Arā'is*-'l-*Bayān* ("Brides of explanation") by *Shāikh* Abū Muḥammad Ruzbihān Ibn Abi'l-naṣrī-'l-Baḡlī of Shīrāz, the *Shāfi* (died A.H. 606 = A.D. 1209-10). This book is a commentary on the *Qur'an*, from the point of view of the *Shāfi*. (Hāji *Khalifa* IV. 193).

² The work here referred to is the '*Awārif*-'l-*Ma'ārif*—"bounty (in diffusing) the knowledge of God"—, a book on the mysticism of the *Shāfi*, written by *Shāikh* *Shihābu'd-dīn* Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abdi'l-lāhī Suhrawardī, who died in A.H. 632 (A.D. 1231-35). (Hāji *Khalifa* IV. 276).

³ The *Fuṣūṣu'l-Hikam*, (articulations of the sciences), is a work by Muḥiyu'd-dīn Abū 'Abdi'l-lāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī, known as Ibn 'Arabīyī-'l-Ṭā'i-'l-Ḥātīmī-'l-Andalusī (died A.H. 638 = A.D. 1240-41). The book is divided into twenty-seven "articulations" or "joints," each containing the wise sayings of some prophet or sage, commencing with Adam, and going on to *Shūṭh* (Seth), Nūḥ (Noah), Idrīs (Enoch), Ibrāhīm (Abraham), Ishāq (Isaac) and others. The (reputed) sayings of our Saviour appear in the sixteenth "articulation." (Hāji *Khalifa* IV. 425 *et seqq.*)

⁴ I cannot find any mention of these treatises elsewhere, but it is clear that they were polemical works on the theology, or rather mysticism, of the *Shāfi*.

⁵ I.e., the essential unity of all things. The doctrine of the *Shāfi* on this point is practically pantheism. "All things being of God, it follows that there is nothing that is not a portion of God,"—is their argument. Some have followed this argument to its logical conclusion by declaring that they themselves are God.

⁶ In this place the text inserts the particle *و* (u) "and." The word is found in neither of the MSS. and destroys the sense.

⁷ The expression here used is *ارباب شهود* (*arbab-shuhūd*) or "lords of (i.e. they who have experienced) ocular perception of God." This is a *Shāfi*-istic term the meaning of which is sufficiently well represented by the translation. Vide *Itṭihādāt* 's *Sūfiyyah* sub voce *شهود*.

At the time of the Khān-i-Khānān's disgrace,¹ and also for some years afterwards, I studied under that master of perfection, and listened to the recital of several books and treatises on mysticism,² and digested their contents—praise be to God. In the year H. 975 (A.D. 1567-68) the falcon of his soul winged its flight to the pinnacle of eternity, and the words "the pole-star of the path is gone,"³ were found to give the date of his death. He always wrote himself in his treatises, writings, and letters "the worthless atom," and it was found that the words "the worthless atom"⁴ also gave the date of his death.

11. VIII. SHAIKH SALĪM-I-CISHTĪ.⁵

He was one of the descendants of the venerable Shaiikh Farid-i-

¹ A.H. 967 (A.D. 1559-60) vide Badaoni II (text), pp. 35 et seqq.

² تصوف (*tasawwuf*) the mysticism of the *Sūfīs*.

³ قطب طربقت نماد $100 + 9 + 2 + 9 + 200 + 10 + 100 + 400 + 50 + 40 + 1 + 50 + 4 = 975$.

⁴ Not quite exactly. ذری لاجپر give $700 + 200 + 5 + 50 + 1 + 3 + 10 + 7 = 976$ vide Badaoni II. text, pp. 105-106.

⁵ Shaiikh Salīm-i-Cishti was highly honoured by Akbar. When the emperor desired a son he had recourse, by the advice of his courtiers, to Shaiikh Salīm, who assured him that his prayers would be answered. Akbar promised to place the son, when he should be born, under the tutorship of Shaiikh Salīm, and the Shaiikh stipulated that he should be named after him. This was agreed to. When Jodh Bāi, the Jodhpūr princess who was married to Akbar, became pregnant, she was sent, when the time of her confinement drew near, to Shaiikh Salīm's house, where she was delivered of a son, who in accordance with the Shaiikh's stipulation was named Sultān Salīm, and who afterwards succeeded to the throne as the Emperor Jahāngir. In gratitude for the gift of a son Akbar performed a pilgrimage on foot to the tomb of Khwāja Mu'inn-'d-Dīn Cishti in Ajmīr, distant rather more than 200 miles from Āgra. He travelled twelve *kurūh* or *kos* a day, reaching Ajmīr on the 17th day after leaving Āgra, (he must have rested several days on the way). Jahāngir says that he never heard his father, drunk or sober, call him either Muhammad Salīm or Sultān Salīm, but that he always called him Shaikhū Bāhā (in honour of the Shaiikh). Shaiikh Salīm lived at Sikri, a village twelve *kurūh* distant from Āgra. The birth of Jahāngir at Sikri under these circumstances caused Akbar to believe that the place was a particularly fortunate one for him, and led to the founding of the town of Fatehpūr Sikri, afterwards the favourite residence of Akbar (*Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I. *passim*, *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, 'Aligarh edition, p. 1 and preface, pp. 2-5; also Badaoni, text II. 108, 109, Jahāngir gives the distance from Āgra to Ajmīr as 140 *kurūh*).

Shakarganj¹ (may God sanctify his soul), and his native place was Dihli. He stood in the relation of a disciple to Khājah Ibrāhīm (who was spiritually descended through five intermediaries from the most bountiful Khāja, the ascetic Fuzail Ibn 'Iyāz²—may the mercy of God be upon him!) through whose instrumentality also he was first turned towards God. He twice travelled by land and sea from India to the two most holy places of pilgrimage,³ there to perform the duties of the pilgrimage.⁴ He set

¹ One of the most famous and popular of Indian saints, possessing cenotaph shrines in various places in Hindustan and the Dakhn. His father, Kamālu-d-Dīn Sulaimān, was a descendant of Farrukh Shāh, ruler of Kābul. He was born in A.H. 584 (A.D. 1188) "in the *Qasbah* (*pargana* town) of Khotwāl," near Multān whither his father had come from Kābul, and where he had married. By the advice of his spiritual guide (Khāja Qutbu'd-Dīn Bakhtiyār-i-Kākī, he went through the ordinary course of studies, "for a devotee without learning is the Devil's jester." He studied for five years in Qandahār, and then went to Dihli to see Qutbu'd-Dīn. There he remained as his disciple until his fame was so much noised abroad that he was pestered by the numbers of people who came to see him, when he retired to Hānsi. On Qutbu'd-Dīn's death Faridu'd-Dīn came to Dihli to succeed him, again retiring to Hānsi at the earnest request of the people of that place and in search of peace. Being still annoyed by visitors at Hānsi he made Shaiikh Jamālu'd-Dīn of that place his deputy there, and set out in search of a more secluded spot, at last selecting as his residence Ajudhan, since called Pattan of Shaiikh Farid, or Pāk Pattan. There he lived and married and had a family. His principal troubles there were due to the jealousy of the local Qāzi. For the various stories accounting for his name of Shakarganj or Ganj-i-Shakar (treasure house of sweets), vide *Farishtā*, Bombay text, Vol. II, in the account of his life, also *Āin-i-Akbari* (trans. Jarrett) II, 363, 364 note. *Farishtā* gives the date of his death as A.H. 700 (A.D. 1358), a manifest error, as his age is given as 35, which would make the year of his death A.H. 679 (A.D. 1280).

² Al Fuzail Ibn 'Iyāz-i-Tālakāni. A famous ascetic, born at either Abiward or Samarqand. He was called At-Tālakāni from the town of Talakan in Khurāsān. He began life as a highway robber but was miraculously converted to God. He died at Makkah in the month of Muharram A.H. 187 (Jan. A.D. 803). Vide Ibn Khallikān (trans. de Slane) II, 478-480. Fuzail's name is given in the text as Faḡl, though both MSS. have Fuzail.

³ حرمین الشریفین (*ḥaramayn-i-sh-sharifayn*), i.e., Makkah and Madinah.

⁴ طواف (*ṭawāf*) circumambulation. Although the word is used here in connection with both Makkah and Madinah, the only circumambulation enjoined (*Qur'ān* xxii. 27) is that of the Ka'bah at Makkah, which is performed seven times. The ceremony is, however, commonly performed by Indian Muslims, at any rate, at any holy place, such as the grave of a Shaykh.

forth on his travels, journeying to Asia Minor, Baghḍād, Syria, Najaf,¹ (that holy spot), and other countries of the western regions, spending the whole year in travelling, returning to the glorious city of Makkah at the time of the pilgrimage, and then again setting out on his travels. In this manner he performed the pilgrimage twenty-two times, fourteen times during his first period of absence from India, and eight times during his second period of absence. On this latter occasion he spent four years in the glorious city of Makkah and four years in the delightful city of Madinah, and during his sojourn in Makkah he used to spend the period during which Muḥammad's birthday occurred in Madinah, and the period of the pilgrimage at Makkah. Shaiḫ Ya'qūb of Kaṣhmīr who accompanied Shaiḫ Salīm gave the date of his latter visit to Makkah in the following couplets :—

Thanks be to God, of whose mere bounty
The holy region became our halting-place.
If any one ask the date of this event

• We answer him, " We entered the holy region." ²

And in that country he was known as Shaiḫ 'l-Hind, or the holy man of India. He reached the age of ninety-five and travelled always in the path of the holy law delivered by the prophet (may God bless and save him!), always observing the most severe austerities and the most austere discipline, to a degree which can have been attained by but few of the holy men of this age. He observed, as a religious duty, the ceremonial purification and bathing before each of the five daily recitals of prayers, nor did he omit this duty before the weekly public prayers.

12. When Shaiḫ Mān of Pānīpat, (may God sanctify his tomb!), enjoyed companionship with Shaiḫ Salīm he put to him this question :—" Was it induction or revelation that was the means of your attaining to your goal? " Shaiḫ Salīm replied, " Our means is 'heart to heart.' " ³ Very many holy men who have

¹ Najaf, or Meshhad 'Alī, (the shrine of 'Alī) a town in 'Iraq-i-'Arab, on the Baḥr-i-Najaf (Lake of Najaf) and near the ruins of Kūfa. Here 'Alī, the nephew and son-in-law of Muḥammad, is buried.

² دخلنا الحرم giving $4+600+30+50+1+1+30+8+200+40=964$.

The method of the Sūfis. They are ^a the elect," those to whom God more especially reveals Himself, drawing them to Himself with mysterious

reached perfection received their training in his service and companionship, and became his deputies and successors. Among them was the Shaiikh¹ who after being perfected received authority to impart religious instruction to other disciples, and whose history is wellknown. Another was Shaiikh Kamāl of Alwar, an old man inflamed and enwrapped with zeal, resembling in disposition the leaders among holy men. Another was Shaiikh Piṣāra of Bangāl, a man distracted with the grief of longing after God. His fame is great in the country of Bangāl.² Another was Shaiikh Faṭḥu-'llāh Tarin of Sambhal. Another was Shaiikh Ruknu-'d-din of Ajūdhan,³ and another was Husain the Khādim, who was the best of Shaiikh Salim's deputies, and the midmost pearl in the string (of his disciples). He was the chief decider of abstruse questions in the hospice at Faṭḥpūr. When Shaiikh Salim returned a second time to India the writer of these lines heard that he had attained to an extensive knowledge of, and pre-eminent proficiency in the Arabic language. I therefore sent him a letter containing two chronograms⁴ of his two auspicious arrivals, which have been mentioned above. A verbatim copy of the letter is set forth below.

bonds, and inflaming their hearts with an ardent love for Him. Vide my note on their doctrines, *supra*.

¹ The name of this Shaiikh is not given either in MS. (A) or in MS. (B). The general sense of the passage indicates that the name has been omitted, probably by a copyist's error. As the passage stands it is impossible to identify the Shaiikh.

² دیار بنگ. "The original name of Bengal was Bang." *Ain-i-Akbari* text. I. 388.

³ Or Pattan, where is the tomb of Shaiikh Faridu-'d-din Shakarganj, vide *supra*, p. 10 n. 1.

⁴ For the two chronograms here referred to, vide *Badāonī* II, (text) p. 78. I feel bound to remark here, in order to save readers who cannot avail themselves of the original text some perplexity, that the passage just referred to has been completely mistranslated by Mr. Lowe. His translation makes Shaiikh Salim write an Arabic letter to *Badāonī*, whereas it was *Badāonī* that wrote this Arabic letter to Shaiikh Salim. These remarks are, I regret to say, absolutely necessary, as the passage in vol. II, referred to contains a reference to the Arabic letter here translated, a reference which must necessarily be unintelligible to readers who are bound to rely on the translation, and who cannot be expected to study closely the long list of *errata* at the end of the volume.

*Copy of the Arabic Letter written by the Author to Shaikh
Salim-i-Oishti.*

Verily the religion which is approved by God is Islām.

Verse.

Salutations to those who walk round the *Ka'bah*,
By the circumambulation of which the pilgrimage of noble
men is consummated,
Salutations to those who dwell in a place,
In which he who surpassed all men lodgeth.¹

13. I present the duties of prayers, the breezes of the sweet odours of which perfume the cells of the gathering places of holiness, and I send pages of greetings, the sweet odours of the waftings of which scent the meetings of the caravans of kindly fellowship. (These I send) to that high presence and to that exalted throne, the place of prostration for the foreheads of the great kings of the age—the spot to be kissed by the lips of the emperors of the cycle—the titles of which the imagination cannot comprehend by its intelligence, before the door of which titles are cast down—the high presence of the sun, which stands in need of neither praise nor description—that is, to the presence of the pattern for men, of him who is followed at this time, the *Shaikh*-*l-Islām*, may his shadow be ever extended over the heads of all creatures in general, and over the foreheads of the bands of feeble seekers after knowledge in particular. And since they (*scil.* my prayers and greetings) spring from sincerity of intention and proceed from singleness of heart, I hope that they will meet with the honour of acceptance, and the attainment of everything that is hoped for and prayed for is from God. After the performance of

¹ In both MSS. and in the text the second hemistichs of these two couplets are transposed, i.e., the second hemistich of the first couplet appears as the second hemistich of the second couplet and *vice versa*. Both the sense and the grammar shew that this transposition has been made. I have restored the hemistichs to their proper places. The translation of this letter will appear very stilted, but, the substance being worthless, I have judged it best to make the translation as literal as possible, for the letter itself has no place in this history except as an example of the author's Arabic style, with which he, at any rate, seems to have been well pleased.

what is incumbent on the neck of one of your slaves¹ and on the conscience of my soul may it become clear to your enlightened mind, the mirror of what is hidden, aye, to your great heart, the mirror of certainty, that not the half of a line of the hardship of separation from you and of the violence of the pain of longing after you can be contained in vessels of letters,² should all the trees in the earth become pens, and should the sea (become ink) with seven more seas³ to swell its tide, in the passage of time and its changes. And the heart is the most faithful witness, as is well affirmed.

Verse.

"God knows that my soul has perished
 "With desire of thee, but thou revivest it;⁴
 "And a sight of thee, Oh, object of my desire, and my hope!
 "Is more pleasant to me than the world and all that it contains."

And your slave, distracted with love, has striven with an utter striving and has endeavoured with a supreme effort to obtain the

¹ The text has الرقية. MS. (A) has الرقية which makes better sense and which is the reading adopted by me.

² في ظروف الحروف, i.e., in the vessels (or receptacles) of letters of the alphabet. The simile is clear.

³ This text from the *Qur'ān* (xxxi. 26) is not quite fully quoted. The text runs:—

وَلَوْ أَنَّ مَا فِي الْأَرْضِ مِنْ شَجَرَةٍ أَقْلَمَ وَالْبَحْرُ يَمُدُّ مِنْ بَعْدِهِ سَبْعَ
 الْبُحُورِ مَا نَفَذْتُ كَلِمَاتِ اللَّهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزِيزٌ حَكِيمٌ .

"Even though all the trees on the earth should become pens, and the sea (ink) with seven more seas to swell its tide, the words of God would not be spent; verily God is mighty, wise!"

The misapplication of it is apparent. Badā'oni substitutes for "the words of God" the affection which he bears to the *Shaykh*. This savours somewhat of irreverence, and reminds us of the way in which Scripture was quoted in the days of Praise-God Barebone.

⁴ This Hemistich appears, both in the text, and in the two MSS. in the following form:—

شوقاً إليك ولكن إيهيها

The hemistich, thus written, will neither scan nor make sense. The text has

felicity¹ of enjoying your noble company, and of hearing some of your polished discourse, but Fate assists not my desigus, and ascent to the heaven of eminence is no easy matter.

Verse.

It is not everything that man desires that he obtains,
The wind blows in the direction which the ships do not desire.

14. • In spite of this my reliance on the noble beneficence² of God is firm, and my hope in His gracious and boundless favours is sincere, (my hope being) that my eye may be suffused with light by the sight of your beauty, even as my heart is filled with the contemplation of the idea of you. Verily, God answereth our prayers and doth not disappoint us.

Verse.

I place my hope in God for the attainment of gifts,
And my Lord is the giver of what his slave desires.

* And it is not far from your wonderful beneficence that you should give me to read an odour-diffusing epistle and send for me with a kind invitation. It is not fitting that the footsteps of my pen should wander more than this over the carpet of familiarity, and that the dove of composition should (any longer) sing on the branch of the tree of glee, and it is best to stop short at this period, and most meet and fitting to curtail (my letter) at the point of prayer (for you). May your exalted nature not cease

a footnote:—" Sic in all three copies; a word has evidently been omitted here."

Mr. R. F. Azoo, Arabic Instructor to the Board of Examiners, informs me that these lines are a quotation, though he cannot remember from where, and that the correct reading of this hemistich is:—

شوقاً إليك ولكن أنت تحييتها

I have therefore adopted this reading, and have translated accordingly.

¹ The text has بخطى, a misprint for يحظى.

² The text and MSS. have الأكرام الإلهية which does not make sense. We should read الأكرام الإلهية - إكرام (akrām) is a word not known in Arabic, but in Indian Arabic it is used as the plural of كرم (krām), and, as Badaoni's letter is distinctly Indian Arabic, it is permissible to adopt this reading.

to be protected from the casualties of ill-hap, and secured from the lightning-like mishaps of night and day.

Verses.

May you last as long as time, O refuge of the people of the time!

This is the prayer of all creatures.

May God answer the prayer of his servant, by the right of him after whom there comes no one."¹

This letter was dated in the course of the years mentioned above. When I paid my respects to the Shaiikh in the year H. 976 (A.D. 1568-69) having been introduced by Shaiikh A'zam of Badāon, who was both son-in-law and cousin to Shaiikh Salim, he asked me "How has the position of the tomb of the prophet² (may God bless and save him) been determined in the books of 'the sayings' with regard to the tombs of the two Shaiikhs?"³

¹ The text rightly reads لاَئِي instead of the لاَئِي of the MSS. "He after whom there comes no one" is Muḥammad, "the last of the prophets" or the "seal of the prophets." Muḥammad said of himself لاَئِي بَعْدِي "There is no prophet after me."

² رسالت پناز *lit.*, "the resort of apostleship." The word used here is a compound adjective formed from this expression, and is impossible of translation. I have translated the word صورت (*Surat*) "form," by the word "position," for that word best conveys the true meaning of the passage. *Vide* next note.

³ The two Shaiikhs are Abū Bakr and 'Umar, who are buried, in graves adjoining Muḥammad's, within the precincts of the *Masjidu'n-Nabawi*, or "the prophet's mosque" at Madinah. The three tombs are, or are supposed to be within the *Hujrah* (chamber), so called because it was the room of 'Āyishah, Muḥammad's favourite wife. The *Hujrah* is "separated on all sides from the walls of the mosque by a passage about 26 ft. broad on the south side, and 20 on the eastern. The reason of this isolation has been before explained, and there is a saying of Muḥammad's, "O Allah! cause not my tomb to become an object of idolatrous adoration! May Allah's wrath fall heavy upon the people who make the tombs of their prophets places of prayer!" Inside there are, or are supposed to be, three tombs facing the south, surrounded by stone walls without any aperture, or, as others say, by strong planking. Whatever this material may be, it is hung outside with a curtain, somewhat like a large "four-post bed." (*Vide* Burton's "Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah, ed. 1853, II. c. xvi). The question put by Shaiikh Salim to Badāoni was put, no doubt with a view to testing the visitor's

- (may God regard them both with favour!)" I said "In such a way, and others have said 'in such another way.'" He said, "Sahrawardi, in the '*Waḡi'a-yi-Sā'iqā*,'¹ where he verifies the forms of the three tombs, gives preference to the former statement of the case." In accordance with the *Shaiikh's* exalted command I remained for two days with *Shaiikh* A'zam, who has been
15. already mentioned, in a cell in the old hospice, and enjoyed detailed conversations with the *Shaiikh*. Then I obtained leave to depart for Basāwar.² Subsequently, in the year H. 978 (A.D. 1570-71) I repeatedly had the honour of paying my respects to the *Shaiikh*, and one of his extraordinary acts³ which I observed was that in the cold wintry air of the highlands of Fathpūr he never wore anything on the upper part of his body but a shirt of a single thickness of fine cotton cloth,⁴ woven thin, and an upper garment of muslin,⁵ and this in spite of the duty that he imposed upon himself of bathing twice daily. His daily food in the

'knowledge of controversial works. There are few more fruitful subjects of controversy among Muslims than the relative positions of the tombs of Muḥammad, Abū Bakr and 'Umar. This is necessarily so, as the question is utterly indeterminable, unless the *Ḥujrah* should be violated, an act of which no Muslim would be capable. The utility of the controversy is not apparent. From what Muḥammad himself is reported to have said (*vide supra*) it was clearly his wish that his tomb should be ignored. Such a wish is little likely to be respected by Indian Muslims, who are only too ready to perform the ceremony of *ḡawāf*, which should be restricted to the Ka'bah, at the shrine of any petty saint. *Vide* Burton's strictures on the conduct of Indian pilgrims at Makkah and Madinah, *passim*.

¹ This work is not mentioned by *Hajjī Khalifah*. It was possibly a controversial work on the unedifying subject mentioned in the last note.

² The text has *بشار* with a footnote variant, *پشار*. MS. (A) has *بشار* and MS. (B). *پشار*, which last is the reading that I have adopted.

³ *خوارق* "miracles." There are, *pace* Badā'oni, no "highlands" (*کوه*) in Fathpūr Sikri, and it is not surprising that a man who had travelled for years in colder countries than India, undergoing the hardships which were, in those days, inseparable from travel, (*السفر مقرر*), should have felt the cold, even in the cold weather, at Fathpūr Sikri, very much less than stay-at-home Indians did.

⁴ *خاصه* (*Khāṣṣah*), fine cotton cloth of a close texture. Its price in the reign of Akbar was from three rupees to fifteen *muhrs* per piece (*عدد* ' *adaḍ*). *Vide* *Ain-i-Akbari* text. I. 108.

⁵ *صليل*. Price Rs. 4 (otherwise, from Rs. 4 to five *muhrs*) per piece (*ibid.*).

quadragesimal fasts of union with God¹ was half a water-melon, or even less than that. He passed away to the next world in the year H. 979 (A.D. 1571-72) and the words "the Indian Shaikh"² were found to give the date of his death.

IX. SHAikh Nizāmu-'d-Dīn of Ambethi.

Ambethi is the chief village of a pargana in the District of Lakhnau.³ Shaikh Nizām was the disciple and pupil of Shaikh Ma'rūf-i-Cishtī, the line of whose spiritual descent goes back to Shaikh Nūr Qutb-i-'Ālam. He followed the ordinary rule of life (of an orthodox Muslim) but was at the same time drawn towards God in a mysterious manner.⁴ Although he was at first one of the students of remunerative branches of knowledge⁵ his exalted disposition yet led him to turn much towards the things of the next world. His eyes were ever fixed on the page and his heart fixed on God, nor was he neglectful of the service of *zikr*,⁶ and the employment of the soul (in God's service).

¹ Special fasts observed by devotees, *vide note on* امكانات, *supra*. The only fast incumbent on all Muslims is the fast of *Ramāḡān*, lasting for one lunar month.

² شیخ ہندی, giving $300 + 10 + 600 + 5 + 50 + 4 + 10 = 979$.

³ *Vide* *Āin-i-Akbari* (text) I. 438, where the name is spelt ابینہی (*Abethi*).

⁴ جذبہ—سلوک وجذبہ باہم داشت means an intense longing after God, the result of special attraction exercised by God over the subject of the sensation. Here the rule of life of a *Sūfī* (or rather the absence of any such rule) is instructively contrasted with the rule binding on an orthodox Muslim. The *Sūfī* considers himself above all ceremonial rules, and may observe them or not, as he likes. If he does observe them, it is more for the benefit of the weaker brethren, the followers of the "holy law," than for any advantage that might accrue to himself from such observance. He is "one with God," "converted," "saved," and nothing he does or leaves undone can possibly affect him.

⁵ علوم مکتبہ, the branches of knowledge by means of which one gains a livelihood.

⁶ ذکر, "remembrance" and "recital." A form of religious exercise adopted by *dervishes*. It may be a physical as well as a mental exercise, being the recital of God's praises, attributes, etc., either with the tongue of the flesh, (ذکر جلی) or with the "tongue of the heart" (ذکر خفی); a detailed account of the various forms of the exercise will be found in Hughes' "Dictionary of Islam" (ed. 1885) pp. 703 *et seqq.*

Couplet.

Not for one moment do I turn my attention from that moon,¹
I fear lest it should glance towards me and I should not be
on the watch.

16. In a short time he obtained from his spiritual guide permission to impart religious instruction and to perfect disciples, and in the village of Ambethi drew his foot within the skirt of contentment and withheld his footsteps from the doors of high and low, going nowhere except to the principal *masjid* of the Living God (in that place) and sometimes to Khairābād² to walk round the illustrious tomb of the venerable *Shaiikh* Sa'd, (may his tomb be sanctified!) and to see *Shaiikh*-l-Hidyah,³ the successor of *Shaiikh* Šūfi, (may God sanctify his most pure tomb!), or to Gopāman, in consequence of the friendship which he had for Qāzi Mubārak of Gopāman⁴ who was one of his faithful disciples, a master of perfection, skilled in the holy law, and abstinent, and a very wealthy man. The *Shaiikh* in the early days of his student life had first been attracted to God in the hospice of the Qāzi's father. At long intervals he would take the trouble to go to Fathpur, by way of making a tour, to see *Shaiikh* 'Abdu'-l-Qhāni,⁵ who also was one of the greatest among famous elders, and was held in the highest respect. Whenever he visited the hospice of *Shaiikh*-l-Hidyah and the other places he would give of his worldly goods a rupee, a *tanka*, or some other offering, in accordance with the saying "Send presents to each other and you will love each other,"⁶ and

¹ The word "moon" is generally used in Persian poetry as a synonym for "the beloved one," the object of the lover's devotion. Here, in *Šāfi*-istic style, it is used for God, as the Beloved of the mystic.

² The chief town of a *sarkār* of the same name in the *Šāba* of Awadh (Oudh). It is near the present military cantonment at Sitāpūr. Vide *Āin-i-Akhari* text, I. 437. Also Hunter's Gazetteer, VIII. 128. It will be observed that *Shaiikh* Nišamu'-d-dīn used to circumambulate *Shaiikh* Sa'd's tomb, a ceremony which should be confined to the Ka'bah at Makkah. This circumambulation of the tombs of saints has probably been borrowed, like some other customs, by Indian Muslims from the Hindus.

³ Vide *infra*, No. XIV.

⁴ Vide *infra*, Chapter II. No. XLVII.

⁵ Vide Chapter II. No. XXXII.

⁶ The text has *میداد* for *نمیدند*, in spite of the clear reading of both MSS. But the reading of the text seems, nevertheless, to be correct.

then would fall into an ecstasy of delight. I have heard that he once snatched the book "*Fuṣūṣu'l-Hikam*"¹ from the hand of Shaiḫ Abū-'l-Faṭḥ, the son of Shaiḫu-'l-Hidyaḥ, who is now his great father's representative and sits on his prayer-carpet of Shaiḫ-dom, and, taking it from him, gave him another book, saying, "Read this." He made the books "*Iḥyā'u-'l-'Ulūm*,"² "*Awḍarīf*," "*Risāla-yi-Makkiyya*,"³ "*Ādābu-'l-Murīdīn*,"⁴ (and other books of the same sort, the pivot on which his doctrine and practice turned, both in his religious duties and in the daily busyness of life. He always first recited the midday prayers with the congregation on Friday and afterwards recited the regular Friday prayers. In the *khutbah*⁵ he altogether omitted the praises of kings. I saw him reciting the Friday prayers with his shoes on his feet, and he said "His holiness, the resort of apostleship, (may God bless and save him!) recited his prayers with his shoes on." On one occasion one of his pupils desired to learn a lesson from the book known as *Kāfiyyah*,⁶ asking for the Shaiḫ's blessing on

¹ *فصوص الحکم*, "Articulations of the Sciences." Vide note on this work, *supra*.

² The "*Iḥyā'u-'ulūmi'd-dīn*" by the Shayḫ Imām, Ḥujjatu-'l-Islām Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ghazālī, who died at Tūs, A.H. 505 (A.D. 1111-12). Of this book it has been said "If all books on Islām were lost, and the *Iḥyā* only remained, the loss of the others would not be felt." It is divided into four parts: (1) on ritual, and matters of faith, (2) on manners and morals, (3) on the lusts of the world, the flesh, and the Devil, and (4) on the virtues of a religious life. (*Hāji Khālifah* I. 180-182).

³ *Ar-risālatu-'l-Makkiyyah*, by Shaiḫ Imām Quṭbu-'d-dīn 'Abdu-'llāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aimanī-'l-Aṣṣahīdī. *Hāji Khālifah* III. 445.

⁴ *Ādābu-'l-Murīdīn*, by Shaiḫ Abū-'n-Najīb 'Abdu-'l-Qāhir Ibn 'Abdī-'l-Ilhī-'s-Sahrawardī, (d. A. H. 503 - A.D. 1167-68). *Hāji Khālifah* I. 214.

⁵ The oration or sermon delivered in the *masjid* every Friday.

⁶ *كافية في النحو*. (*Kāfiyat-fi-'n-Nahwi*) a work on Arabic Grammar, by Shaiḫ Jamāl-u'd-dīn, commonly known as Ibn-'l-Ḥājib, (d. A.H. 640 - A.D. 1248). An edition of it was published by Capt. John Baillie, (Calcutta, 1805). Shaiḫ Niẓāmu-'d-dīn objected to the use of it by his pupil on the score of its having no *عنون* ('*unwān*'), here called *خطبة* (*khutbah*), setting forth the praises of God. The pupil's argument was that he must learn Arabic grammar before he could read Arabic works on divinity, and that Grammar was therefore, in a sense, the foundation of a sound knowledge of divinity. The *Kāfiyyah* commences without the usual '*unwān*' or preface, thus:—

الكلمة لفظ لمعني مفرد

Ibn-'l-Ḥājib has been defended against the charge of impiety on the plea of

17. his lesson. The *Shaiikh* pretended not to hear him. After much insistence and persistence on the part of the pupil the *Shaiikh* said "Read some divinity." He said, "This work too is on divinity, inasmuch as divinity depends upon it." The *Shaiikh*, in the warmth of his love for God, said, "How can divinity depend upon a book on which the first argument that has been advanced is that the author has omitted the praises of God, (may He be honoured and glorified!) from the introduction on account of his humility?" He rarely accepted a disciple, and (when he had one) he did not appoint his tasks for him or give him instruction.¹ Among his chosen disciples was *Shaiikh* Ḥātim of Gopāman whom he had removed from the class of students who read in the hospice of Qāzī Mubārak and kept with himself. To please the boy he would sometimes read lessons to him, and would sometimes give him a book, and set tasks for him, until he completely won his heart, and sometimes he would give him a turban, or shoes, or clothes. The Qāzī and the other students, when they saw these favours (bestowed upon *Shaiikh* Ḥātim) were envious² of him. The holy *Shaiikh* Nizāmu-'d-dīn, perceiving signs of this jealousy, said, "What can be done? God the Most High has willed to bestow upon Ḥātim a portion of prosperity by means of these unsatisfactory gifts, a few clothes and old shoes." *Shaiikh* Nizām obtained such complete power and utter influence over Ḥātim that in a short time he (Ḥātim) attained a great reputation, and *Shaiikh* Nizāmu-'d-dīn in expounding Divine truths and the mystic knowledge of God used to restrict the title of *Shaiikh* to him alone. In the meanwhile³ *Shaiikh* Ḥātim experienced many ups and downs, and he was troubled with asthma, and various sicknesses, and just as he had acquired the right to be *Shaiikh* Nizāmu-'d-dīn's

his humility, which led him to believe that his book was not worthy of an *unwān*. Nizāmu-'d-dīn was evidently too much of a precisian to admit this plea.

¹ *Vide infra*, p. 39, where the *Shaiikh* gives his reason for neglecting this duty.

² The word used here is *غِيْبَة* (*ghibā'a*). Its usual meaning is "ungrudging emulation." Badā'oni, however, habitually uses it in the sense of "envy." *Vide* vol. I (Dr. Banking's translation), p. 395 and p. 543, n. 4.

³ *در این میان*. The word *میان* is inserted in the text, though it appears in neither MS. It appears, however, necessary to the sense, and the textual reading is therefore probably the correct one.

deputy and successor he chose the path to the next world. The *Shaiikh* would often say, "There was a servant of God to whom I used sometimes to teach the word of God, and he used to understand it. Now that he is gone to whom shall I speak of it?"

When I, the compiler of these historical selections, paid my respects to the *Shaiikh*, *Shaiikh* 'Abdū-'z-Razzāq, who was both brother-in-law and father-in-law¹ to him, was generally in conversation with him, and sometimes, but rarely, the *Shaiikh* would go to see (or would go out walking with) *Shaiikh* Muḥammad also, his true deputy (or successor),² who now adorns the prayer-carpet of the *Shaiikh* with his presence, sitting as his successor. Since the late Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān,³ some account of whom has already been recorded by my chronicling pen, and who was a man to whom I was bound by the bond of regard more closely than can be expressed in writing, entertained a desire to become a disciple of the holy *Shaiikh*, he was privileged to pay his respects to him by the co-operation of Sayyid Aḡghar of Badāon and Qāzī Aḡmad, the brother of Qāzī Mubārak of Gopāmau;⁴ and this hap-

18.

¹ هم خسر پور و هم خسر. Both wife's brother and wife's father. *Shaiikh* Niẓāmu-'d-din must therefore have married an aunt and a niece. This is allowable by Muḥammadan law, provided that the two are not at the same time wives of one husband. The *Shaiikh* probably married the aunt first, and, after her death, the niece.

² The text has here خلف صدق giving خليفة which is the reading of MSS. (A) and (B) as a footnote variant. The reading in the text has probably been adopted because خلف صدق is a much commoner phrase than خليفة صدق. The sense is not affected. صدق is a substantive but must be translated as though it were an adjective.

³ The name 'Muḥammad' is prefixed to Ḥusain in both MSS. The *Amir* referred to is generally known as Ḥusain Khān simply, and is thus called in the subsequent passages of this narrative. He was Badāoni's first patron, vide note 4, on p. 6. He held Lakhnau in jāgir for about a year only, during which time Badāoni was in his service. Kānt u Gola was subsequently given to him in jāgir. For the account of Ḥusain Khān, here mentioned, vide Badāoni, vol. II *passim*.

⁴ I can find no notice either of Sayyid Aḡghar or of Qāzī Aḡmad, though an account of the latter's brother, Qāzī Mubārak, is given subsequently in this volume (c. II, No. XLVII). In the text the words احمد برادر قاضي are very carelessly omitted, so as to make it appear that Qāzī Mubārak himself, and not his brother, introduced Ḥusain Khān to the *Shaiikh*. These words are nevertheless clearly written in each MS.

pened at the time when Lakhnau was settled on Ḥusain Khān in *jāgr*, in A.H. 976 (A.D. 1568-69). I observed¹ that the *Shaiḥ* at the beginning of the interview addressed to everybody a few words appropriate to his condition, contenting himself with saying "Praise be to God" with the utterance of prayers, or restricting himself to such remarks as, "Glory be to God," "there is no god but God," "We seek protection of God,"² "In the name of God," "there is no power or strength but with God," or to the recitation of a verse from the 'glorious word (of God), or from the *ḥadīth*,³ or from the sayings of noted saints. And every moment he glanced to his left, so that it seemed as though he were seeking from the master of the assembly⁴ permission and leave to say something. On receiving leave from one of the company,⁵ at the time when we were shaking hands with one another, he gave the Sayyid, mentioned above,⁶ his blessing, saying to Qāzī Aḥmad "Glory be to God," and to me, "In the name of God," using similar (pious) expressions to everybody present. At this very moment, before he could commence⁷ a conversation, a miserable worthless wretch of a student came up and recognized⁸ the *Shaiḥ*, who, saying to him "I seek protection of God from the Devil, the execrable one,"⁹ admitted him to the interview. He then began to expound¹⁰ the verse of the *Qur'ān*, "Everything shall perish, except His face,"¹⁰

¹ The author's mention of himself in the third person, as is usual, is often apt to be confusing. It might appear from the structure of this long passage that it was Ḥusain Khān that 'observed,' but the subsequent context shews that Badi'oni is referring to himself in the words چنان دید. The whole of this passage is very involved, and I have been obliged to break it up into periods and transpose portions of it, in order to render its meaning into passable English.

² The text has, wrongly, نعوذ for نعوذ.

³ حدیث, the recorded sayings of Muḥammad, which form the ground-work of Muḥammadan tradition and are venerated equally with the *Qur'ān*.

⁴ حضرت جامعہ (*ḥaẓrat-i-jāmi'ah*) lit. "the presence which had collected us together." Presumably Ḥusain Khān is meant.

⁵ از جانبی (*az jāmbi*) lit. 'from a certain direction.'

⁶ Scil. Sayyid Asghar of Badi'oni.

⁷ دریافت (*dar-yāft*), perhaps "singled out," or "button-holed."

⁸ الشیطان الرجیم (*Aḥ-shaitān-i-r-rajim*) lit. "the Devil, the stoned one."

⁹ The text has a misprint here, تفسیر for تفسیر.

¹⁰ *Qur'ān* XXVIII, 88. The *Koḥsh* explains that "face" means the

addressing his discourse to *Shaiḥ* 'Abdu-r-Razzāq who contented himself with saying "It is indeed so," and "Yes," (at intervals), occasionally pointing out some allusion. Nobody else had power to utter a word, awe and reverence preventing them. As for me, I was as though I was not,¹ and, reviewing my sins, sat in fear lest they should have been revealed to the *Shaiḥ*, and lest my inmost being should be laid bare to the light of day,² secretly watching all the while for an opportunity to escape from the assembly. At that moment that student asked, "Why should not the (possessive) pronoun affixed to the word *wajh*³ (face) be referred to some thing, as masters of the secret knowledge of God have said?" The *Shaiḥ*, the moment he heard this speech, became much agitated, and the colour of his blessed countenance⁴ turned to red and yellow, and he said, "Did I not, when I first set eyes on this devil, repeat the formula "We seek protection, etc.," and now, in the manner which we have just heard, his devilry has become apparent?" And when he discovered what the student's design was he repeated several times the formula, "There is no power or strength but with God," and quoted the following couplet from the *Qasida-yi-Burda*⁵ :—

"O thou who blamest me for my pure affection, excused
 "Thou art by me therefor, but had'st thou done justice thou
 would'st not have blamed me."⁶

whole Person of God. This is the figure of speech called in Persian *ذکر بعض اراد کل*. *محو مطلق* ! "Completely effaced."

¹ Something was evidently weighing heavily on Badi'oni's conscience. He has not told us what it was. His disgraceful "love" affair did not take place until four years after this time. (Vol. II text, pp. 130-37).

² The text of the *Qur'ān* runs, in the original *كل شيء هالك الا وجهه*. The translation has just been given. The student's question meant "Can we not refer the possessive pronoun ("his" or "its") attached to the word *وجه* to some person or thing other than God?" It is but fair to remark that the question appears absurd, but still the *Shaiḥ* need not have substituted abuse for argument. Perhaps the sting of the student's question lay in his reference to the "masters of the secret knowledge of God," (*اهل معرفت*) which seems to convey a hint that the *Shaiḥ* and his companions could not be classed in that category. The reference below to the student's "design" seems to bear out this view.

³ *بشرى* "the epidermis, or cuticles" *Vide supra*, p. 16, n. 3.

⁴ *Vide supra*, p. 4, n. 1.

⁵ In the text the article has been carelessly omitted before the word *هوا*

- Intense love for God overpowered the *Shaiikh* and he ordered the student to be turned out of the assembly, but afterwards, calling him back again, he appeased him, and the contemplation of this matter was a great warning to us who were present. That night passed very uncomfortably for me in the hospice, and I watched for the morning in order that I might escape. The early morning prayers¹ were recited with the *Shaiikh* at the moment the true dawn began to appear, when we could not see one another's faces without a lamp, I indeed thinking that it was yet night. At sunrise the *Shaiikh* came out of his cell and stood at the door of the *majid*, ordering Miyān *Shaiikh* Muḥammad² to bring for us three whatever food might be ready, and I was in great agitation of mind, ever and again endeavouring to get Miyān *Shaiikh* Muḥammad to obtain leave from his master for me to depart. The holy *Shaiikh*, with his *Qur'ān* in one hand and salt in the other
20. was appositely expounding the blessed verse, "Make ready then against them what force ye can, and squadrons of horse,"³ and so on to the end of the verse, ignoring my application for leave to depart. *Apropos* of what he was saying he then mentioned, in a most affectionate manner, Ḥusain *Khān*, who was at that time in the *pargana* of Isauli,⁴ and said, "He is my son."⁵ Then, follow-

in the first hemistich of this couplet, though it appears in both MSS. and is the correct reading.

¹ نماز باعداد commonly called in Persian نماز صبح, and in Arabic صلاة الفجر. The first of the five obligatory periods of prayer. These prayers should be recited between dawn and sunrise.

² This seems to have been Badāoni's younger brother.

³ *Qur'ān* VIII, 62.

وَأَعِدُّوا لَهُمْ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُمْ مِنْ قُوَّةٍ وَمِنْ رِبَاطِ الْخَيْلِ تُرْهِبُونَ بِهِ عَدُوَّ اللَّهِ
وَعَدُوَّكُمْ وَأَخْرَجَ مِنْ دُونِهِمْ لَا تَعْلَمُونَهُمُ اللَّهُ يَعْلَمُهُمْ وَمَا تُنْفِقُوا مِنْ شَيْءٍ
فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ يُوَفِّ إِلَيْكُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ لَا تُظْلَمُونَ.

The Arabic is very badly pointed in the text.

⁴ A *pargana* town in the *sarkār* of Lakhnau, *Ḥāda Awadh* (Oudh). Most likely one of Ḥusain *Khān*'s *jāgir* villages, whither he had returned after the interview mentioned above.

⁵ The text has here لؤلؤ, which means "parrot." Both MSS. read بونته,

ing the dictates of his generous nature, which led him to bestow on every one, rich or poor, a piece of gold, or salt, or some other gift, he gave to me a *tanka*.

Of the miracles which I saw him perform, when I made that journey to visit him, this was one. As we three¹ were on the road to Ambethi, journeying to pay our respects to the *Shaiikh* (the road-police) had arrested a man dressed as beggar on a charge of theft and highway robbery, and had seized him by his clothes.² He in some way managed to effect his escape, and in that very hour came begging to the holy *Shaiikh*; but notwithstanding all his persistence and lamentation the *Shaiikh* gave him nothing. We who were present were much astonished, as we had often witnessed instances of the *Shaiikh's* generosity. The *Shaiikh* at once opposed and objected to³ (our expressions of surprise) saying, "Look at the⁴ thief, who both robs on the highway and poses as a beggar," and he drove him out of our assembly. This caused great astonishment, and when we looked closely at the man we recognized him as the same person whom the road-police had laid hands on.

On the same day another occurrence, similar to this, took place, but an account of it would occupy much space.

On the last day of *Ramāṣān*, in the year already mentioned, we were travelling rapidly at night⁵ with Ḥusain *Khān*, from his

which means "the young of man or of any animal," and is a far more appropriate term than *نولہ*. I have, of course, followed the MSS.

¹ That is, Qāzi Aḥmad of Gopāmau, Sayyid Aṣghar, and Badā'oni himself, or perhaps Ḥusain *Khān* is included, in which case one of the other two must be left out.

² *جلمہ ہای اورا کشیدہ بودند*. This seems to mean rather, "had pulled off his clothes," the thief leaving his clothes in the hands of the police and so escaping, but as Badā'oni says immediately afterwards that the thief escaped *بدرمی* (in some way or other) I have translated the phrase by "seized him by his clothes," in order to preserve the ambiguity regarding the thief's means of escape.

³ *اعراض و اعتراض*. The words *اعترض* are carelessly omitted from the text, though they occur in both MSS.

⁴ The text has the word *این* ("this") here, though it occurs in neither MS. I have omitted it in the translation.

⁵ The year was H. 976 (A.D. 1568). It must be borne in mind that the Muslims, like the Jews, reckon their day from sunset. Thus "the last day of *Ramāṣān*, at night," would be, according to our reckoning "the night of the

pargana to Ambethi, and all our efforts were centred on reaching that place in time to recite the early morning prayers¹ in company with the *Shaiikh*. The dawn had already appeared when, at three *kurūh*² distance from Ambethi, we put spurs to our horses, and regretted that we were not in time for the public prayers.³ We reached the *Shaiikh's masjid* in Ambethi as the sun was about to rise. At that moment the holy *Shaiikh*, having come out of his house, was just commencing his prayers with the "*Allāhu Akbar*,"⁴

21. and he broke off, and we thought that we were just too late, but we nevertheless attained the great honour (which we sought). Now this act of the *Shaiikh* was contrary to his usual custom, for he always recited the early morning prayers at a time when we thought that the true dawn had hardly appeared.

It chanced that towards the close of the same day the *Shaiikh* was explaining the mysticism of the *Sūfis*⁵ in the *masjid*, and he read some⁶ verses from the *Divān* of Khāja Hāfiẓ.⁷ One of the

last day but one of *Ramaẓān*" or, in this case, as they travelled through the night "the early morning of the last day of *Ramaẓān*." The necessity for this explanation will be apparent hereafter, where it is stated that Husau Khān returned to Lakhnau to keep the 'id there.

¹ نماز بامداد vide *supra* p. 34, n. 1.

² The *kos* of Hindustān. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II. (trans. Jarrett), p. 414 and n. 2.

³ جماعت. These prayers were hardly, in this instance, public. They were rather "common to two or more." Their merit lay in the "gathering of two or three together," as S. Chrysostom, quoting the Holy Scriptures, says.

⁴ تَعْرِیْمَةُ نَمَازٍ. This is the repetition, at the commencement of the ritual prayers, of the *mu'azzin's* call to prayer, which commences with the *كَبِير* (الله اكبر) "God is great" repeated three times.

⁵ بیان تصوف. Reference has already been made to the doctrines of the *Sūfis*.

⁶ The word چند ("some,") which appears in the text, is in neither MS. I have, nevertheless, retained it, for the context clearly shows that the *Shaiikh* read more than one couplet.

⁷ The prince of Persian poets, the "interpreter of secrets," and "the tongue of that which is hidden." He is too well-known to stand in need of any description here. He is known even in England, where, as a rule, no one is known who has not been, as "sweet bully Bottom" was, translated. Hāfiẓ has not been translated into English, but the English equivalents of the Persian words used by him have been given by Colonel Wilberforce Clarke, R. E.

companions of the late Husain Khān asked whose disciple Khāja Hāfiẓ was, and the *Shaiikh* said, "He was the disciple of Khāja Naqshband,"¹ (may God sanctify his soul!) Another, *apropos* of the same subject, asked "How was horse-flesh regarded in the religion of the greatest of the *Imāms*?"² (i.e., was it lawful food or not?) The *Shaiikh* replied that the greatest of the *Imāms* himself ate horse-flesh, and when he reached this couplet:—

"The *Sūfis* celebrate in one moment two 'īds (great feasts)

"Spiders make pemmican of a fly."³

then I too, trusting in my own singleness of heart, thoughtlessly asked, "What is meant by the 'two 'īds?' " This question annoyed the *Shaiikh* and he angrily said, "Let Bāyazīd⁴ and Junaid,⁵ or Shibli⁶ and Manṣūr⁷ ask such a question as this. What have you to do with such a question?" And falling into this vein he spoke

¹ Khāja Bahā'u-d-Din Naqshband. *Vide Ain-i-Akbari*, text, II, 212. Rizā Qulī, according to Col. Wilberforce Clarke, states, that the *pir* who instructed Hāfiẓ was Maulānā Shamsu-d-Din-i-Shirāzi.

² Abū Ḥanīfah, the founder of one of the four orthodox sects or theological schools of Islām.

³ I cannot find this couplet in any edition of Hāfiẓ to which I have access. I know of no one English word which will translate the word قديد, so I have used "pemmican" as the word which most conveniently translates it.

⁴ The person meant is Bāyazīd-i-Anṣārī, the apostle of the Afghāns, who is styled *Pir-i-Raughan*, and founded the *Sūfi* sect called *Raughaniyyah*, or "the enlightened." He established amid the mountains of Afghānistān a temporal power upon the authority of his spiritual character, and his successors disturbed the tranquillity of the Dībli empire during the reign of Akbar. *Vide* Beale's "Oriental Biographical Dictionary."

⁵ *Shaiikh* Junaid-i-Baghdādi, a famous ascetic, born at Baghdād, where he died in A.H. 298 (A.D. 911). (Beale O.B.D.)

⁶ *Shaiikh* Abū Bakrī-'ah-Shibli a celebrated doctor of divinity, born and brought up at Baghdād, where he died A.H. 334 (A.D. 946). *Shaiikh* Junaid, mentioned in the last note, was one of his spiritual masters. (Beale O.B.D.)

⁷ Manṣūr-i-Ḥallāj, the surname of *Shaiikh* Husain-i-Ḥallāj, a celebrated *Sūfi* and ascetic. Musalmāns differed in their opinion of his character. By some he was believed to be a saint and a worker of miracles, by others a juggler and impostor, deceiving the people with his tricks. He was in the habit of proclaiming "*Ana'l-Haqq*," "I am the Truth," or "I am God"—the logical conclusion of his *Sūfi* doctrines. For this blasphemy he was put to death with great torture by the *Khalifah* Muqtadir in A.H. 306 (A.D. 919) or, according to Ibn-u-Khallikān in A.H. 309 (A.D. 922). He is considered by the *Sūfis* to be one of their most spiritual leaders, and to have attained

- much on the subject, and I, hanging my head with shame, repented my indiscretion. Ḥusain Khān, biting his finger with consternation, looked ever and anon towards me, and his friends were all bewildered. Suddenly my lot was lightened by the rising of the (joyful) clamour which is heard on the appearance of the new moon of the 'id,¹ and all rose and busied themselves in mutual congratulations and hand-shakings. I rose, and on the plea of being fatigued went to recite my evening prayers in a tent which was pitched in a garden beside the *masjid*, feeling sick of life. When the holy *Shaiḫ*, going indoors, set food before his guests, he asked "Where is such an one?"² (i.e., Badā'oni), *Shaiḫ* Muḥammad, his worthy successor,³ answered, "By reason of the impertinence of which he was guilty he could not appear in the *masjid*, and he absented himself also from the public prayers. The *Shaiḫ* then sent me some food from his own table, with his blessing, and I was somewhat consoled, and entertained hopes of forgiveness. Early the next morning Ḥusain Khān went to Ṭakḥnau, to join in celebrating the 'id there, and I alone remained in Ambethi. The holy *Shaiḫ* recited the prayers of the festival in his *masjid* and afterwards occupied himself in giving instruction in the book known as the '*Awārif*.'⁴ Meanwhile *Shaiḫ* Muḥammad rose up to intercede for me, and asked that my fault might be forgiven. The *Shaiḫ* sent for me, and breaking off his teaching turned to me with great kindness, and when I, my eyes full of tears, placed my head on his foot, he embraced me and said "I bear no enmity or malice in my heart against anybody. Whatever I say is in the way of advice and spiritual
- 22.

the fourth, or last stage of *Sūfi*-ism. An inspired *Sūfi* is said to have demanded of the Almighty why he permitted Manṣur to suffer. The reply was, "This is the punishment for the revealer of secrets," i.e., his offence was not blasphemy, but indiscretion in uttering a great truth to ears unfit to hear it. (Beale O B D). It seems that the *Shaiḫ* was vexed with Badā'oni for inquiring into matters which were beyond him (Badā'oni) but it may be that the *Shaiḫ* was not ready with an answer and took advantage of Badā'oni's known servility to "saints" to escape, by this means, the

* necessity of owning himself to be at a loss.

¹ I.e., the new moon had been sighted and the 'idul-*fiṭr* had begun.

² فلان. The use of this word is due to modesty, as the author by its use avoids introducing his own name.

³ خلف مدني.

⁴ *Fide* *supra*, p. 17. n. 2.

instruction to the slaves of God, and abuse from me, as was the case with abuse from the prophet of God, (may God bless and save him), has on its object the same effect as praise (from another), and even if I utter a curse on anybody it has the same effect as a blessing.¹ Then, in affection, taking his cap from his blessed head, he gave it to me, and took me apart into the cell which was in the gate-house, and said "Perform your ceremonial ablutions in my presence, and recite your prayers." I recited them wonderingly. He said to me, "Men say of me that I do not instruct students. What instruction can I give? My instruction and religious teaching are just this much, a tongue never weary of praising God and a thankful heart." Then he became agitated like a stormy surging sea and said "My life is instruction sufficient for seekers after God, and walkers in His way."² Just then two *darrishes* from Sindh, breaking the *Shaiikh's* custom, began to sing outside an Indian melody in mournful and grating tones, and my spiritual condition underwent a change³ by means of the influence brought to bear on me at that time. *Apropos* of this (influence) the *Shaiikh* said that the great companions (of Muḥammad),⁴ (may God be gratified with them!), when they saw that the desert 'Arabs newly converted to Islam were much affected by hearing the glorious *Qur'ān* read, regretted their own state, and the leader of the faithful, Abū-Bakr, the faithful witness of the truth, (may God be gratified with him!), said, "We were like you, but afterwards our hearts became hard: that is to say, they became firmly fixed and immovable, so that they were like stones for lack of ability to be

23.

¹ The *Shaiikh* was evidently ashamed of himself, but, rather than confess himself in the wrong, adroitly managed to persuade Badā'oni, by a line of reasoning that would be deemed irreverent by any Muslim who was not a slavish admirer, that he had received a blessing rather than an insult.

² *Vide supra*, p. 30, n. 1. The text inserts between the words *تلقين طالبان* the conjunction *و*, which is in neither MS. and destroys the sense.

³ *حال بر من از آن وقت متغیر شد*. This sentence is somewhat obscure, as *حال* may be taken to mean either "condition," simply, or "ecstasy." Nor is it clear whether Badā'oni means that the mournful and harsh "music" combined with the *Shaiikh's* discourse made him a changed man, or that the "music" broke the spell under which the *Shaiikh's* discourse had laid him.

⁴ Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Usmān, and 'Alī.

softened." ¹ Then the Shaiikh read some sentences which were quite unfamiliar to my ear, and gave me permission to use the following prayer constantly:—"O God, I seek protection of Thee against deafness, dumbness, madness, leprosy, and leucoderma." ² When I took my leave and came to Lakhnau I made a stay of some days there, and the Shaiikh would sometimes send me a piece of salt, which he used generally to hold in his hand and lick when in an assembly, reciting this saying of Muḥammad, "Salt is a cure for seventy diseases, except death." ³ And he would sometimes also send me some uncooked ⁴ rice, and sometimes an earthenware jar, and other presents, and he received my younger brother, the late Shaiikh Muḥammad, into the company of his disciples and pupils, and in a short time, being blessed ⁵ with the holy Shaiikh's regard he acquired angelic qualities and a love for the practice of ascetism. He generally observed the continued fast, ⁶ and spent his time in reading the glorious *Qur'ān*, in reciting God's praises, in exorcism, and in

¹ I have not been able to find another quotation of this saying. The text and both MSS. have the word تلوين, which means (in this context) "ability to receive colour." The sense is not apparent, as a stone can receive colour as well as can any other object. But if we read تليين, with a difference of one letter only, the meaning will be that which I have given in my translation, which is in every way more appropriate.

² برص and جذام. The first is the true leprosy, in which the fingers and other extremities gradually rot away, and the face assumes the "leonine" appearance. The second is *leucoderma*, or white leprosy, which itself affects only the colouring matter of the skin, but is commonly said (*Muḥītu-'l-Muḥīt sub voce* برص) to end in true leprosy. It is this disease with which Gebazi was smitten—"Et egressus est ab eo leprosus quasi nix."

ויצא מלפניו מצרע כשלג 2 Kings v. 27.

³ There are many "sayings" of Muḥammad on the virtues of salt. Some specify salt as a cure for some of the diseases for protection from which Badāoni had just been directed to pray.

⁴ خام in both MSS. The text has خاس, with خام as a footnote variant. I have, of course, adopted the reading of the MSS.

⁵ هيم the reading of both MSS. The text has هيمين, which destroys the sense.

⁶ روز اظى. This consists in fasting during the six days following the 'idu-'l-fitr, i.e., from the 2nd to the 7th of Shawwāl, inclusive. Abū Ayūb relates that Muḥammad said "The person* who fasts the month of Ramaḡān and follows it up with six days of the month of Shawwāl, will obtain the rewards of a continued fast" (Hughes, Dict. of Islām, sub voce "Fasting.")

works of supererogation, so that not one hour of his precious life was wasted, or was passed in idleness, as mine has been.

"In respect of rose-water and the rose the decree of fate from time without beginning has been this,

"That the former is a courtesan of the market-place, and the latter a chaste and curtained dame."

And at that time he left the world, and it is certain that, preserving his faith intact, he retired to the garden of Rīẓwān.¹ The venerable age of the holy *Shaiḡh* extended to more than²⁴ eighty years, and even at that great age he begat children, and his departure from this abode of decay took place in the year H. 979 (A.D. 1571-72).

X. *SHAIḡH* BIRKAN OF KĀKŌRĪ.³

Kākōrī⁴ is a *pargana* town in the *Sarkār* of Lakhnau. The *Shaiḡh* was the most learned of the learned men of his time, abstemious and well versed in the holy law, while in devout piety even the greatest of the *Imāms*⁵ (Abū Ḥanīfah) was his inferior. For many years he was engaged in teaching and in instructing the people. He had committed the whole of the glorious word (of God) to memory, according to each of the seven methods of reading it. He used also to give instruction in *Shāṭṭibi*.⁶ He reckoned his spiritual succession from Mir Sayyid Ibrāhīm of Irij,⁶ (may God sanctify his soul!) who was

¹ Rīẓwān is the keeper of the garden of Paradise.

² The text omits the *Shaiḡh's* territorial designation in the head-line, following MS. (B). I follow MS. (A) and insert it.

³ Kākōrī, given in the text, for some reason or for no reason as كاكري (Kākari). Both MSS. have Kākōrī. Vide also *Āin-i-Akbarī* (text) I.

⁴ This is the reading of the text, and is undoubtedly the correct reading. The word *imām* is somewhat indistinct in both MSS. Perhaps the copyists considered Badi'oni's comparison irreverent, and compounded with their consciences by writing the word امام as indistinctly as possible.

⁵ This reference is to a poem named *Hirzu-'Lamāni wa wajhu-'l-tahāni*, the subject of which is the seven methods of reading the *Qur'ān*. The author was Abū-'l-Muḥammadi-'l-Qāsimi-'ah-Shāṭibi, from whom the poem is known as *Ash-shāṭibiyyah*. The author died in H. 590 (A.D. 1194). Shāṭib is said by Ibn Khallikān to be a town in Eastern Spain. I cannot identify it. Vide Hāji Khalifa III. 43, and Ibn Khallikān; s. v. *Ash-shāṭibi*.

⁶ Irij was the chief town of a *sarkār* of the same name in the *Sūba* of Agra. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, text, Vol. I., p. 448.

himself the most learned of the learned men of his time. The Shaiikh would never mention the Sūfi mysteries in a public assembly, but only in private, to those who had been initiated in their secrets and one of his sayings was "If the mystical profession of the Unity of God¹ be made in public it turns again solely to him who uttered it, or to the learned men (present)."

He would not listen to singing, and outwardly reprobated it. He left numerous children who attained perfection, all of whom were adorned with the embellishment of rectitude, piety, wisdom, knowledge, and excellence.

The compiler of these historical selections was honoured, in company with the late Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān,² by being permitted to pay his respects to the Shaiikh in Lakhnau. It was the blessed month of Ramazān, and a certain one brought to the Shaiikh a work on logic, asking him to set him a task in that book. The Shaiikh said "You should read some book on divinity."

The Shaiikh's death occurred in the year H. 981 (A.D. 1573-4).

XI. SHAIKH SA'DI.

He also was one of the more esteemed among holy men. His line of spiritual descent came through his own revered father, Shaiikh Muḥammad (may God render his soul fragrant). Shaiikh Muḥammad wrote a commentary in Persian on Shāfi'i,³ which covered nearly seventy quires of paper. His true successor,

25. Shaiikh Sa'di, was subject to fits of overpowering religious ecstasy, and was pure both in body and soul. He was ever cheerful and light of heart, and lived happy and free from care. To one of his friends he wrote in a letter, when saying farewell to him:—

"Thy Sa'di's eyes and heart are with thee on thy way,

"So deem not that thou goest alone, they bide with thee
alway."

His death occurred in the year H. 1002 (A.D. 1593-4).

بَكْتَهُ تَوْحِيدًا. This means really the confession of the unity of everything with God and of God with everything, the expression of belief in the pantheism of the Sūfis. The meaning of this somewhat enigmatical "saying" is that such a statement made in public cannot possibly edify the uninitiated, and is confined in its results to the speaker and the initiated present. The text wrongly following MS. (B) has اهل عالم "men of the world," for اهل علم (MS. A) "men of knowledge."

² Badā'uni's first patron, vide *supra*, p. 6, n. 4.

³ Vide *supra* in the life of Shaiikh Bhikan, the last mentioned holy man.

XII. SAYYID TĀJU'-D-DĪN, OF LAKHNAU.¹

He was one of the successors of Shaiikh Muḥammad Ḡhaṣ,² and was a master of the art of exorcism. He had a great reputation for asceticism, holy poverty, and resignation, and was generous and open-handed. He came to Lakhnau, where very many were honoured by converse with him, and received from him permission to give instruction in religious matters. There he died.

XIII. SHAIKH MUḤAMMAD QALANDAR OF LAKHNAU.³

In his youth he served in the army, in the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodi,⁴ but ⁵ when the Emperor Bābar conquered India he gave up that profession for a life of holy poverty, sacrificing all his ambition thereto.⁶ He became a disciple of Shaiikh Buhlūl, devoting himself to the service of God and to asceticism. From his spiritual instructor he learnt the proper use of some of the names of God in exorcism, and lived the life of a recluse in a garden, most of the trees of which had been planted by himself, shutting in his own face the door of entry into and exit from the houses of other men. They used to say that for more than thirty years his food had been nothing but milk alone, and that he never used pulse or any sort of food other than (milk). One day when Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān, accompanied by me, went to visit him, a cat came up to the Shaiikh mewing piteously. The Shaiikh said "This cat has cause of complaint, for you have wasted both her time and the time of the master of the house, 26. causing it to be passed in frivolity, and distracting my heart."

¹ In MS. (A) the life which here follows is headed with the name of Shaiikh Muḥammad Qalandar of Lakhnau, biography No. XIII being given as the life of this saint. I follow the text and MS. (B) in the arrangement of the names, but follow the two MSS. in the designation of Sayyid Tāju'-d-din—"of Lakhnau"—which is omitted in the text.

² No. III.

³ Vide note on the heading of biography No. XII.

⁴ The third and last sovereign of the Lodi dynasty, grandson of Buhlūl Lodi, the first of the line. Sultān Ibrāhīm was conquered and slain by Bābar on the field of Panipat in A.D. 1525.

⁵ MS. (A) has ⁷ here—correctly as it seems to me. The text and MS. (B) omit it.

⁶ A cumbrous translation of نمردني, but one which explains its meaning fully.

XIV. SHAIKH NIZĀMU-'D-DIN¹ OF NĀRNŌL.

Nārnol² is one of the famous cities of India. Although the Shaiikh was the disciple of Shaiikh Khānūn of the Cishtī³ order, who was settled in the fort of Gwālīyār, he always declared that he acquired most of his excellence, and education, as well as the spiritual succession, from his own elder brother, Shaiikh Isma'il by name. He was a Sūfi who had attained the first stage of recognition of God,⁴ had overcome his desires, and had acquired complete hope in God's mercy. He was thoroughly acquainted with the (spiritual) condition of those who had retired from the world and had chosen the religious life, and possessed great influence over them. I have heard that he used to order the darvishes of his hospice, during eclipses of the moon, to take oil of the Celastrus,⁵ (a medicine well-known in India, on which treatises, describing its virtues, have been written, and of the properties of which the author has had some small experience), and that under its influence the truth about the next world⁶ was revealed to them, and that he used to recount to them⁷ other wonderful matters—but God knows the truth.

He remained seated on the throne of religious guidance for nearly forty years, and from early youth to the end of his life

¹ The text and MS. (B) have "Shaiikh Nizām" only, but MS. (A), which I follow, gives the Shaiikh's full name.

² The chief town of a sarkār in the Śūba of Āgra (vide Āin-i-Akbari, Vol. II. trans. Jarrett, pp. 97, 182, 193).

³ Vide *supra*, *passim*.

⁴ ذوق vide Iḥlāḥāt-ṭ-Ṣūfiyyah (Sprenger) s. v.

⁵ روغن مالکنگنی (raughan-i-māl-kangni). Māl-kangni is the Hindī name of celastrus or staff-tree. The oil is extracted from "the aromatic bitter seed" of this tree, and is "held in much repute for diseases of the stomach and bowels." Vide Fallon, s. v.

⁶ احوال آخرت مکشوف میشد. This is not one of the properties attributed to the drug by Fallon. It is pretty evident, from what Badāoni says, that the drug, whatever it may have been, was an intoxicant, used by Nizām-'d-din's orders for the purpose of inducing a trance, or mook state of religious ecstasy. The ordering of the use of the drug on the particular occasions mentioned points to a debased superstition which has but little connection with pure Muḥammadanism.

⁷ The text inserts بر here, although the word appears in neither MS. and is pleonastic. I follow the readings of the MSS.

there were very few years in which he did¹ not make a pilgrimage on foot, inflamed with strong desire and fervour, losing no time on the way, to the shrine of that holy pole-star of the world, Khāja Qutbu-'d-din Bakhtiyār of Ūsh,² (may God sanctify his tomb!). Towards the end of his life, owing to old age, and other things which hindered him (from performing this pilgrimage), he used to celebrate the festival³ of the sainted Khāja in Nārñol. In abandoning all outward show he followed the footsteps of his spiritual guide, and in his freedom from ceremoniousness and formality he regarded rich and poor alike, observing the same impartiality also in admitting disciples. I saw him when he was surrounded by a crowd, and so did not attain to the honour of 27.
(A.D. 1588-9,) and the words "Alas for Nizām"⁴ were found to give the date.

XV. SHAIKHU-'L-HIDYA OF KHAIRĀBĀD.⁵

He was profoundly learned and in early life spent many years, in teaching and giving instruction. He was a disciple of Shaikh Ṣafī, the spiritual successor of Shaikh Sa'id, and held from him a diploma, authorizing him to give religious instruction. In early life he employed⁶ himself to such an extent in the acquisition of exoteric knowledge that there are now living many wise men,

¹ MS. (A) has here میرسید, which is wrongly substituted for نمیرسید. I have followed the reading of the text and MS. (B) which is correct.

² MS. (B) has (wrongly) اوشی for اوشنی. Ūsh is in Transoxiana and was the birthplace of the Khāja, who died on the 14th Rabi'u-'l-Awwal A.H. 634 (A.D. 1236). He was offered by Sulṭān Shamsu-'d-din Iyaltamish the post of Shaikhu-'l-Islām, which he declined. The Khāja's full name and titles were Khāja Qutbu-'d-din Muḥammad Bakhtiyār-i-Ūshi-yi-Kāki. Vide Farishtā, Bo. text, II. 717-725 and Ain-i-Akbari II. trans. Jarrett, 303 and note 2.

³ عرس. The term usually applied to the festival of a Musalmān saint in India. The word means "nuptials," and is used to signify the saint's union with God, the festival usually commemorating his death.

⁴ آذ نظام. $1 + 5 + 50 + 900 + 1 + 40 = 997$.

⁵ The chief town of a sarkār of the same name in the Saba of Awadh (Oudh). The unusual name of this saint recurs in the Pādishāhnāma, as the name of one of Shāh Jahān's officers.

⁶ MS. (A) has wrongly مشغول here. I follow the text, which is supported by MS. (B).

masters of perfection, who owe their wisdom to his teaching.¹ Latterly he devoted² himself wholly to the *Sūfī*-istic rule, founding an order of devotees, vowed to personal poverty, whose rule was resignation to God, retirement from the world, and the giving of alms. A keen appreciation of the ecstatic songs and dances (of *darvishes*) and an overpowering religious ecstasy were comprised in his daily system of religious exercises,³ and were never omitted. He restrained his steps from wandering to the doors of men, especially of worldly men, and those of position and rank, and on these grounds he never accepted an invitation to a feast. All his offspring and followers secured the good fortune of the assistance of the example of his practice in enduring poverty and want. One of them was his true successor⁴ *Shaiḫ* Abū-'l-Faṭḥ, who succeeded to his prayer-mat, and is one of the most pre-eminent⁵ among the learned men of this time. In his rules of conduct, both outward and inward, he follows, wholly and completely, his venerable father, and he is the author of many standard works on most branches of knowledge. Never did a beggar go away disappointed from the *Shaiḫ*.

One day Muḥammad Ḥusain *Khān* asked the *Shaiḫ*, "What sort of a man was Sālār Mas'ūd,⁶ whom the common people of

¹ *Lit.* "are his heirs."

² The text has *نمود* while both MSS. have *نموده*, which is correct.

³ The text has here *درود وظیفه* which is a very unsatisfactory reading. The MSS. give *ورد و وظیفه*, which is undoubtedly correct.

⁴ *خلف صدق*.

⁵ *نعل* pl. of *نعل*. Literally "males." The force of the expression will be understood when the Oriental view of masculine superiority is remembered.

⁶ Sister's son to Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazni. He was slain by Hindūs at Bahraic, in Awadh (Oudh) on his wedding-day, which thus became, in a double sense, his *فرس* (vide *supra*). The point of the question, put to a presumably orthodox Musalmān, will be appreciated only by those who are acquainted with the latitudinarian cult of this "saint." Want of space compels me to forego an account of this cult, but those who are interested in the popular religion of Indian peoples and in the peculiar developments of Muhammadanism in India will do well to study "Heroes Five" by Mr. R. Greeven of the Indian Civil Service. Curiously enough this Northern Indian cult finds its counterpart in the Dakhan in the cult of 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān, a close relation of Sālār Mas'ūd, which however is not nearly so popular as is the cult of the latter.

India worship?" The *Shaiikh* replied, "He was an Afghān who met his death by martyrdom."¹

Towards the end of his life, in accordance with an Imperial summons, he came to Fathpūr and there saw the *Khalifa* ² (vice-gerent) of the age. When the Emperor heard that the *Shaiikh*, when the messenger conveyed the summons to him, set out from his hospice on foot, without allowing anything to detain him, travelling thus until his servants sent his baggage and travelling litter after him, he was much pleased. When he asked the *Shaiikh* a question the *Shaiikh* would make a sign to signify that he was hard of hearing, and the Emperor would give him a piece of gold. He also ordered that a subsistence allowance³ should be assigned to the *Shaiikh*, and then immediately gave him permission to depart.

The *Shaiikh's* death occurred in the year H. 993 (A.D. 1585). May the mercy of God be upon him!

XVI. *SHAIKH DĀ'UD OF CHATĪ.*

(May God sanctify his soul!).

Chatī⁴ is the chief town of a *pargana* in the District of Lāhōr. The *Shaiikh's* noble ancestors came first from the land of the 'Arabs⁵ to Sīt-pūr,⁶ which is in the Multān country, and the holy *Shaiikh* was himself born in that place. His noble father proceeded⁷ from this world to eternity before his birth, and his mother died⁷ very shortly after it, and he, left alone, as an incomparable

¹ The very curtness of this reply shows the *Shaiikh's* unwillingness to countenance in any way the debased cult of Sīlār Mas'ūd.

² Scil. Akbar.

³ مدد معاش. Either a subsistence allowance in money, or, more probably, lands held on *aima* tenure.

⁴ MS. (A) and the text have چہنی. MS. (B) has چہنی. The description of this town given in the text enables us to identify it with Chat. Chat and Ambāla (not to be confounded with the well-known military cantonment, which was in the Sirhind *Sarkār* of the *Shāba* of Dihli), together formed a *maḥall* in the *Sarkār* of the Bārī Dūāb in the *Shāba* of Lāhōr. Vide *Āin-i-Akbari* Vol. II. (trans. Jarrett), p. 318.

⁵ ولایت عرب. A vague term including both Turkish Arabia and Arabia Proper.

⁶ A *pargana* town in the district "Bīrān-i-Panjnād," (beyond the five rivers), opposite the Sind Sāgar Dūāb *Sarkār* of the *Shāba* of Multān. A.A. II. (Jarrett), 331.

⁷ خرمیدہ.

pearl,¹ was brought up under the guardianship of his elder brother, Miẓān Raḥmatu'llāh. When they set him tasks in the reading of the *Qur'ān*, tears would sometimes flow over the surface of his blessed cheeks, and he would say, "Trouble me not in respect of this matter, but leave me unto God the Most High." From this time they knew that he had no need of any acquired learning.

Couplet.

"What need had he of instruction in polite learning,

"Who was himself from the first well learned therein?"

- They say that one of the two princes of both worlds, either Imām Ḥasan or Imām Ḥusain,² (may God be gratified with them!), it cannot be decided which, taught the holy *Shaiḫ* in a dream some verses from the first chapter of the *Qur'ān*, and sometimes when he went, to refresh his heart, to watch the play of children,³ he would dejectedly and perplexedly watch them from afar, and would say, "I see their faces scratched, their bodies⁴ covered with blood, and their skin torn off, and some of them appear to me as though they had lost their heads."⁵

When, after many temporal vicissitudes and various hardships, he came to the pargana town of Satgarah,⁶ and from there to Lāhōr, he commenced to study under Maulānā Isma'il of Uch,⁷ who had received instruction from his highness the lord Maulavi

¹ درینیم *lit.* "an orphan pearl," *i.e.*, a pearl which has no peer. The double meaning of the word *ینیم* cannot be reproduced in English.

² The slaughtered sons of 'Alī and Fāṭimah, and grandsons of Muḥammad.

³ The text has *بنماشا بازی خردسالان میرفت*, but both MSS. have *بنماشای بازی خردسالان میرفت*, which is evidently the correct reading. I follow the MSS.

⁴ The text here has *بدنهای* with the *اضافه* *بای* though the word is thus written in neither MS. The mistake does not alter the sense, but it destroys the structural uniformity of the sentence.

⁵ This phrase is here used in its literal sense. The Persian has *که گویا سر ندارند*.

⁶ This must be Ṣadkhara or Ṣadkara, as it is written in the *Āin-i-Akbārī*, (both text and translation) in the *Bāri Dūāb Sarkār* of the *ḡuba* of Multān.

⁷ The well-known town in the *Sarkār* Birūn-i-Panjnād (beyond the five rivers) in the *ḡuba* of Multān. Vide *Āin-i-Akbārī*, Vol. II (trans. Jarrett), p. 331, Raverty "The *Mīhrān* of Sind," J. A. S. B., Pt. I., 1892 *passim*.

'Ārif-i-Jāmi, (may God sanctify his tomb!), and in early youth he read the commentary of Iṣfahānī¹ with such "critical acumen," that the best students from among the natives of the country, who were reading that book in class with him, stood² astonished at the perspicuous quickness of his apprehension and the clearness of his intellect, and his tutor said, "Friends, just as we, in our time, used to rejoice and contend for superiority in the sight of our respected master, so too will this lad, before long, attain to such a degree of respect that the people will³ look towards him with blessing and benediction, and from his noble and profitable words will gain advantage and excellence."⁴ At last he became a living witness (of the truth of) and (one might say) the source of (the saying), "Blessed is he who hath seen me or hath seen one who hath seen me."⁵

"My love, though he went not to school, nor wrote a line,

"By means of one glance instructed a hundred teachers in (difficult) problems."⁷

And, having attained the position of a most learned sage he was rejoiced with the good news of the sacred text, "(O David, verily have we made thee a viceregent."⁸ And at the very time when he was employed in the exercise of harsh and severe

الشَّارْحُ الْمَكْمَلُ. "El-Sharḥ El-Mokammel, commentarius absolutus de genealogiā Hasani neglecta, auctore Imam Hafiz Abu Musa Mohammed Ben Omar Medini Iṣfahānī, [anno 581 (inc. 4 Apr. 1185) mortuo]. In hoc compendio, quod ita incipit: Laus Deo, qui ex cultoribus suis eos quos vult praeter ceteros distinxit, etc., auctoritatem Hasani Ben Mostun in traditione 'Moslim de potionibus' describit." Haji Khalfa. iv. 41.

بطوری باستحقاق.

² MS. (B) has میبایند. The text rightly follows MS. (A) with میمانند.

³ MS. (B) has خواهد. The text rightly follows (A) with خواهند.

⁴ The text, following MS. (A) has استغفار. There is no such word. MS (B) has استغفار which is correct.

⁵ One of the traditional sayings of Muḥammad, in which he refers to himself.

⁷ A complet from Hāfiẓ, Ode 241 (Colonel Jarrett's edition). The text and MS. (A) have for غمزه غمزه, MS. (B) has غمزه غمزه is correct.

بَادِدَادِ اَنَا جَعَلَنَّا خَلِيفَةً. Qu'ān XXXVIII. 25.

- austerities, having conceived, by means of the attractions of God,—“which are equal to the acts of both men and *jinn*,”—a
30. strong craving after God, his spiritual holiness *Ḡhaṣṣu-'a-Ṣaḳalain* (may God be pleased with him!) evinced, in all circumstances, great interest in his progress, and became his helper, assister, and guardian, keeping his regard always fixed upon him, openly listening to and returning favourable answers to his petitions, until he perforce drew him, after the manner of beloved ones who are attracted, and attracted ones who are beloved,¹ to the court of saintship, Divine guidance, and perfection, to the closet of propinquity (to God), to the chamber of the grandeur of God, and to the resting-place of the Holiness of the Lord of Majesty. When under the influence of this strong craving after God he used to wander bare-headed and bare-foot in the desert about *Dibālpūr*,² the dwelling-place of beasts of prey, wild animals, and birds, in a spot now known as *Shirgāh* :—

Hemistich.

“We are lovers wandering in the plains of Damascus.”³

And sometimes when he went to circumambulate⁴ the blessed shrine of that holy Saint, obeyed of all the world, *Ganj-i-Shakar*,⁵ (may God sanctify his tomb!) he would there receive signs, and experience happy visions, and engage in conversation and intercourse (with the saint's spirit), a detailed account of which is beyond the limits of this hastily compiled history. They are recounted in detail in the book (known as) *Naghmat-i-Dā'ūdī*,⁶ which was written by that cream of saints and fruit of the pure

¹ *محبوبان مجذوب و مجذوبان محبوب*. The pleonasm is unavoidable.

² Or *Dipālpūr*. The chief town of a *Sarkār* of the same name in the *Ṣaba* of *Multān*, now the headquarters of the *Dipālpūr Tahsil* in the Montgomery District, Panjāb. Vide Hunter's “*Imperial Gazetteer*” iv. 303. *Ain-i-Akbari* (trans. Jarrett), Vol. II. 331 *et passim*, and Raverty's “*Mihrān of Sind*,” J. A. S. B., Pt. I., 1892 *passim*.

³ MS. (A) has, wrongly, *و مستقيم* for *و مستقيم*.

⁴ Another instance of the use by Indian Muslims of the practice of circumambulation, which should be restricted to the *Ka'bah*, at the tombs of saints.

⁵ Vide *supra*, p. 19, n. 1.

⁶ The title of this book, written in honour of *Shaiikh Dā'ūd*, evidently bears reference to the psalms of David.

at heart, Shaikh Abū-'l-Ma'ālī, the son of Shaikh Rahmatu-'llāh, already mentioned, the date of whose most fortunate birth may be deduced from the words "the beggar of Shaikh Dā'ūd,"¹ or from the words "Abū-'l-Ma'ālī, the worshipper of the true (God),"² and who is now the successor of Shaikh Miya'n Dā'ūd, (may God sanctify his soul!). When he had spent a period of twenty years, or thereabouts, in ecstatic longing after God and wandering over plains and deserts, he was inspired to revert to a regular mode of life³ and to the religious instruction of the people, but since he had had no outward religious instructor and guide he hesitated to undertake the charge, until he was initiated and appointed by his spiritual holiness Qhaṣṣ-i-A'zam⁴ for the following duty, namely, to assist, for the sake of preserving the spiritual succession, the reverend Shaikh Hāmid-i-Qādiri (may God sanctify his tomb!) who was the son of Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir the second, and the father of Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir,⁵ who at the time of writing is occupying his venerable father's place in Ucc, by drawing him (more closely) to God. And the late saint, (may God have mercy upon him!) since he had already many times asked for assistance from this disciple, who was after his own heart, and turned to him in every important business, and had asked⁶ that a *fātiḥah*⁷ might be offered up on his (the late saint's) behalf, delayed to draw up his blessed tree of spiritual succession and to issue a permit for

¹ گدای شیخ داور. $20+4+1+10+300+10+600+4+1+6+4=900$.

² ابوالمعالی حق پرست. $1+2+6+1+30+40+70+1+30+10+8+100+2+200+60+400=961$. The totals of the two chronograms differ by one. This latter chronogram is given in Abū-'l-Ma'ālī's life, on p. 103 of the text of this volume as the date of his birth, and therefore presumably gives the correct date.

³ سیر و سلوک.

⁴ An instance of the belief among Muslims leading the religious life that something which seems, according to their ideas, to correspond to the Sacrament of Orders in the Christian Church, is necessary to enable a man to start as a religious instructor of the people.

⁵ His life is given on p. 91 (text) of this volume. (Chapter II, No. XVI.)

⁶ The word التماس is omitted in MS. (B) probably by an oversight of the copyist.

⁷ Prayers offered up for the welfare of any person. Vide "*Qinān-i-Islām*," Ja'far Sharif and Herklotz, s. v. "Fateeha neeut khyr kee."

perfecting of disciples until he himself went one day to the town of Satkara,¹ where the saint (may God have mercy upon him!) had many times previously lodged, on which occasion, when under the influence of his ecstatic longing after God, he said, "Here is Shāikh Ghāng-i-A'zam (may God be pleased with him!) who has come and signifies that he entrusts to me his prayer-carpet, staff, tree of spiritual succession, horse, covered litter, and all the appurtenances of Shāikh-dom and spiritual leadership." When the saint (may God² sanctify his tomb!) was informed from on high of that occurrence, and when his knowledge of it was afterwards completely confirmed, he entrusted the divine charge committed to him to him whom his soul desired, but who appeared as though he were the seeker (not the sought after), returning from his soaring flight (of ecstasy) to ordinary intercourse (with his fellow creatures), and spread the mat of sojourning in the newly-built town of Shirgarh, near to Chati,³ and half-way between Multān and Pattan, started a new order, — the Qādirīyyah,⁴ which is midway between the two exalted orders, Sahrwardīyyah and Čishtīyyah,⁵ (blessings on them, all three, from God!) and in the Divine power and by means of close connection with the true God, he so carried forward⁶ the work that the sound issuing therefrom will not die away⁷ until the sounding of the last trump.

When Mullā 'Abdu-'llāh of Sultānpūr, who was known as Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk, girded his loins to strenuous efforts

¹ *Vide suprà*, p. 48, n. 6.

² The word الله is omitted in MS. (B). As vowel points are not used the reading of MS. (B) is to the same purport as that of the text and MS. (A), but would be literally translated, "May his tomb be sanctified."

³ MS. (B). The text and MS. (A) have بجہنی. *Vide suprà*, p. 47, n. 6.

⁴ This order must not be confounded with an older order bearing the same title, instituted in A.H. 561 (A.D. 1165-6) by Snyyid 'Abdu-'l-Qādiri-'l-Jilāni, surnamed Pir-i-Dastgir, whose shrine is at Bāghdād. The older order is the most popular religious order among the *Sunnīs* of Asia. Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*, s. v.

⁵ These orders have been already referred to. Following the names of these two orders the text wrongly has وسلسلۂ قادریہ. The conjunction must be omitted to make sense.

⁶ Both MSS. insert کے here, which makes nonsense, and is rightly omitted in the text.

⁷ Both MSS. have بنشیند, but the textual emendation is correct.

in uprooting the men of God,¹ becoming the means of the death of several of them, he sent an imperial order in the name of Salim ² *Shāh Sūr*, the Afghān, from Gwāliyar, summoning the holy *Miyān* among others, in obedience to which order the *Miyān* set out in haste with one or two attendants, and, meeting *Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk*, outside Gwāliyar, with marks of the greatest³ respect,⁴ alighted in a spot where he sat down with him, and where a beneficial conversation took place. The pernicious mischief-makers, as soon as they witnessed this conversation, fled away to every corner, so that they could not be discovered even by search being made. *Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk* said, "Their report is not on this ground (alone) falsified,"⁵ After much talk and conversation the *Shaiikh* asked "What was the real motive for summoning us religious mendicants?" *Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk* replied, "I heard that your disciples, when performing the religious exercise of *zikr*, said 'O Dā'ūd, O Dā'ūd!'" The *Shaiikh* replied "There has probably been some mistake in hearing, owing to a similarity of sounds, or else my followers must have said 'O *Wadūd*, O *Wadūd*!'"⁶ In connection with this matter the *Shaiikh* remained for a whole day, or a whole night,⁷

32.

¹ Vide Badā'oni, Vol. I. (trans. Ranking), pp. 513-525. The "men of God" referred to seem to have been the *Mahdavis*.

² *ملیم* MS. (A). The text has the corrupted form *ملیم*.

³ *تمام* omitted in MS. (B). The text rightly follows MS. (A).

⁴ The text has *یتعظیم و احترام*, erroneously. Both MSS. read *بتعظیم و احترام*.

⁵ *ازین روی دروغ نیاید*. MS. (A) has *نیاید*. The text rightly follows MS. (B).

⁶ *Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk* accused *Shaiikh Dā'ūd* of permitting his disciples to address their *zikr* (vide Hughes' "Dict. of Islam," s. v.), directly to him (*Dā'ūd*) instead of to God. *Dā'ūd* rebuts the accusation by asserting that the words actually used, which might conceivably have been mistaken for "O, Dā'ūd!" were "O, Wadūd!" i.e., "O, God!" *ودود* means "loving."

الملك الودود "the loving King" is one of the titles of God.

⁷ *یک روز با مخدوم الملک یا یک شب بود*. The editor of the text appears to be doubtful as to the meaning of the words *یک شب*, for he finds it necessary to explain in an apologetic footnote that this is the reading of each of the three MSS. to which he had access. It seems to me that the author means to say that *Dā'ūd* spent about twelve hours with *Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk*, and that he (the author) cannot say whether the conference began in the morning or in the evening.

bestowing on him sublime exhortations and advice, and imparting to him precious knowledge and facts relating to God.¹ Makh-dūmu-'l-Mulk was much affected and dismissed the *Shaiikh* from that place with honour.

On one occasion the austerity and piety of Miyān Ḥisāmu-'d-din of Ṭalamba,² may God have mercy upon him! (some of whose glorious attributes are mentioned in the *Najātu-'r-Raḥid*) happened to be the subject of conversation in the noble assembly of the *Shaiikh*, and he said "Ah, what a pity was it that the *Miyān* failed in personal desire of and love for God, and was the slave of mere morality :—

Hemistich.

"Thou hast kept one thing, and (many) things are lost to thee."

"Beware, at the last,³ from whom thou remainest apart."⁴

33 The liberality and charity of the *Shaiikh*'s disposition were such that on certain fixed occasions,⁵ either once or twice in the year, he scattered abroad in promiscuous charity⁶ all the money and goods that he had received gratuitously, and he and his chaste wife kept nothing in the cell that was their dwelling but an earthen pot and a piece of old matting, and when he saw that his treasure-chest was full he would again in the same manner disburse its contents in promiscuous charity,⁷ and notwithstanding this (profusion), on the birth-day and feast-day of the holy Ḥanaṣ-i-A'zam (may God be pleased with him!) all the needs⁸ of the pilgrims, whether of high or low degree, who, to the number of nearly a hundred thousand souls, more or less, were gathered together, were met by disbursements from the alms-chest of his hospice,

¹ معارف و حقائق ارجمند.

² Vide *supra*, p. 3, n. 4.

³ MS. (A) has اگر. The text, rightly following MS. (B), reads آخر.

⁴ MS. (B) omits باز.

⁵ The text reads در هر چند گاه. Both MSS. read در سر هر چند گاه. MS. (B) adds خود after گاه. This may or may not be an interpolation. It signifies only that the occasions were fixed by the *Shaiikh* himself.

⁶ بتاراج میدادند "he relinquished to rapine." Both MSS. read, for میدادند, میدادی. I prefer the reading of the text.

⁷ یغما میفرمودند "he ordered a raid (to be made)."

⁸ ما محتاج الیه. MS. (B) omits الیه.

and that profusion, praise be to God, is still continued, nay rather, is increased many fold. Some of the auspicious utterances of his inspired tongue, the interpreter of divine truths, are as follows ¹:—

“In the name of God, the Director and Guide in the darkness of oceans and deserts,” I have many times seen and experienced the efficiency of this holy saying in positions of fear ² and danger. Another is:—

“Praised be He in respect of Whose Essence our thoughts are bewildered,

“Praised be He in respect of the understanding of Whom our understanding soars.” ³

And there are many other examples of such prayers, praises *zīkrs* and choice phrases, and the signet-ring posy of that holy man, composed by himself, was as follows:—

“Dā‘ūd has been effaced in name and trace

“For poverty effaces all traces.”

When I, the author of these pages, in the time of Bairām Khān, (that best of times, when India was as a bride,⁴) was a student in Agra, I heard from certain *darvishes* great reports of the *Shāikh*'s noble and majestic attributes, and from that time forward I sowed the seed of attachment to and trust in him in the ground of preparation (for meeting him) and was in secret a slave to this desire (of meeting him).

34.

Hemistich.

“Aye, verily ⁵ doth the ear, in true lovers, outstrip⁶ the eye.”

¹ اینست, omitted in MS. (A).

² مخاوف. MS. (B) has مخلوقات which does not make sense.

³ Both MSS. read تطهير, and there is a footnote in the text giving this as the reading of the MSS. It is, however, wrong. The reading of the text (تنطير) is probably correct, though it is not very good Arabic.

⁴ Badaoni's abhorrence of the infidelity of Abu'l-Fa'z and Akbar's later advisers causes him to forget his abhorrence of the *Shā'ah* tenets of Bairām Khān.

⁵ آری آری. MS. (B) has رای رای, which is nonsense.

⁶ پیش میبرد text. MS. (A) has پیش, which reading I prefer, as it seems to me that میبرد would accompany پیش more fitly than میشود, I have nevertheless translated the phrase by “outstrip” rather than by “excel.” The meaning does not suffer. The reading of MS. (B) is not different.

And at that very time I repeatedly made attempts to go and pay my respects to that holy man, clothing myself in the pilgrim's garment meet for the circumambulation of that threshold around which the angels do go, and set out¹ for *Shīrghāh* (with this object). But sometimes my father, who has now obtained pardon and forgiveness of his sins, withstood me and turned me back in the way, and sometimes I was let by other hindrances, which were the means of disappointing me of the fruition of that good fortune.

• A period of twelve years passed over me, thus expectant, before one of the servants of that court, *Shāikh Kālū* by name, a solitary traveller, who had himself² formerly been the means of my secret knowledge of the *Shāikh*, like the *humā*, from hidden regions cast his shadow on *Bādāon* and its environs, and said to me, "Is it not a pity that the holy *Miyān* (*Shāikh Dā'ūd*) should be in the land of the living and that you should (be content to) rest with hope unfulfilled and should not even once see him?" This soul-subduer kindled a fire in my perplexed soul, and the Most High God provided the means (of the fulfilment of my desire), for *Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān*, in whose³ personal service I was, went in pursuit of *Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mirzā* from *Kānt u Gūla*⁴ towards the *Panjab*, and the means of attaining that happiness were thus prepared⁵ for me, so that, as has been already mentioned,⁶ I went to *Shīrghāh* from *Lāhōr*, and saw with my own eyes a portion of the (spiritual) beauty of the holy man—and what possessor of beauty can be compared to him? As he smiled and spoke light sparkled from his teeth,⁷ a light which illuminated the dark abode of the

¹ The verb *شد* is omitted in both MSS. and rightly inserted in the text.

² The text has *همون*. Both MSS. read *همو*, which is correct.

³ *که* wrongly omitted in MS. (A).

⁴ Vide *Bādāoni*, Vol. II (text), p. 153. These events happened in the year H. 981 (A.D. 1573-4). *Kānt u Gūla* (*Shāhjahānpur*) was *Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān's jagir*.

⁵ *مهیا کردند* MS. (B) has *مهیا گردید*.

⁶ *بطوریکه سابقه تجریر یافت* (text). Both MSS. have *سابقا*. The sense is not affected.

⁷ *نوری از نلبای مبارک ایشان میخافت*. The literal translation of this ("a light sparkled from his auspicious incisors") reads so very grotesquely in English that I have softened the expression of *Bādāoni's* almost idolatrous veneration for the *Shāikh*. In plain English the phrase means no more than that the holy man shewed his teeth when he smiled.

heart, and from which the secret of the Countenance of God was manifested. In short for the space of three or four days I acquired some advantage from this transitory life.

Few days passed on which Hindus, to the number of fifty or a hundred, more or less (on each day), did not come with their families and kindred to pay their respects to that holy man, receiving the high honour of conversion to Islam, and obtaining instruction in the faith.¹ I found the gates and walls and trees and dwellings of that delectable town filled with the sound of the telling of rosaries and the reciting of God's praises, and the *Shakh* bestowed on me his auspicious cap, saying:² "Be³ thou my deputy to thine own people, for (thus to appoint a deputy) is my wont," and he sent a kerchief and a veil from his chaste wife⁴ to my wives⁵ and children, and when I made a representation to him, saying, "If you bestow on me the gift of a shirt, it will be light upon light." After some reflection he said "That also will arrive in due time." Having disclosed to him some of the secrets of my heart and my designs and intentions, I endeavoured to obtain leave to depart. At this point⁶ that holy man left his *mayud* in his closed travelling litter, owing to his great weakness, and set out for my first halting-place. I, taking the pole of the litter on my shoulder, walked for some paces with it. While I was thus employed a powerful fit of weeping overcame me, and the *Shakh*, stopping the litter, said, "Put me down." He alighted, and sat down, and spoke so much of the knowledge and love of God, the Most High, that my agitation re-doubled. One day, at the time of

¹ Badami's enthusiasm probably leads him into some exaggeration here. Taking the number 'fifty or a hundred' to be about seventy-five, and supposing that these conversions were made on two hundred days in each year—a very mild rendering of the author's statement—we should have a result of 15,000 converts *per annum*.

² The text rightly follows MS. (B) with *فرموده*. MS. (A) has *فرموده*, which is incorrect.

³ MS. (B) incorrectly omits the word *دانی*.

⁴ *Let* 'the folk of the house of purity,' a circumlocution in strict accordance with Muslim etiquette.

⁵ The text reads *منعلقان*. Both MSs. have *معلقات*, which I prefer.

⁶ *در این میان*. MS. (B) has *در اینجا*, a misspelling due to the employment in speaking of the *عند هذن*.

leave-taking, I represented, through Miyān 'Abdu-'l-Wahhāb, one of the *Shāikh's* sincere companions, (to whom is applicable the text), "Blessedness awaiteth them and a goodly home,"¹ that a report was current among the holy men of Hindustān that the time for the rising of a religious leader was at hand, that most of that body, (i.e., the holy men,) concurred in fixing on one of the Sayyids of that country, whose ancestors had formerly been seated on the throne of empire in Dihli and 'Badāon for some time,² that they were engaged in making preparations for a holy war and in collecting arms,³ that they professed to have received directions⁴ from the holy *Ghaus-i-A'zam*⁵ (may God be pleased with him!) to engage in this affair, and that they had implicated with themselves some of the *Amirs* on the frontier, and that some of them professed to have received supernatural encouragement during their assemblies and when they were in difficulties, and purposed to bring the object of their desire to an issue. The *Shāikh* asked me, "What is that *Sayyid's* mode of life, and condition?" I said "He is a man who lives a retired life, in holy poverty,⁶ conformably to the sacred law, a recluse and an ascetic who has resigned himself to God, passing most of his days among the tombs (of holy men) and his nights in his cell in worship and submission to God, but he is a

36.

طوبى لهم وحسن مآب ١ Qu'an XIII 28

¹ This was evidently a descendant of Sultān 'Alā'u-d-Dīn ibn-i-Muhammad Shāh ibn-i-Mubarak Shāh ibn-i-Khizr Khān, the last Emperor of the Sayyid dynasty. Vide Badāoni, Vol. I, (trans. Ranking), pp. 400-402. This dynasty was not exterminated as was the usual custom when an usurpation of the throne took place, but the last Emperor was, in accordance with his own request, permitted by Bahlul Lōdi, the usurper, to retire to Badāon. It seems that Badāoni himself, disgusted with the fashionable infidelity, favoured the claims of this pretended *Mahdi*.

² و omitted in MS. (B)

³ ما موريم. MS. (B) has ما موريم, which is nonsense.

⁴ Vide *supra* for the biography of *Ghaus-i-A'zam*. MS. (B) has the Arabic form *Ghanthū-'l-A'dham*.

⁵ The text here has the particle و, which is in neither MS. Its interpolation is unidiomatic.

man of good family,¹ unrivalled and incomparable in his knowledge of the military art, of excellent moral character and following a most worthy mode of life." The *Shaiikh* said "The members of that body (i.e., the holy men), are no true *darrishes*, in that they so traduce the holy *Ghaus*,² and do him violence now that he can no longer help himself,³ and those spiritual encouragements and signs are all part of the delusions of Satan, for how could the holy *Ghaus* (may God be pleased with him!) countenance such matters as this, he whose rule it always was that the people should expel the love of the world from their hearts, and, in all candour and sincerity, should set their faces towards the love of God, the Most High, abandoning vain desires and lusts, and not that one should turn aside from the path of worship, asceticism and holy endeavour to fall again into the net of the world, which is the enemy of God? Say to that *Sayyid* from me, "May God the Most High vouchsafe to you grace to stand fast in the path which you hold. If the least suspicion of any desire for evanescent delights remains (in your heart), it behoves you to strive to overcome it, and not to be beguiled by the impostures and misrepresentations of a bewildered band of know-nothings,⁴ thereby straying from the path. Though the lover of the world should attain to kingship,—the supreme object of worldly men, and the seeker after the (sensual) joys of paradise⁵ should reach the rewards bestowed by the Everlasting God, that is, the maidens and mansions⁶ of the next world, and

¹ قبيله دار. Possibly "a married man with a family," but I prefer the translation which I have given, on account of what follows. The assertion that the religious *Sayyid* was a married man would make the statement that he was acquainted with the art of war a *non sequitur*. The assertion that he is of imperial descent gives a reason for his knowledge of that art.

² The text here inserts رضى الله عنه. These words are in neither MS. and I have omitted them.

³ وراه آن بيجاړه ميزند. lit "commit highway robbery on that helpless one" *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*.

⁴ جمع پریشان نادان. The paradox contained in the expression cannot well be expressed in English.

⁵ طالب آخرت. (B) has آخر, evidently a copyist's error. The context clearly shows that this expression is used here for one who is religious solely for the purpose of attaining to the sensual joys promised to good Muslims in the next world.

⁶ The text has حرر تصور. Both MSS. have the conjunction و, which the sense requires.

the lover of God¹ should die of grief from the utter hopelessness of attaining his object, yet is the disappointment of this last a thousand-fold² better and more happy than the fruition and

37. attainment of desire experienced by the former two classes of poor-spirited men." And the *Shaiikh*, speaking on this subject, scattered amongst us so many jewels of profitable advice that pearl-like tears began to fall from the eyes of those that heard him, upon the skirts of their robes, and, that (worldly) object being forgotten, we were thrown into quite a different frame of mind, one above description, and³ in that state of burning anguish I bade the *Shaiikh* adieu, uttering cries of grief.

"My heart, in the hope that one cry might perchance reach thee,

"Has uttered in this mountain lamentations such as were never uttered by Farhād."

And since the roads between Lāhōr and Shīrghāh were, in consequence of the rebellion⁴ of the *Ulugh Baigi Mirzās*,⁵ closed, both at the time of my going to Shīrghāh and at the time of my return, and as I was alone, the *Shaiikh* gave me an attendant as a guide, who was to take me to *Shaiikh* Abū Ishāq-i-Mihrang in Lāhōr,⁶ one of the most noted of the holy man's deputies, in order that he might arrange to send me with a caravan to the army of Ḥusain Khān, which had come to Lāhōr from Tālamba, and was to proceed thence to Kānt-u-Gūla. "When I reached Lāhōr I set out for Hindustān with Ḥusain Khān's men." I was

¹ I.e., he who loves God for His own sake, irrespective of any hope of reward. Cf. S. Francis Xavier's hymn, "O Deus, ego amo te!"

² هزار بار. Both MSS. have هزار هزار. The reading of the text appears to me to be preferable.

³ The text omits و, though both MSS. have it.

⁴ فترت. (B) has قراوت, which makes nonsense.

⁵ I understand this phrase to mean the Mirzās who were, with their relative Ulugh Mirzā (not Ulugh Baig Mirzā, who was a younger brother of 'Umar Shaiikh Mirzā and uncle of Bābar) in rebellion.

⁶ His biography is given on p. 48 (text) of this volume, but no reference is made to the title مهرنگ. In the reading I follow MS. (A). The text and MS. (B) have مہرنگ. The *Āin-i-Akbari* (Calcutta text I, 233) reads فرنگ.

sitting one day at our halting-place at Sahāranpūr¹ in a garden, consumed with grief at my separation from that holy man, when a traveller brought to me a *Qādiri*² shirt, which he had in his hand, saying, "Take this, which I received from the hand of a venerable saint, and give me something to help me on my way."³ When I questioned him as to the truth of the matter he said, "When Mirzā Ibrāhīm Ḥusain met with that mischance⁴ I, with a party of his troops, overwhelmed with misfortune and a prey to plunderers, arrived stripped and naked at Shīrghāh, where we attached ourselves to the holy saint, our helper, and he gave something to each of us. When my turn came round he took this shirt off his blessed body, and bestowed it upon me. I, thinking that it would be irreverent to wear it, deposited it in safe custody, with a view to taking it away to some place as a rare gift; and now I leave it with you." I received from him that mysteriously conveyed gift, that treasure wafted to me by the wind, as though it had been a blessing and benediction.

38.

Verses.

The perfume of thy shirt has reached me,
My soul was ravished by that sweet odour.
I had offered a *fātiḥah*⁵ for union with thee,
Praise be to God that my *fātiḥah* was accepted.

And, remembering the word that he had spoken, I regarded this occurrence as a miracle,⁶ and I now preserve that Joseph's coat⁷ as I preserve my life—and praise be to God for all this!

¹ The chief town of the *Sarkār* of the same name in the *ḡaba* of Dillī. Now the headquarters of the District of the same name in the N.-W. P.

² This expression seems to have puzzled the editor of the text, for he appends a footnote stating that it occurs in all the three MSS. to which he had access. The *Qādiri* shirt was probably a shirt of a distinctive pattern or cut, worn by the *Qādiriyyah* order of ascetics, founded by *Shaiḫh* Dā'ūd.

³ پارے خرچ رہا. Both MSS. have, wrongly, خرچ رہا.

⁴ Scil. when his army was defeated at Talamba. Vide Badāonī, text, vol. II., pp. 157, 158.

⁵ A prayer for the attainment of an object, the recitation of the فاتحة or first chapter of the *Qur'ān* being part of the exercise.

⁶ It is quite possible that the soldier may have been instructed by *Shaiḫh* Dā'ūd to deliver the shirt to Badāonī, without mentioning that he was merely a messenger.

⁷ Lit. "Joseph's shirt." The reference is obvious.

Verses.

And as I have been the companion of desire for his excellency
From the cradle, I hope that (that desire) will continue to
the grave.

Verses.

Desire for thee within my mind, and love for thee within my
heart,
Did enter me with mother's milk, and with my life will leave
me.

The following is a brief account of that holy man. He was the
cynosure¹ of his time, an inspired prophet, and a worker of
wonders and manifest miracles, giving clear proofs of his sanctity.²
He had undergone severe discipline³ and in holy endeavour had
striven much. In early life⁴ he acquired exoteric knowledge
and had also been engaged in teaching. He had resigned himself
to God and lived an eremite, going never to the houses of worldly
men but once, when in obedience to the (royal) command he
went from Shīrghāh to Gwāliyār to see Salīm Shāh,⁵ and
although the *Khalifah* of the age,⁶ when he was proceeding to
Patan sent Shāhbāz Khān⁷ to summon the *Shaiikh* to bestow
on him the honour of a visit, the *Shaiikh* made his excuses, saying,
39. "My secret prayers are sufficient." He avoided to the utmost
of his power the companionship of the lords of the earth,

¹ *قطب*, literally "the pole-star," "the pivot on which everything turns, or the point of attraction." "Cynosure," as used by Milton, fairly represents the sense in English.

² The text has *حجج*. MS. (B) has *حج*, and MS. (A) has *حج*, which has been altered to *حجج*. *حجج* is without doubt the true reading.

³ The text follows MS. (A) with *رباعيات*. (B) has *رباعيت*.

⁴ *هدايت*—Text and MS. (A). MS. (B) has *هدايت*, which is wrong.

⁵ *Vide supra*, p. 53, n. 2. The text has the corrupted form *اسليم*, also the MSS.

⁶ *Scil.* the Emperor Akbar, who went to Gujarāt in A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573-4).

⁷ Shāhbāz Khān-i-Kāmbū. *Vide Ain-i-Akbari* I. (trans. Blochmann's) 399. Shāhbāz Khān was probably selected for the mission as being, himself, of a holy family.

investing himself with the cloak of "Poverty is my glory." ¹ He was constant in almsgiving, and in pointing out to searchers after truth the path of holiness, and whosoever was so aided by fortune as to be led to the *Shaiikh* received great profit from the precious utterances of that blessing of the age and cynosure ² of the world. In the year H. 982 (A.D. 1574-5) his tent was pitched under the curtain of the Majesty of God the Most High, and in the Court of union with Him, may His glory be exalted! The words "Ah, *Shaiikh* Dā'ūd the Saint!" ³ were found to give the date (of his death). May God bestow upon him His boundless mercy, and raise us with him in that hour when all shall be gathered together. ⁴

XVII. *SHAIKH* ^b AHAN OF AMROHA. ⁶

He was a traveller in the path (of righteousness) and was mysteriously attracted (by the love of God), but notwithstanding this he neglected not one jot of the observances of the pure Law. ⁷ Many miracles are related as having been performed

¹ A saying of Muḥammad. It is related that a beggar came to Muḥammad complaining that he was poor. Muḥammad replied "Poverty is my glory." Shortly afterwards a second beggar approached with the same complaint. Muḥammad replied, "Poverty is disgrace both in this world and the next." On being asked by his companions how these two apparently contradictory sayings could be reconciled, he said, "Did ye not see that the first man had forsaken the world, while the second had been forsaken by the world?"

² *قبلة*, the point towards which all face in prayer. "Cynosure" does not literally translate either *قبلة* or *قطب* (*vide supra*) but it is the nearest word we have in English to these words in the sense in which they occur in the text.

³ *يا شيخ داود ولي*. $10 + 1 + 300 + 10 + 600 + 4 + 1 + 6 + 4 + 6 + 30 + 10 = 982$.

⁴ For another account of Badā'uni's visit to this saint *vide* Badā'uni, vol. II. (text), pp. 156, 157. Ḥusain *Khān*, Badā'uni's patron, also visited him about the same time, *vide* Badā'uni II., 156.

⁵ A footnote in the text gives "*Sayyid*" as a variant, but both MSS. have "*Shaiikh*."

⁶ A *pargana* town in the *sarkār* of Sambhal, *Śāba* Dillī. *Vide* *Āin-i-Akhari*, vol. II. (trans. Jarratt), 289.

⁷ That is to say that the *Shaiikh*, though a *Sūfi*, observed the ceremonial and ritual law. This is mentioned as something uncommon, for *Sūfis* believe that their supposed close union with God absolves them from the obligation of such observances.

by him. He lived and received disciples without pomp or ceremony. When I after waiting upon the holy Miyān Shaiḫ Dā'ūd¹ (may his honoured tomb be sanctified!) was returning from the Panjāb and travelled to Badāon by way of Amroha, I paid my respects to the *Sayyid* already mentioned.² He read a verse from the glorious word (of God), and delivered an address, not on any fixed theme,³ but now and again he would turn to me and make some remarks on the excellence of the reward and recompense⁴ reserved for the long-suffering, and he quoted the blessed text "But good works, which are lasting..."⁵ and so on to the end of the verse. And it afterwards⁶ became manifest that this was an indication of the occurrence of a calamity which happened to me. The facts were briefly thus: I had a daughter,

¹ *Vide supra*, in the account of Shaiḫ Dā'ūd's life (No. XVI).

² Scil. Shaiḫ Aban. His being here styled "the *Sayyid*" may account for the variant referred to in note 5 on the preceding page.

³ لَا عَلَى التَّعْيِينِ, may be translated either as above, or by "not by appointment," which would mean that the discourse was not one of a regular series or delivered at a time when the Shaiḫ was in the habit of delivering an address. The text and MS. (B) have التَّعْيِينِ, MS. (A) has التَّعْيِينِ, which is better.

⁴ أَجْر. MS. (B) has أَجْر, evidently a copyist's error.

⁵ These words, وَمَا يَبْقَى الصَّالِحَاتِ occur twice in the *Qur'ān*, once in *Surah* XVIII. 44.

وَمَا يَبْقَى الصَّالِحَاتِ خَيْرٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّكَ ثَوَابًا وَخَيْرٌ أَمْلاً

"But good works, which are lasting, are better in the sight of thy Lord as to recompense, and better as to hope."

And in *Surah* XIX. 79.

وَمَا يَبْقَى الصَّالِحَاتِ خَيْرٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّكَ ثَوَابًا وَخَيْرٌ مَرَدًا

"And good works, which are lasting, are better in the sight of thy Lord as to recompense, and better in the issue (than all worldly possessions)."

It was probably the second of these two texts that the Shaiḫ quoted, for the former is but a portion of a verse, while the latter is a complete verse. There is, however, no real difference between the meanings of the two passages. There is a difference of one word only in the Arabic and this difference in no way alters the sense in either case.

⁶ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ. MS. (A) has بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ.

whom I dearly loved, and while I was on this journey¹ she passed away in Badāon from this deceitful world. Probably those consoling subjects were (mentioned) for the comfort of my heart—but God knows all! 40.

The Shāikh's death occurred in the year H. 987 (A.D. 1579).

XVIII. KHĀJA 'ABDU-'SH-SHAHĪD.

He was the orthodox successor of Khājagān² Khāja who was the true successor of the holy Khāja-yi-Ahrār (may God sanctify their souls!). When Khāja 'Abdu-'sh-Shahīd was born he was taken to the holy Khāja-yi-Ahrār, who took him in his arms and said "He will be a wise man." The revered Khāja was perfect both in outward appearance and in inward qualities.³ He practised severe austerities,⁴ striving much in the path of holiness, and was a compendium of all such perfection as man can attain to. The people acquired grace from the precious utterances of that model of virtuous men, being directed thereby in the path of righteousness and godly living.⁵ He walked in the footsteps of the holy Khāja-yi-Ahrār (may God sanctify his tomb!).

Coming from Samarqand to India he remained here for seventeen years, and in the year H. 982 (A.D. 1574-5) he said, "The time of my departure draws nigh, and I have been commanded to convey this handful of bones, of which I am composed, to the burying place of my ancestors in Samarqand." He then set out for Samarqand, and on his arrival at Kābul it happened that Mirzā Shāh Rukh had just taken the people of Kābul captive, and was returning with them to Badakhshān.⁶ By means of the intercession of the Khāja nearly ten thousand persons obtained deliverance from the bonds of tyrants and oppressors. Two or

¹ The particle كه is wrongly omitted from the text, which follows MS. (B). The reading of MS. (A) is correct.

² The text and (B) have خواجه which makes no sense as a name, unless we take it to be a corruption consequent on the use of the قند هند as the correct reading, as in MS. (A).

³ Or, perhaps, "in exoteric and esoteric knowledge."

⁴ The text follows MS. (A) with رياضات. (B) has رياضت.

⁵ The text and MS. (B) have طريقه سلوك. MS. (A) has طريقه و سلوك. The difference does not affect the sense.

⁶ Vide "*Ain-i-Akbari*," vol. I. (trans. Blochmann), p. 312.

41. three days after his arrival in Samarqand he bade farewell to this evanescent world,¹ and was buried beside his noble ancestors. The Khāja's dignity is so high² that there is no necessity to attempt to establish it by a recital of the wonders and miracles worked by that essence of perfect qualities. The writer of these lines saw from afar the comeliness of the holy Khāja when he came to bid farewell to the Khālifah of the age, on the occasion when the Imperial Camp, at the time of its return from Patna³ had arrived⁴ in the district of Bhūngāon and Paṭiyāli⁵ but I did not attain to the happiness of attending⁶ on him, or to the good fortune of approaching⁷ him. The peace of God be upon him and upon⁸ his noble ancestors.

XIX. SHAIKH ADHAN OF JAUNPŪR.⁹

(On him be God's mercy and acceptance.)

He was the disciple of his own venerable father, Shaiikh Bahā'u-d-din, of the Chishtī¹⁰ order, who was, in his time, deferred

¹ MS. (B) has for جهان فانی which is correct, جهانی فانی which is altogether incorrect.

² MS. (B) has, for عالمتر، عالیتتر، which does not make sense.

³ This is spelt پتنه in both MSS. a spelling which is quite correct in Persian, in which language the letter ت does not exist. The editor of the text has Indianized it into पटना.

⁴ MS. (A) has رسیده بود. The text and MS. (B) omit the auxiliary. The reading of MS. (A) is preferable.

⁵ Two pargana towns in the *sarkār* of Kannauj, Śāba Āgra. Vide A. A. II. (trans. Jarrett), pp. 184, 185.

⁶ ملازمت wrongly omitted from MS. (B).

⁷ مجاورت. MS. (B) has, instead, صحاورت, which would mean "holding converse with." I have adopted the reading of MS. (A), followed in the text, (A) being, in my opinion, a better authority to follow than (B). Apart from the question of authority I see no reason to prefer مجاورت to صحاورت.

⁸ These words (و علی) are omitted from MS. (B). Their omission destroys the sense.

⁹ The principal town of the *sarkār* of the same name in the Śāba of Ilāhābās or Ilāhābād. It was for a time the capital of a Muḥammadan kingdom. It is now the head-quarters station of the Jaunpur District, N.-W. P.

¹⁰ This order has been already described.

to¹ by the holy men of the age. He reached the full period of man's natural life,² nay, he exceeded it, for his sons, being seventy or eighty years of age, attended him, likewise his grandsons, in their degrees.³ He spent the best part of his life wholly and completely in worship and in acquiring the knowledge of God.

Although he had acquired much exoteric knowledge, yet he never gave instruction therein. He possessed to the highest degree perception of God, a keen longing after ecstatic songs and dances, and the faculty of being overcome by religious ecstasy.⁴ In spite of his bodily feebleness, and constitutional weakness, and the languor which prevailed over all his limbs, which were such that he could hardly arise from his couch⁵ to perform the ceremonial ablutions, the prayers and other⁶ necessary acts without the assistance of his attendants, yet, whenever he heard the strains⁷ of holy song he would arise in ecstasy and would involuntarily⁸ join in the dance, with such violence and strength that several persons could not, by their bodily power, restrain him.⁹ Similarly in the case of the ritual prayers, he would perform the recitation of the sayings of Muḥammad and the supererogatory prayers¹⁰ in a sitting posture, and after he

¹ مقلدا. *Lit.* "He who is followed." MS. (B) wrongly omits the verb *يرد*.

² عمر طبيعي. MS. (A) has, wrongly, *عمري طبيعي*.

³ A free translation of *براین قیاس*, the meaning of which is clear.

⁴ ذوق و سماع و حالت. These Sūfī-istic terms have already been explained. Vide *Ittilāḥāt-uṣ-Ṣūfyyah* (Sprenger). It is possible that the word ذوق may be used here in its ordinary sense, in which case the words "perception of God" would be omitted from the translation.

⁵ محل آرام. "The place where he took his ease"

⁶ MS. (B) wrongly inserts the conjunction *و* here, destroying the sense of the passage.

⁷ آواز, for which (B) has, incorrectly, *آوازي*.

⁸ بی طاقتي, a most clumsy phrase, which I cannot believe to be the correct reading, though both MSS., followed by the text, have it. The expression, clumsy and unidiomatic as it is, may have been used ironically, in which case the meaning of the passage would be "He displayed such weakness in his caperings that...etc."

⁹ MS. (A) omits *او*.

¹⁰ من و نوافل. Exercises not enjoined on all, but practised by such as lay claim to sanctity.

had been lifted up and had been placed in the posture for commencing the ritual prayers¹ he performed them standing, without any need of help. And it is matter of common notoriety that miracles, which came as naturally to him as eating and drinking, were performed by him without any ostentation. He left a numerous progeny, of auspicious disposition, and his wise sons, gray-bearded men, used to sit on either side of him in his illustrious assembly, for the purpose of receiving instruction, in such numbers that he who entered would be in doubt as to which was the holy *Shaiikh* and which were his offspring. He compiled so many treatises of his sayings regarding the divine law, the path of holiness, and the Truth, that they are beyond the reckoning of ordinary people, nay of most of those who are specially endowed,² nor can the hand of any imperfect and lewd person even touch the skirt of the interpreter of those divine secrets.

The following fact (also) gave rise to suspicion, namely, that when the *Khalifah* of the Age led his forces on the second occasion against Jaunpūr,³ with a view to repelling and overthrowing his enemies, and there yet remained a three days' journey between the Imperial camp and Jaunpūr, the *Shaiikh* died in the city,⁴ drawing over the face of his existence the veil of concealment from this transitory world, and becoming thereby the verifier of (the text):—"Nay, rather, they are living in the sight of their Lord."⁵

The writer of these pages never had the honour of waiting upon that pattern for the world.⁶

1 حريمه مي بست .

2 خواص . Badā'uni is evidently referring to those learned in theological bibliography.

3 The expedition against Jaunpūr in 968 A.H. (A.D. 1561) must be the one referred to here. The date does not coincide with the date of the *Shaiikh's* death, and I am unable to account for the discrepancy. I can find no mention of an expedition against Jaunpūr in A.H. 970. Vide Badā'uni II. (text), 48, 49.

4 بلد مذکورہ . MS. (A) has بلد مذکورہ , which is more elegant.

5 Qur'an iii. 163. The whole verse:—

وَلَا تَحْسَبَنَّ الَّذِينَ قُتِلُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ أَمْوَاتًا بَلْ أَحْيَاءٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّهِمْ يُرْزَقُونَ .

"And repute not those slain on God's path to be dead : Nay, rather, alive with their Lord they are provided for."

6 آفاق . Lit. "horizons."

His death occurred in the year H. 970 (A.D. 1562-3) and the words "Shaiikh Adhan"¹ were found to give the date of his death.

XX. SHAIKH 'ABDU-'L-GHAṬūr OF A'ZAMPŪR.

A'zampūr² is a *pargana* town in the *Sarkār* of Sambal. The Shaiikh was the disciple of Shaiikh 'Abdu-'l-Quddūs, of the *Cishṭī* order.³ He was perfect both in form and in inward qualities. He underwent severe discipline and strove⁴ much in the way of holy endeavour. Divine grace was his companion in the following of the footsteps of the holy seal of prophecy,⁵—may God bless and give peace to him and his family! He used very soon to obtain influence over any one who was thrown into his company, and how little adaptable soever a student might be, the attractions of the Shaiikh would carry him beyond himself and would make him, even against his will,⁶ inclined to the Shaiikh's service.

The Shaiikh spent most of his time in giving instruction in religious knowledge. His eloquent words were peace to the turbulent heart, and his wonder working tongue balm to the longing soul. In beauty of form and sweetness of disposition he was chief among his contemporaries. He received disciples and exhorted and advised the people. He wrote treatises on the mysticism of the *Sūfis*. In truth there can be no manner of doubt as to the Shaiikh's perfections of body and mind. After planting his footsteps within the circumference of (what is understood by the saying) "Octogenarians are God's own freed men,"⁷ he took his departure, in the course of the year H. 985

¹ $300 + 10 + 600 + 1 + 4 + 5 + 50 = 970$.

² Vide *Ain-i-Akhari* II. (trans. Jarrett), 289.

³ A short account of this order has already been given.

⁴ MS. (B) wrongly omits the word کرد here.

⁵ I.e., Muhammad, styled "the seal of the prophets" as being the last to whom a divine revelation is to be entrusted. The expression ختمی پنا cannot be literally translated into English. It signifies "one in whom the sealing, or completion of prophecy finds its refuge"—a clumsy phrase in English but very concise and expressive in Persian.

⁶ بی اختیار.

⁷ That is, freed from sin. This is one of the "sayings" of Muhammad.

(A.D. 1577-8) for the eternal mansions, and was buried in A'zampūr. May God magnify his dignity!

XXI. MIYÂN VAJHU-'D-DĪN OF AḤMADĀBĀD.¹

He was descended ² of the line of 'Alī, but he was not wont to proclaim his descent, on account of his being a foreigner.³ He was one of the greatest of the learned men of the age, excelling in devotion, piety, and holy endeavour,⁴ turning not aside from the path of the law, and, firmly seated in the corner of contentment, was constantly occupied in giving religious⁵ instruction. His grasp of all branches of knowledge, both of those which demand the exercise of the reasoning faculty and of those which depend upon the memory,⁶ was such that there was hardly a standard work, from light treatises on accident⁷ to books of law and medicine and the commentary on the *Miftāḥ* ⁸ and the '*Aẓudī* ⁹

¹ The capital of Gujarāt.

² نَسَب. Both MSS. have نَسَبَت, but the emendation in the text appears to be correct. If the reading of the MSS. be correct then we have an additional reason for the *Miyān*'s refusal to claim descent from 'Alī. Vide the following note.

³ So I understand بَجْتِ غُرَبَت. The meaning seems to be that the *Shāikh*'s ancestors had so long ago left Arabia that he wisely refrained from claiming a descent which was perhaps not borne out by documentary evidence and was not likely to be generally accepted. It may be that the *Miyān*'s descent was in the female line, in which case he would not rank as a *Savvīd*.

⁴ MS. (B) has مَجَاهِد for مَجَاهِد. This is clearly a copyist's error.

⁵ دِینِی, in neither MS. I am not aware of the authority for its insertion in the text, but it seems to me to be correct.

⁶ علوم عقلی و نقلی. The Persian phrase cannot be neatly and concisely translated into English.

⁷ صرف هوائی. This expression has puzzled me and the translation is conjectural. I have consulted learned Persians and natives of India on the subject. Shams-i-'l-'Ulumā Shāikh Mahmūd-i-Gilāni suggests صرف لوائی, but I can learn of no book with this title. I am of opinion that the reading of the text and MSS. is certainly wrong.

⁸ *Miftāḥu-'l-'Ulum* (clavis doctrinarum). Vide Vol. I. (trans. Ranking), 428, note 2.

⁹ El-Adhodi, liber *Adhodi* grammaticus, quem Imām Abu Alī (Hasan Ben Ahmed) Fārisi Grammaticus, anno [377 (inc. 3. Mai. 987)] mortuus, principi *Adhod-ed-dierlet* composuit. H.K. 8158.

which he had not either written a commentary on or annotated, and the people were continually profited by his auspicious sayings, God, may He be praised, is known by his epithet, "the Healer," and He made the *Miyāh* a manifestation of that name, so that every day the sick and afflicted, in countless numbers,¹ used to wait upon him and beseech him to pray for them, and would speedily experience the effects of that prayer. He never went of his own accord to the houses of worldly men, but only once or twice in the course of his life, and then in obedience to a summons, and unwillingly.² He did not even leave³ his house and private *masjid* for the Friday congregational prayers.

His house was the resort of the greatest and best men of the age. In his dress and mode of life he was in no way distinguished from the common people, and contented himself with coarse raiment, distributing in charity whatever he received by way of alms.

He received his religious instruction from *Shaikh* Muḥammad Ghaṣ ^{44.} and followed his rule, although he had been the accredited disciple of another. He completed his studies with the *Shaikh*, drinking deeply and with relish of the fount of *Sūfi*-ism.

When *Shaikh* Muḥammad Ghaṣ went from Hindūstān to Gujarāt, in the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujarāt,⁵ *Shaikh* 'Alī Mutaqqī,⁶ one of the greatest *Shaikhs*, most influential religious leaders and greatest sages of that time, wrote a *fatwā*.⁷

¹ The text has لا تعد ولا تحصى جمع feminine. The reading of the MSS. لا يعد ولا يحصى is correct.

² MS. (A) has و after اكره. The text (B) omit it.

³ نمانده قدم is the reading of both MSS. and of the text. It does not make sense, and seems to me to be a copyist's error for نمانده. As such I have treated it. MS. (B) has قدم for قدم. The latter is correct. The fact here stated is mentioned to shew the *Miyān's* great dislike of publicity. According to the Muḥammadan ritual law the Friday prayers should be recited in the congregation, i.e., in the public *masjid*.

⁴ No. III. *supra*.

⁵ I.e., during the reign of Shīr Shāh in Dillī. It was in consequence of Shīr Shāh's ill-treatment of him that Muḥammad Ghaṣ fled to Gujarāt. *Vide supra*, in the account of Muḥammad Ghaṣ, No. III.

⁶ MS. (B) wrongly reads متقي for متقي.

⁷ A legal decision delivered by a recognized doctor of the law on any point of the Muḥammadan ritual or religious law. The *fatwā* in this case would probably declare that Muḥammad Ghaṣ was worthy of death as a heretic, the execution of the sentence being left to the secular power.

for the execution of Shaikh Muḥammad Qhaṣ, and the Sultān abrogated it¹ at the instance² of Miyān Vajihu-'d-Din. When Miyān Vajihu-'d-Din went on the first occasion to the Shaikh's house he was powerfully attracted by his face, and tore up the fatwā,³ and Shaikh 'Ali came, beside himself (with rage), to the Miyān's house, and rent his clothes and said, "Why do you assent to the spread of heresy, and to a schism in the faith?"⁴ He answered, "We follow the letter and the Shaikh's the spirit."⁵ Our understanding cannot reach his perfections and (even), as far as the letter of the law⁶ goes, no exception, by which he could be pronounced blameworthy, can be taken⁷ to him." And this was the cause of the great faith which the Sultāns and rulers of Gujarāt had in Shaikh Muḥammad Qhaṣ, and of his deliverance from that position of peril. (The Miyān) from that time repeatedly said in assemblies, "one ought to obey the letter of the law after the manner of Shaikh 'Ali Mutaqqi,⁸ and the spirit⁹ after the manner of my spiritual guide" (i.e., Shaikh Muḥammad Qhaṣ.) Miyān Vajihu-'d-Din passed away from this abode of gloom in the year H. 998 (A.D. 1589-90) and the words "Shaikh

¹ I.e., refused to carry it out.

² Lit. "on the signature of." Vajihu-'d-din probably delivered his authoritative opinion or fatwā, under his signature, declaring that Muḥammad Qhaṣ was not worthy of death.

³ This seems to be the meaning of استفقا, as here used, but the word means literally "applying for a fatwā," or "asking for legal opinion." The textual reading is evidently correct, though the readings of the MS. are not very clear.

⁴ MS. (B) inserts خود after دين, erroneously, as it seems to me.

⁵ Lit. "We are masters of speech (scil. religious discussion, or more probably recitation of the ritual prayers) and he is master of religious ecstasy." The translation well expresses the meaning of the phrase.

⁶ ظاهر شريعت.

⁷ نمیگردد. (B) has, erroneously نمیگردد.

⁸ MS. (B) omits متقي, and substitutes علي for علي. My opinion of this MS. coincides with that expressed by Colonel Ranking in some of the notes to his translation of vol. I. It is evidently the work of an ignorant and careless scribe and is of very little value for purposes of comparison.

⁹ در حقيقت.

Vajihu-'d-Din" ¹ were found to give the date of his death: may God turn him towards acceptance!

I may explain that I never had an opportunity of waiting on these four honourable men, and that what I have written of them is only what I have been able to learn incidentally.²

XXII. MIYĀN 'ABDU-'LLĀH NIYĀZĪ OF SIRHIND.³

45.

The Niyāzīs ⁴ are a tribe of Afghāns. Miyān 'Abdu-'llāh was at first the disciple of Shaiikh Salim-i-Ciṣhtī ⁵ of Fāthpūr. He used to remain always engaged in his religious duties in the cell close to the Shaiikh's new hospice, which is now known as the royal place of worship.⁶ When Shaiikh Salim⁷ returned from his first pilgrimage to the holy places, which he had made by land, Miyān 'Abdu-'llāh asked his leave to make a pilgrimage to the glorious city of Makkah, and the Shaiikh wrote and gave to him a memorandum containing an account of the Shaiikhs and men of God whom he had met in the countries of Arabia, Persia, and India, and the Miyān, travelling through most of those regions, sought out those various classes of holy men.

¹ This would be an exceedingly neat chronogram were it correct, but the sum of the letters is 999, one too many. MS. (A) inserts after the chronogram لي الف لام.

² استطراد, the meaning of which is given by Steingass as "aiming at one thing and getting another," "incident."

³ The chief town of the *sarkār* of the same name, in the *Śūba* of Dillī. Vide *Āin-i-Akbari* II. (trans. Jarrett), p. 281 and n. 4, and p. 295. Vide also Hunter's *Imp. Gazetteer*.

⁴ The Niyāzīs are a clan of the Ghilzais or Ghiljis. They are principally engaged in the carrying trade between India and Afghānistān and the Northern States of Central Asia, and have been so for centuries. Vide Bellew's "Races of Afghānistān," p. 103, *Āin-i-Akbari* I. (trans. Blochmann), 483, 484, II. (trans. Jarrett), 393 (n.) and 402 (n.).

⁵ Vide *supra* No. VIII. The text and both MSS. have سليم for سليم. The reading is wrong, for the references in the text clearly show that it is Shaiikh Salim that is referred to. اسلام is سليم, corrupted by the figure called امالة.

⁶ عبادتخانه پادشاهی. Vide Shaiikh Salim's life, and the notes thereon, for Akbar's reverence for him, and the reason of it. Vide also vol. II. (text), 109, 255. Vide also *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Lucknow edition, pp. 327, 328.

⁷ The text has اسيلم a misprint for سليم, which is itself wrong. Vide note 1.

In company with the friends of Mir Sayyid Muḥammad (may God sanctify his soul!) who had¹ set up a claim to being the *Mahdī* and¹ had travelled to Gujarāt and the Dakhan, the *Miyān* at last adopted those opinions,² and in the reign of Salīm Shāh, spent his time, in the manner already mentioned,³ in Biyāna, in the corner of obscurity and retirement, living without pretensions and without ceremony, being, like ordinary men, free from encumbrances and attachments. And when Islem (Salīm) Shāh, as has been mentioned in the case of Shaiḫh 'Alā'ī of Biyāna—may God have mercy upon him!—bitterly persecuted him, being prompted thereto by Makhdūm-'l-Mulk, and had him severely beaten, with a view to preventing him (from preaching his doctrines),⁴ he again set forth on his wanderings, travelling in various parts of the world, and in the latter years of his life he abandoned (his belief in Mir Sayyid Muḥammad's) claim to being the *Mahdī*, and, retreating⁵ into a corner of retirement in Sirhind, followed the same mode of life as other holy men. When the Emperor rebuilt that cell which was near the Imperial palace he named it the '*ibādat-khāna* (place of worship), and, the name of Miyān 'Abdu-'llāh being mentioned in connection with it, he was summoned from Sirhind, and had a personal interview with the Emperor, no other person being present, and

46. His Majesty put questions to him.⁶ The *Miyān*, disavowing (any belief in) the *Mahdawi* doctrines, said, "At first the companionship of that sect seemed good to me, and I accordingly inclined to their doctrines, but after that the truth concerning

¹ The words *بود و* are wrongly omitted from MS. (B). This MS. also has *بکجرات* for *در گجرات*.

² I.e., the opinions of those who believed Mir Sayyid Muḥammad to be the *Mahdī*. The words are *همان طریقه*, for which MS. (B) has *همان طریقه*, which is pure nonsense.

³ Vide vol. I. (trans. Ranking), pp. 518-520 for an account of the persecution of *Miyān* (or *Shaiḫh*, as he is there called) 'Abdu-'llāh by Salīm Shāh, at the instigation of Makhdūm-'l-Mulk.

⁴ Vide the reference in the last note for an account of the persecution of the *Mahdavis* by Salīm Shāh.

⁵ Lit. "choosing."

⁶ *خبرها پرسیدند*. MS. (B) has *چیژها*. The dots in MS. (A) are placed at random, but the word there seems to be *چیژها*.

the True God was revealed to me, and I recanted." His Majesty sent him back with honour, and in the year H. 993 (A.D. 1585) at the time of the expedition to Ātak,¹ when His Majesty reached Sirhind, he again sent for the *Miyān*, and offered him some land as *madad-i-ma'ādh*,² but he, making contentment his title-deed,³ would not accept it, but the Emperor had the grant made out, whether the *Miyān* would or no, and had it delivered to him, and he, obeying the Emperor's order, received the *farmān*, but nevertheless forsook not his habit of relying on God alone, and did not in any way concern himself with the grant throughout his life. He made the books *Ihyā*⁴ and *Kimiyā*⁵ the guides of his actions. In the year in which Ulugh Mirzā's rebellion took place I was with Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān. I saw the *Miyān* in Sirhind, and he gave me some profitable lessons from⁶ the *Ihyā*, which he had with him.⁷ A friend of his, named Maḥmūd Khān, who had been intimate with him since the days of Islem (Salim) Shāh, and to whom Shaikh Mubārak, at the time of the persecution⁸ of Shaikh 'Alā'i had given the title of Saifu-'llāh ("the sword of God"), asked him, "What is the heart?"⁹

¹ Fide vol. II. (text), pp. 347 et seqq. Also Akbarnama (text), III. 465 et seqq.

² I.e., land to be held in *aima* tenure, for his subsistence.

³ I.e., "to what he had," and no more.

⁴ This book was the *Ihyā'u 'Ulūmi'd-dīn*. "*Ihyā olum ed-din, doctrinarum religionis vivificatio, auctore Imam Shafīta Hojjat el-islām Abu Ḥamid Mohammed Ben Mohammed Ghazālī, mortuo in urbe Tus anno 505 (inc. 10 Jul. 1111).*" H.K. No. 171, where a full account of the book is given.

⁵ The *Kimiyā'u-s-sa'adat*. "*Kimiyā el-sa'adet, alchymia beatitudinis. Opus Persicum paræneticum et ethicum, quod Imām Hojjat el-islām Abu Ḥamid Mohammed Ben Mohammed Ghazālī, anno 505 (inc. 10 Jul. 1111) mortuus, composuit, et in quatuor titulos et quatuor falcimenta, ut in præfatione dicit, in usum multitudinis hominum qui talia desiderant, distribuit.*" H.K. No. 10,998, where a full account of the book is given.

⁶ MS. (B) wrongly omits *ji*.

⁷ The text here has *ji*, which is in neither MS. Its insertion does not affect the sense.

⁸ کشاکش "attraction" or "disturbance." "Persecution" is the best translation in this passage.

⁹ Maḥmūd Khān was asking for enlightenment on one of the subtleties of the *Sūfīs*. In order that his question may be understood it is necessary to know how the *Sūfīs* defined the Persian word دل, of which the Arabic synonym is قلب. The *Istīlāḥāt-u-s-Sūfiyyah* (Sprenger) gives the following

He replied, "Between us and the heart lie a thousand stages. Why do you ask about this matter? Say something on ethics." Afterwards, *à propos* of the mention of Mir Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr (may God sanctify his soul!) he brought forward an old Mughal and asked him to say what he knew of the *Sayyid*.¹ He said, "At the time of the death of the holy Mir Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr I was present in Farāb,² when he

definition, s.v. القلب. "The heart is an enlightened incorporeal essence, the mean between the *rūḥ* and the *nafs*." The words روح (*rūḥ*) and نفس (*nafs*) both mean soul, and are sometimes considered synonymous one with the other. But according to other authorities روح signifies "that whereby is life" and نفس "that whereby is intellect, or reason," e.g., when one sleeps God takes away his نفس, but not his روح, which is not taken save at death; and the نفس is thus called because of its connection with the نفس, or "breath." (Vide Lane, Arabic Lexicon, sub vocibus). But it is not

clear that the connection between نفس and نفس is very close, for, if it were, one could hardly be deprived of his نفس during sleep. But see also the *Iṭilāḥāt* of Ṣifīyyah sub vocibus النفس and الروح. The former is thus defined:—

"*An-nafs* is the fine ethereal essence which supports life, sensation, and voluntary motion. And the philosopher (scil. Aristotle) has called it the animal soul, and it is the mean between the heart, which is the reasoning faculty, and the body, which is referred to in the *Qur'ān* as "the olive tree," which is described as being "blessed, neither of the east nor of the west," on account of the increase of dignity and blessedness which it confers on man, and because it is neither from the east, the world of disembodied spirits, nor from the west, the world of gross bodies."

الروح is thus described:—

"*Ar-rūḥ* in the technical language of the *Ṣifīs* is the fine and incorporeal part of man; and in the technical language of physicians it is the fine vapour bred in the heart, which receives the effect of life, sensation, and motion, and these collectively are called, in their technical language *an-nafs*, and the mean between them is the heart, which conceives general conceptions and their details. Philosophers make no distinction between *qalb* and *rūḥ*. 'Al-awwal ("first soul") which they describe as the reasoning faculty." It is easy to understand Miṣṣāb 'Abdu-llāh's anxiety to avoid the discussion of a question of this sort, and to take refuge in some ethical, or indeed, any other question, in order to escape from it.

1 لزوي شهادت خواست. Lit. "asked him for his testimony."

2 A town in Sijistān, vide *Āin-i-Akbari* I. (trans. Blochmann), 41n. II. (trans. Jarrett), 393, and note.

withdrew his claim to being the *Mahdī*, and said, 'I am not the promised *Mahdī*.'"¹ God knows (the truth). In the meantime Maḥmūd Khān said softly "Miyān 'Abdu-'llāh did wonderfully well in sending the unfortunate *Shāikh* 'Alā'i to his death, while he himself retraced his steps."²

Miyān 'Abdu-'llāh removed the baggage (of existence) from this borrowed³ lodging to the neighbourhood of Divine Providence (may his dignity be honoured!) at the age of 90, in the year H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-2). May God grant him a dwelling in the highest heaven! 47.

XXIII. *SHAIKH ABŪ-L-FATĤ OF GUJARĀT.*

He was the son-in-law of the reverend Mir Sayyid Muḥammad⁴ of Jaunpūr (may God sanctify his honoured tomb!), but he never saw the *Mir*⁵ and his connection with him by marriage did not occur until after the *Mir's* death. He was a man of very high position and dignity, endowed with perfections. He was firm and unshaken in his adherence to the doctrines of the *Mahdawi* sect, holding to them resolutely, since, when he was in the honoured city of Makkah and in Gujarāt, the closest bond of friendship existed between him and *Shāikh* Gadā'i.⁶ In the time of Bairām Khān, the *Khān-i-Khānān*,⁷ he came to Āgra in

¹ Miyān 'Abdu-'llāh evidently brought forward this old Mughal, with his "testimony," to justify his secession from the *Mahdawi* sect, by proving that Mir Sayyid Muḥammad himself before his death relinquished his pretensions to being the *Mahdī*. Badāonī, who inclined towards the *Mahdawi* doctrines, seems by his use of the expression *والله أعلم* to have disbelieved the Mughal's testimony, or, at any rate, to have regarded it as doubtful. The necessity for some justification of Miyān 'Abdu-'llāh's change of views is shewn by Maḥmūd Khān's comment on his conduct, which immediately follows.

² *Lit.* "withdrew his steps from the circle."

³ *I.e.*, this lodging which is given us only for a time, or, as it were, on loan.

⁴ Here both MSS. have "Maḥmūd." The textual emendation is correct.

⁵ The text follows MS. (B) with *میرزا*. The reading of MS. (A) which I have followed, is correct. "*Mir*" was one of M. Muḥammad's titles as a Sayyid. The title *Mirzā* is in India almost exclusively bestowed upon Mughals.

⁶ *Shāikh* Gadā'i-yi-Kambū of Dihlī, the *Ṣadru-ṭ-Ṣudūr*, *vide* vol. II. text, pp. 29, 30, *et infra* chapter ii., No. IV.

⁷ *Vide* vol. II. text, *Ain-i-Akbari*, and *Akbarnāma passim*.

connection with some important business, but in a short time that terrible disaster¹ occurred, and the Shaiikh returned to Gujarāt. When I was a student I waited on the Shaiikh for half a night in the quarter of Shaiikh Bahā'u-'d-din Mufti (may God have mercy on him!), on the far side² of the river at Āgra, on the introduction of Maulānā 'Abdu-'llāh of Qandahār, the relative of Ḥājī Mahdi of Lāhōr. He was sitting alone in a bare room, busily employed in reading³ this tradition of the prophet, (may God bless him and save him!):—"No number of people shall sit together to mention God but that angels shall surround them, and the mercy of God cover them, and tranquillity⁴ come upon them; and God remembers them as men who are with Him." He translated that saying and I received instruction in the ecstatic worship of the *Sūfīs*,⁵ and was employed for some time therein, and experienced a wonderful and⁶ strange accession of divine grace, and the (inner) meaning of the *Qur'ān* was disclosed to me, and for some time⁷ my condition was such that I believed every sound and voice which fell upon my ears to be the mystic chanting of the *Sūfīs*. I saw some of the Shaiikh's

¹ *I.e.*, Bairām Khān's dismissal, his estrangement from the Emperor, rebellion, and violent death.

² *I.e.*, the east side of the river, the far side from the city of Āgra.

³ MS. (A) omits خواند.

⁴ The word used here is مَكِينَةٌ from the root مَكَنَ ("it was, or became still, motionless or stationary"). The meaning of مَكِينَةٌ is given by Lane

(*Ar. Lex.* s. v.) as "calmness or tranquillity, gravity, staidness, steadiness, or sedateness," and, "a quality inspiring reverence or veneration." Its meaning in Arabic is thus quite clear. But its etymology calls to mind the Hebrew שְׁכִינָה (presens Dei Majestas, as Gesenius gives it). This Hebrew word is Rabbinical, not Biblical. The Arabic word مَكِينَةٌ is used to translate the Hebrew שְׁכִינָה, but has not, in Arabic, the same meaning. It is possible that Muḥammad, in using the word, if he did so, may have had some Rabbinical tradition in his mind.

⁵ ذکر. Vide Hughes' Dict. of Islām, s. v. ḡikr.

⁶ MS. (B) has و between عَجِيب and غَرِيب. The text and MS. (A) omit it. The sense is not affected either way.

⁷ چندگذا (MS. (A) and text). چندگامی MS. (B).

disciples who, to guard themselves from talking foolishly,¹ had (literally) glued their lips together, some of them (for the same reason) had pebbles in their mouths.

The year of the *Shāikh's* death, and where and when it occurred, are not known. (May God remember him to his good!)

XXIV. *SHAIKH ABŪ IṢHĀQ OF LĀHŌR.*

48.

He was one of the spiritual successors of Miyān *Shāikh Dā'ūd*,² (may God sanctify his tomb!) In his activity (in traversing the path of righteousness) he surpassed all his contemporaries, and he was one of the most wonderful works of God³ (be He praised!). In his love for his spiritual guide he was beside himself, and attained to such an intimate relationship with his holy personality that one might say that the two persons were one clear truth expressed⁴ in two well turned phrases. Neither the dust of dependent existence nor the soil of potential existence⁵ besmirched the skirt of his robe, and at the mere sight of him thoughts of God (may He be honoured and glorified!) cast their rays on each black and thoughtless heart, and the pain of searching after God infected all who saw him. He called no⁶ one to his presence with the exception of two or three friends who had been intimate associates⁷ of the holy *Miyān* (may God sanctify his soul!) and

¹ مالا يعني.

² *I'ide* No. XVII. *supra*.

³ *Lit.* "he was a miracle (or sign) of the miracles (or signs) of God."

⁴ یافته text and MS. (B). دریافت MS. (A).

⁵ The two words in the text are حدوث and إمكان. Lane (*Arabic-English*

Lexicon, s. v.) thus defines حدوث:—"حَدُوثٌ is of two kinds حَدُوثٌ زَمَانِيٌّ

which is A thing's being preceded by non-existence: and حَدُوثٌ ذَاتِيٌّ, which is

A thing's being dependent on another for its existence." The word in this passage has the latter meaning. إمكان means "contingent, or potential existence," i.e., as opposed either to وجوب, "necessary existence" or وجود, "actual existence." The meaning of the passage is that the *Shāikh* employed himself with none but God, the self-existent and necessarily existent Being.

⁶ نمی طلبید MS. (B) wrongly omits نمی.

⁷ همراز و همزبان (text). The MSS. omit و.

who had their dwelling in Lāhōr; nor was he solicitous to receive disciples. He always lived in privacy in a dark cell, which was situated in a garden, and at times, when an intense longing for the holy *Miyān* overcame him he would go on foot in one day from Lāhōr to *Shirgarh*, a distance of over forty *kurūh*,¹ and after merely kissing the *Miyān's* threshold he would return, without breaking his journey, unable to endure the effulgence of the *Miyān's* luminous presence.²

- In the year already mentioned³ I was honoured by being enabled to pay my respects to that venerable and most worthy man, and was his guest for a day and a night. On the next day, I set out alone, save for one attendant on foot,⁴ when the disturbances were at their height, for *Shirgarh*. I was stopped by *Jāts*⁵ and highwaymen, who surrounded me on every side, and they were astonished (at my rashness) and asked me whither I was going, alone in this perilous desert. So soon as I said that I had just taken my leave of *Miyān Shaikh* Abū Ishāq with a view of paying my respects to my reverend spiritual guide, the *Miyān* (may God
49. have mercy on them both!) they, immediately they heard the auspicious names of those two holy men, submitted themselves to me, and brought me milk and curds and such like refreshments, and set me on my way, and warned me to be cautious and wary,

¹ I.e., about 80 miles.

² In the original this passage runs as follows:—

و گاهی که شوق حضرت میان (گریبان گیر او میگشت از لاهور بیک روز در شیرگده که بمسافت چهل کروزه زیاده است پداده میرفت و آستان بوسیده بهمان پای باز میگشت و تاب نجلی دیدار پرنوار حضرت میان نداشت .

The portion between the brackets has been carelessly omitted from MS. (B) the copyist having evidently mistaken the words *حضرت میان* just before the brackets for the same words repeated at the end of the bracketed portion. An absurd non sequitur is the result of this careless error.

³ Vide *supra* in the life of *Shaikh Dā'ūd* (XVI.) p. 56, n. 4.

⁴ Lit. "Alone with one attendant on foot." The *جلودار* ran beside the horse of the person whom he attended.

⁵ *چٹان* text. *چٹان* (P) MS. (A). *چٹان* MS. (B). The tribe referred to must, I think, be the *Jāts* whose name would be properly spelt *چات* (pl. *چاتان*) in the Persian character. Vide Sherriug, "Hindu Tribes and Castes" II. 73.

urging me to make frequent mention of the name of the holy *Miyān* in my religious exercises,¹ as he had endeared himself to all the people of that country, both gentle and simple. Thus, at last, I returned in safety² to the place whither I was bound, as has been already stated.³

In the year in which the holy *Miyān* removed the pavilion (of his existence) from this transitory world and pitched it in the kingdom of eternity, and very shortly after his death, there was a plague in the Panjāb; and all his associates,⁴ his family, and his most noted spiritual successors and representatives, who numbered fifty or⁵ sixty souls, perfect and perfected, among whom was "the interpreter of secrets," *Miyān* 'Abdu-'l-Wahhāb, also known as *Miyān* Bābū, with one accord, as though by appointment, successively and each in his due turn, joined the holy *Miyān* (in the next world) in the space of three or four months, as it pleased God. (This was the case of those intimately connected with him), but what shall I say of his sincere pupils disciples, and attendants at large? *Miyān* *Shaiḫ* Abū Ishāq, too, owing to the greater intimacy of his connection with the

¹ ذکر و ورد نام حضرت میان. *Zikr* has been already described. The highwaymen apparently urged Bādīnī to recite the name of *Shaiḫ* Dā'ūd in his *zikr*, an exercise in which only the names and attributes of God should be recited. The passage exemplifies the superstitious veneration with which ignorant Indian Muslims regard their *pirs*, and gives some colour to the charge brought against *Shaiḫ* Dā'ūd by Maḥdūmu-'l-Mulk, that he permitted his disciples to introduce his name into their *zikr*, they crying out "Yā Dā'ūd, yā Dā'ūd!" *Shaiḫ* Dā'ūd very dexterously repelled the charge (*vide supra* p. 53), but from the request here made by the robbers it is almost certain that the practice was common among the *Shaiḫs*'s followers, even if it was not approved by him. ورد *Wird* is a portion of the *Qur'ān* set or imposed for recital on a particular occasion, or at a particular time. It seems that the name of the *Shaiḫ* was to be introduced into these passages from the *Qur'ān*, or it may be that they were to be recited in the *Shaiḫs*'s name.

² بعافیت wrongly omitted from MS. (B).

³ *Vide supra*, in the life of *Shaiḫ* Dā'ūd (No. XVI), pp. 56-60.

⁴ جميع اصحاب اهل بيت (text). The MSS. insert و between اصحاب and اهل بيت. The careless omission of the conjunction in the text would give the passage a very unpleasant sound to an Eastern ear.

⁵ MS. (B) wrongly inserts و here.

Miyān, sped from the desert of separation to the true *Ka'bah* of union and propinquity. "Some of them have fulfilled their vow and others of them await its fulfilment."³ Ah, *Khāja*, it may be

"That thou preparest a cup³ for them."

He who afterwards continued the exalted line of the *Qādiriyyah*⁴ order was *Shaiikh* 'Abdu-'llāh, the most orthodox and noble son of the holy *Miyān*, who, since the latter removed the baggage (of his existence) to the garden of *Riṣwān*,⁵ remains at present the compendium of all the perfections⁶ and the successor to all the exalted qualities of *Miyān Shaiikh* Abū-'l-Ma'ālī.⁷

The peace of God, so long as nights succeed one another,
Be on the pure *Shaiikh*, Abū-'l-Ma'ālī.

It is to be hoped that this garden of good fortune will aye remain fruitful—through the prophet and his honoured family.

50.

XXV. *SHAIKH* RUKNU-'D-DĪN.

(*May God have mercy on him !*)

He is the orthodox son of *Shaiikh* 'Abdu-'l-Quddūs of Gangū, whose distinguished virtues and perfections are beyond the need of any comment or exposition, being sufficiently indicated and

¹ "The cube-like building in the centre of the mosque at Makkah, which contains the *Hajaru-'l-Aswad*, or black stone." Hughes' *Diet. of Islām*. The word is frequently used metaphorically, as in this passage, for any object of desire, or reward at a journey's end, the simile being the toilsome desert journey of the Makkah pilgrims, with the *Ka'bah* for its object.

² *Qur'ān* xxxiii. 23.

مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ رِجَالٌ صَدَقُوا مَا عَاهَدُوا اللَّهَ عَلَيْهِ فَمِنْهُمْ مَن قَضَىٰ نَجْوَاهُ
وَمِنْهُمْ مَن يَنْتَظِرُ وَمَا بَدَّلُوا تَبْدِيلًا .

"Some there were among the faithful who made good what they have promised to God. Some have fulfilled their vow and others await its fulfilment, and have in no way changed."

³ Of the wine of paradise.

⁴ The order founded by *Shaiikh* Dā'ūd and described (p. 52), as being midway between the *Sahrarardi* and *Cishtī* orders.

⁵ i.e., "paradise." *Riṣwān* is the keeper of the garden of paradise.

⁶ Lit. "the gatherer together of all the perfections."

⁷ *Shaiikh* Dā'ūd.

signified by the holy writings which he has compiled. Gangū is a *pargana* town¹ in² the confines of Thānesar.

The *Shaiikh* was a man greatly respected, whose outward appearance bore witness to his perfections. He was a man of great authority in the mysticism of the Ṣūfis, and followed the religious rule of the holy men of his own order, and³ was one of those who are overcome by a mysterious longing after God and are subject to fits of religious ecstasy.⁴

He went⁵ occasionally, but very seldom, to the houses of men of worldly position and rank, and never but when in need. Otherwise he remained constantly in the corner of retirement and abstraction. I, the compiler of these pages, paid my respects to him in Dihli, at the time of Bairam Khān's rebellion,⁶ in one of the assemblies of *Shaiikh* 'Abdu-l-'Aziz (may God have mercy on him!). Praise be to God (therefor).

XXVI. MIYĀN MUṢṬAFĀ OF GUJARĀT.

His descent was from the Bōharas,⁷ a tribe in Gujarāt whose occupation is trading. By means of one of the intimate friends of Mir Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpur (may God sanctify his soul!) he constantly followed the path of poverty and self-effacement, walking steadfastly in that way to the end of his life. When the *Khālifah* of the age, after the conquest of the country of Bang,⁸ reached Ajmir on his return from

¹ Badāoni means "near Thānesar." Thānesar was a *pargana* town in the Sirhind *sarkār*, while Gangūh was a *pargana* town in the adjoining *sarkār* of Sahāranpūr. *Ain-i-Akbari* II. (trans. Jarrett), 290.

² از text and MS. (B). MS. (A) has از.

³ و is omitted from the MSS. but seems to be rightly supplied in the text.

⁴ از ارباب ذوق و حال بود. The Ṣūfi-istic technical terms ذوق and حال have already been explained.

⁵ رفتی carelessly omitted from MS. (B)

⁶ در زمان فترات بزم خان. Vide vol. II. text, pp. 35 *et seqq.*, and *Akbar-nāma* (text) II., 91-121.

⁷ The Bōharas are a tribe of Musalmāns in the Bombay Presidency, Berar, and parts of the Panjab. They are *Shi'ahs* by religion. Sir George Campbell is of opinion that they are a cross between immigrants from the Persian Gulf and "Hindu Bōrah's." Vide Sherring, "Hindu Castes and Tribes" II, 183, 184. The Bōharas throughout India numbered 129,473 in 1881.

⁸ i.e., Bengal.

- Patna,¹ Āḡaf Khān II, the Mir Bakhshī, in obedience to the Imperial order, brought him with him from Gujarāt. The Emperor, calling the 'Ulamā together one night in the courtyard of the Hall of Audience, questioned Shaiḡh Muṣṭafā on the truth about the *Mahdawī* question, and he readily answered, and the discussion
51. was prolonged; and Hājī Ibrāhīm of Sirhind,² in accordance with his vile disposition, was overbearing in the argument, and vexed the Shaiḡh; and I also related circumstantially and at length what I had found in the commentary on the *Gulshan-i-Rāz*,³ a work by Shaiḡh Muḥammad-al-Ahǧī, who was the immediate⁴ disciple of Mir Sayyid Muḥammad-i-Nūr Bakhshī,⁵ who also, in his time, had set up a claim to being the *Mahdī*, and had brought various troubles on himself thereby. Since what I said was opposed to the Shaiḡh's contention it was evidently the cause of

¹ Vol. II. (text), 185. *Akbar-nāma* (text) II., 79. Badāoni places this event in A.H. 982 (A.D. 1574-5). Abū'l-Faḡl places it in A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573-4). The MSS. spell Patna, پتنہ, after the Persian style. In the text it is Indianized into پٹنہ.

² Vide vol. II. (text), pp. 172, 173. The passage is reproduced in the short life of Badāoni prefixed to this volume.

³ Gulsheni rāz, rosarium arcanorum. Carmen persicum, quod ita incipit. Nomine ejus, qui animam cogitare docuit— et quaestiones et responsa continet secundum terminologium theosophicum. Ad ejus similitudinem carmen *Azhār-el-gulshen* compositum est. Auctor Rosarii est *Sheikh Mahmud Tebrizi* qui in vico Shebister natus et sepultus est, qui locus octo parasangas a Tebriz distat. Commentarios in carmen scripserunt *Motaffer-ed-Dīn Ali Shirazi*—*Sheikh Shems-ed-din Mohammed Ben Yahya Ben Ali Ahji Jildani Nurbakhshi*, anno mortuus, cujus commentarius persice scriptus textum admixtum habet, et *Mefātiḡ el-i'jāz* inscriptus est. Nitide eum exscripsit mense Dzu'l-hijjet anni 877 (inc. 8. Jun. 1472). Hājī *Khalifah*, 10839.

The commentary of Shaiḡh Shamsu'd-din is the book referred to. He is described in the text and MSS. as لا هجي (Lāhǧī), an error for لا هجي (Al-Ahǧī).

The *Gulshan-i-Rāz* has been translated into English by Mr. Whinfield.

⁴ The text has بواسطه which, as explained in a footnote to the text, is the reading of both MSS. I think that we should substitute بوسطه, and have translated accordingly. If, however, the reading of the MSS. be correct we might translate "he was the disciple, with one intermediary, of, &c.," but the expression is awkward and unidiomatic.

⁵ Of Badakhshān. A disciple of Abū Ishāq-i-Khatlāni who gained numerous adherents and created such disturbances that troops were sent

his being vexed with me. The Emperor ordered the Shaikh, after his arrival at Fathpūr, to stay for some days in the house of Khāja 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad the painter, of sweet pen.¹ To make amends for my fault I waited on him with my apologies, and asked him for forgiveness. He was very feeble, and in that very assembly a basin was brought to him, and he brought up a great quantity of blood. It seems that after he received leave to depart for Gujarāt he removed the baggage (of existence) from this transitory lodging to the eternal abode, either on his way to his native land or immediately after his arrival there. This event took place in the year H. 983 (A.D. 1575-6). He is the author of works which bear witness to his separation from the world and self-effacement.² May God deal with him according to His graciousness.

XXVII. SHAIKH IṢHĀQ-I-KĀKŪ OF LĀHŌR.³

His father's name was Shaikh Kākū, and the people of Lāhōr believe him to have been a saint.⁴ He (Shaikh Iṣhāq) was a profoundly learned man, resigned to God and abstinent. He never went to the houses of worldly men or begged from them. He was always teaching, and was a compendium of all branches of knowledge. He was a *Ṣūfī* by religion and was ever employed with the Truth (God).⁵ He would not speak unless questions were put to him. One day he met in the road a contemptible wretch who gave to him an earthen pot full of rice and milk, saying, "Take this and come with me." Without any objection or refusal he took it on his head and passed through the market-place until he came to the place where the man lodged, and from

52.

against him. He was defeated and fled to 'Irāq, in the mountainous districts of which country he is said to have gained thirty thousand followers. He had often to fight with the governors but defied them all. *Ain-i-Akbari* I. (trans. Blochmann) introduction, p. iv. note.

¹ شیرین قلم. Vide *Ain-i-Akbari* vol. I. (trans. Blochmann), p. 107.

² Lit. "From which arises the odour of exile and effacement," the "exile" referring to the Shaikh's belief that he was but a sojourner in this world.

³ *Ain-i-Akbari* I. (trans. Blochmann), p. 545.

⁴ Lit. "Have a belief in his saintship" (ولایت). A *walī* (ولی) is "one who is very near," i.e., to God. Hughes' *Dict. of Islam* s. v. Both MSS. have دارند for دارند. The emendation in the text is correct.

⁵ حق a *Ṣūfī*-istic term for God.

that day forth his heart was washed clean from the guile of pride, and he was also distinguished among those learned in profane knowledge.¹ In the course of the year .995 (A.D. 1587) I had the honour of waiting on that reverend man, and one day I told this story, in some connection or another, to Shaiikh Faiẓi,² who shortly afterwards received the title of *Maliku-sh-Shu'arā*³ and he, according to his habit, which was to decry⁴ all holy men,⁵ past and present, and to exalt himself, began scoffingly to belittle the Shaiikh, while I remained silent. I cannot say whether it was that night or some other night that I saw in a dream that Shaiikh Abū-'l-Faẓl had alighted in a plain, in an old ruin which had no more than two or three⁶ walls standing. Shaiikh Ishāq was standing in the company of gunners, with a musket in his hand, just as though it were the night of the new moon and the usual custom in the Royal Court of firing off guns on the occasion were being observed. He took aim at me and fired, and the sparks fell all round me and in front of me, and⁷ I awoke, terrified. The next day I took an offering to the Shaiikh and it was honoured with his acceptance, and I told him what had happened to me.⁸

Owing to his great age he had lost the power of speech, but he used to raise his hand and recite the *I'tīhāh*, praise be to God! He was the instructor of most of the famous learned men of Lāhōr, such as Shaiikh Sa'du-'llāh, who had no rival⁹ in his time, and Shaiikh Munavvar and others.

¹ Or perhaps, "he was distinguished from those learned in secular knowledge," i.e., by his humility.

² The brother of Abū-'l-Faẓl.

³ "King of Poets," the title commonly given to the poet laureate in Muḥammadan Courts.

⁴ نفى. The text wrongly has نفى with the hamzah.

⁵ The MSS. have مشائخ كبار. The text omits كبار.

⁶ دوسه. MS. (B) has دوسر, which is nonsense.

⁷ و, supplied in the text, though it appears in neither MS.

⁸ Badā'oni evidently regarded the vision as a punishment for not having defended the Shaiikh when he was attacked by Faiẓi. In this passage MS. (B) wrongly omits گفتن. I have already expressed my opinion of this MS.

⁹ قرينه lit. "an analogy," something which bears a resemblance to something else.

In his youth the *Shaiikh* was inclined mostly to sport,¹ and took his delight therein, so that whenever he had leisure from study he would take his falcon and hawk and would go out hawking, traversing the ground on foot.

His venerable age exceeded one hundred years when, in the year H. 996 (A.D. 1588), he hastened away to the close companionship² of God. 53.

XXVIII. *SHAIKH SA'DU-'LLAH BANI ISRA'IL.*

One of the orthodox, noble, and bountiful pupils of Ishāq Kākū. He has followed various rules of life. At first he was a strict observer of the holy law, but suddenly, throwing off all restraint, he committed all manner of unlawful acts, and forming an attachment to a singing girl used to roam³ about the marketplace, for all his gray beard.

Though people heretofore did learn of me

Now love has come, my teaching days are gone.

Men used, from their firm faith in him, to apply the dust of his feet as tatty,⁴ and held him to be a saint,⁵ and in that capacity he used to give instruction, in the open cattle market.⁶ He disposed of all the moveable property⁷ of his followers, which he had with him (to satisfy the demands) of his mistress, through love of her. One night when he was drinking wine with

¹ *بشکار* carelessly omitted from MS. (B).

² *جوار قرب* *lit.* "the neighbourhood of the propinquity."

³ *میگذشت* (text). Both MSS. have *میگذشت*.

⁴ *توتیا* a crude zinc oxide, applied to the eyes as a *collyrium*.

⁵ *عقیده ولایت بار داشتند*. "Believed him to be a *wali*," i.e., one near to God.

⁶ The text and MSS. have *تفاس در عین تفاس*. means "a seller of reasts." The expression is elliptical and obscure, but I take it to be equi-

valent to *تفاس بلزار تفاس* and have so translated it, *نجاست* might be

suggested as a variant for *تفاس* in which case the sense of the phrase would be, "all polluted as he was," *scil.* by his intercourse with the singing girl.

⁷ *اسباب* carelessly omitted from MS. (B).

her, a party of *mukhtasibs*,¹ together with the students who were his disciples, banded together and entered his house by climbing over the wall, with a view of bringing him to a proper frame of mind,² and; breaking all the appurtenances of unlawful and forbidden amusements³ (which they found), wished 'to subject him to punishment.⁴ He repeated what was said (on one occasion) to the second true *Khalifah*,⁵ the Prince of the true believers, 'Umar (may God be gratified with him!). "If I have committed one unlawful act you have been guilty of three unlawful acts, and are the more deserving of punishment, for that, in order to spy upon me, and without my permission, you entered my house by climbing over the wall."⁶ The party, ashamed and abashed, left him. Afterwards, being enabled by God's grace to repent sincerely, he modelled his life on the book *Iḥyā'*,⁷ and passed his time in worship and austerities, and composed 54. many profitable and sublime books, among them being a commentary on the *Jawāhiru'l-Qur'ān*⁸ by Imām Ghazzālī (may God have mercy upon him!).

¹ Police officers appointed to prevent drinking, gambling and other offences against the moral law.

² بجهت اصلاح حال او "for the purpose of remedying his condition."

³ آلات ملاهي و مناهي "the instruments of wanton amusements and of pastimes prohibited by the sacred law," i. e., such things as dice, drinking-cups, wine vessels, and instruments of music.

⁴ تعزير "Censuring," or "inflicting stripes below the full number allowed by law." It does not appear whether the *Shaykh* was to have been flogged or merely rebuked.

⁵ بخلیفه ثانی حقانی Here Badāoni stoutly asserts himself as a *Sunnī*.

⁶ The three unlawful acts were (1) spying upon a Muslim, (2) entering the house without asking the owner's permission, and (3) entering the house as thieves, by climbing over the wall. The privacy of dwelling is established by the teaching of Muḥammad, and it is unlawful to enter a house without *استئذان* or asking permission. *Vide Qur'ān* xxiv. 27-29.

⁷ احیاء علوم الدین *vide supra*, p. 29, n. 2.

⁸ *Jawāhir* *El-Coran*, gemmae Corani, auctore Imām *Hajjat-el-Islām*, Abū Ḥamid Mohammed Ben Mohammed Ghazālī *Tāsi*, anno 505 (inc. 10 Jul. 1111) mortuo. Librum divinum esse commemorat in doctrinas et actiones, has esse exteriores et interiores, interiores autem distributas esse in purificationem et sui ipsius alienationem, ut quatuor sint genera doctrinarum, exteriores dico et interiores, et vituperatione et laude dignas. Singula genera

When the *Khalifah* of the age summoned him to a private interview he asked him, "of what race are you?" and he replied, "of the tribe of the scribes, who are called in the Hindi tongue, *Kāyats*." ¹ The Emperor was much pleased with this unassuming answer and held a long conversation with him. I waited on him for the first time in Lāhōr and in some connection or another he made mention of the question of the decay of Multān and the prosperity of Lāhōr, and the matter of the *Sultāns* of the Langāh family, especially Sultān Ḥusain, ² speaking on these subjects in such a manner that I was astonished at the manner in which he acquitted himself, and at the elegance and polish of his style. Rarely have I heard such sweetness of diction.

He never left a beggar disappointed, and although he had no concern with commerce or husbandry, and was not in enjoyment of a subsistence allowance from the Emperor, his resources and expenditure on alms and charity were such that nobody knew

ad decem principia redeunt, totum autem selectissimam Corani partem continent." *Hājī Khalifah* No. 4293. No mention is made of the commentary composed by the *Shaiikh*.

¹ The *Kāyats* or *Kāyasths*, the great caste among the Hindus whose occupation is writing. They numbered in 1881 two and a quarter millions. From the *Shaiikh's* cognomen it might be supposed that he was of Jewish or Afghān descent, as was perhaps the case. His forbears may have been employed as scribes, and it is possible that the *Shaiikh*, without being a Hindu by descent, was sufficiently politic to humour Akbar's predilection for Hindus, by naively confessing to a Hindu ancestry, and to refrain from proudly claiming a foreign descent, as a bigoted Muslim would probably have done. It is for this reason that Badāoni describes his answer as "unassuming." Or the *Shaiikh* may, perhaps, have been descended from *Kāyasths* on the mother's side, and made the most of the fact in order to humour the Emperor.

² The Langāh dynasty reigned in Multān from A.D. 1443 to A.D. 1524. *Shaiikh Yūsuf*, the first of the line, established an independent monarchy in Multān in the former year. In the latter year Sultān Ḥusain Langāh II., the last of the line was overcome by *Shah Husain Arghun*, the ruler of Sindh, who acknowledged the suzerainty of Bābur, and afterwards of Humāyūn, from whom, however, he withdrew his allegiance when *Shēr Shah* overcame him. When Humāyūn fled to Sindh *Shēr Husain* received his ambassadors not discourteously, but refused to assist him in any way. He subsequently drove Humāyūn from Sindh. *Ain-i-Akbari* II. (trans. Jarrett), 334-336, and "The Indus Delta Country," by Major-General M. E. Haig, 89-92.

whence he derived his means,¹ and the people were perplexed on this subject.²

On reaching the age of about eighty years he passed away from this illusory world, and great and small, in their thousands, nay more, accompanied³ his funeral, taking up his pure bier on their heads and shoulders, with a view to obtaining blessings by so doing,⁴ (and the crowd was so great that) there was not room to plant one's foot.

XXIX. MIYÂN SHAikh 'ABDU-LLĀH OF BADĀON.

He was one of the benefits of the age and the blessings of the epoch. In early youth he was learning a lesson from the *Būstān*, and came to this couplet:—

"In the way of purity it is impossible, O Sa'di,
"To travel, except by following the Chosen One,"⁵

(may God bless and save him!). He asked his teacher, "What is the meaning of this couplet? Explain it to me in Hindi." His
55. teacher said "What business have you with this story⁶?" He replied "Until you thoroughly explain it to me I will not learn another⁷ lesson." When the meaning of it had been explained he said "Give me an account of Muḥammad, "the Chosen" (may God bless and save him!) and tell me who he is." The teacher described to him some of the noble qualities and wondrous works of his holiness (may God bless him and save him), and, as soon as he heard the description, the mystic attrac-

¹ Lit. "Nobody know whence all these resources, expenditure, and disbursements were."

² درین امر MS. (B) carelessly omits درین.

³ به تشیع جنازه رفتہ, text and MSS. The word should be تشیع, the reading in the text is nonsense, and is due apparently to the unaccountable antipathy of Indian scholars to the repetition of the letter ی in words of this measure, such as تمیز and تغییر, which they write تمیز and تغییر.

⁴ به تبرک.

⁵ The concluding couplet of the introduction to the *Būstān*. The couplet commences here محالست. The better reading is مہندار. The chosen one (مصطفی) is, of course, Muḥammad.

⁶ حکایت, in neither MS.

⁷ پیشتر in the text. Both MSS. have, correctly, بیشتر, and so I have translated.

tion of the Lord seized on him, and, rending his shirt, he uttered the creed of Islām.¹ When his parents heard of this they recognized that he had declared himself free of them and renounced them,² and could not properly return to their care, so that they, of necessity, relinquished all claim to him, and he, journeying from Sāmāna,³ the home of his ancestors, employed himself in reading the *Qur'ān*, in making himself acquainted with God's commands, and in the pursuit of knowledge. At last, joining himself to a band of famous sages and great saints he became one of the greatest sages of the age, and placing his hand in the hand of Miyān *Shāikh* 'Abdu-'l-Bāqī-yi-Ciḡhī of Badāon (may God give rest to his soul!) he became his disciple, and received instruction from him in the mystic worship of the *Sūfis*. Subsequently he attended upon *Shāikh* Ṣafī of Khairābād⁴ (may God sanctify his honoured tomb!) and others, and, employing himself in austerities and in striving after holiness, attained perfection. He acquired the blessing of knowledge from most of the noted masters⁵ of his time, especially from Miyān *Shāikh* Lāḍun⁶ of Dihli and from Mir Sayyid Jalāl of Badāon, and after the death of the latter, whose sins are forgiven, he became his successor and taught and imparted instruction for many years in Badāon, and many well-known sages, who have become famous, sat at his feet. People from the surrounding country and from the utmost parts of (other) countries by waiting upon him attain eternal felicity.

Latterly the mysterious attraction of God has overpowered him, and he appears at meetings for ecstatic singing and dancing,⁷

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ "the delectable speech." كَلِمَةُ طَيِّبَةٍ ۱

"there is no god but God, and Muḥammad is the apostle of God."

² او ابرا و تبرا از ايشان نموده . MS. (B) omits او. The meaning of this passage is that as the boy had devoted himself to the religious life his parents relinquished their control over him and handed him over to his religious instructors.

³ A *pargana* town in the *sarkār* of Sirhind, *Ṣūba* of Dihli.

⁴ Chief town of a *Sarkār* of the same name in the *Ṣūba* of Awadh.

⁵ مقتدیان *lit.* "those who are followed."

⁶ MS. (B) has لادی.

⁷ مجلس سماع. The ecstatic "worship" of the *Sūfis* has already been briefly described. Some of the performances are here described.

and from the excessive influence of his longing and desire after
 56. God¹ he utters soul-melting cries and heart-scaring shrieks and falls² a-trembling, and advances some paces, though there be at the time no ecstatic dance in progress, and crying out, at the same time, the *lā ḥaul*³ he returns to his place and remains standing there.

His unceremoniousness and unpretentiousness are such that he goes on foot, like his predecessors and successors, to the shop and to the market to buy household goods, whether in small or large quantities, and to purchase all necessary supplies for his kitchen, which he may need, and carries them back to where he dwells. On the way, too, he teaches a number of his students, and howsoever much they may say "Master, there is no need for you to trouble yourself in this way, we will perform this duty,"⁴ he does not consent thereto. His auspicious appearance bears witness to his poverty and self-effacement, and, notwithstanding his having received permission to impart religious instruction, and documents appointing him a recognized deputy from (various) holy men, he is not devoted to the usual system of *Shāikh* and their disciples,⁵ but on the contrary, carefully avoids it. Clad in the garb of holy men and the vesture of religious leaders he remained cloaked and concealed in his robe.⁶

When I was reading, under his instruction, the commentary on the *Ṣaḥā'if fī 'l-Kalām*⁷ and the *Tuḥqīq fī uṣūl*⁸.

¹ از شدت غلبه شوق. Both MSS. add و ذوق. The words have been carelessly omitted from the text.

² Both MSS. have میفرمایند, the respectful plural. The text has the singular.

³ The formula لَا حَوْلَ وَلَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ, "there is no power or strength but in God."

⁴ I.e., the day's marketing.

⁵ مقید به شیخی و مریدی نیست lit. "he is not devoted to *shāikh*-ship and discipleship," i.e., the system by which a recognized *Shāikh* authorized his disciples to teach, and constituted them his spiritual successors.

⁶ قبا "a kind of tunic, generally reaching to the middle of the shank, divided down the front and made to lap over the chest." Lane, *Arabic Lexicon* s. v. vide also Dozy, *Dictionnaire des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, pp. 352-362.

⁷ "El-Saḥīf fī el-Kalām, folia de metaphysica, quæ ita incipiunt; *Laus Deo existentia et unitate digno, etc., et in præfationem sex folia, et conclu-*

figh,¹ notwithstanding that a class of pupils² of copious attainments and students of clear intellect were also engaged in study, and brought subtil difficulties for his elucidation, I never saw him, in the course of his teaching, to be under the necessity of referring to a book for the purpose of solving those questions and obscure subtilties, for whatever he had once seen he had on the tip of his tongue, and he had acquired³ the habit of great readiness, being assisted thereto by God.⁴ He is now in his ninetieth year, and will, please God, who is honoured, attain to the natural limit of man's age.

XXX. SHAikh JALĀLU'-D-DĪN OF QANNAUJ.⁵

He was a man mysteriously attracted to God and walking in the way of the law.⁶ His ancestors came from Multān, and settled in Qannauj, an old and famous city of Hindūstān. After devoting himself to the carrying out of the religious obligations imposed on devout Muslims he experienced a

sionem distributa sunt. In ejus commentariis numeratur liber *El-Mearif* fī *Shark El-Sahāf* inscriptus, qui ita incipit; *Laus Deo cujus essentiae nullus est terminus*, etc. Auctor, quem *Samarcandī* esse puto, formula hanc est, "dicit auctor," et, "dico ego." Pariter *Behishki* commentarium edidit." *Hājī Khalifa*, 7718. It was probably one of the two commentaries referred to that Badāonī read.

¹ The book referred to was probably that described¹ by *Hājī Khalifa*, No. 2715:—"El-Tahckic, expositio accurata. Commentarium operis *Muntekhab* de principiis, de quo litera *Mim* videntur." It may, however, have been the following (H. K. No. 2720) "El-Tahckic, accurata expositio, auctore Imam *Mohyi-ed-din Yahya Ben Sheref Newavi*." Badāonī gives the names of these books in Persian. For convenience' sake I have given them their original Arabic titles.

² مسترشدان *lit.* "those who seek for religious guidance or instruction." MS. (B) has مرشدان. Probably the word مسترشدان was too much for the copyist.

³ حاصل گردیده MS. (A) has حاصل کرده.

⁴ MS. (B) omits الله.

⁵ The ancient city of Qannauj, (Sans. *Kānya-kubja*), in early Hindu times one of the principal centres of Aryan civilization in India. It was in Badāonī's time the chief town of the *sarkār* of the same name in the *ṣūba* of Agra. It is now a *Tahsil* town in the Farrukhābād District, N.-W.P. Vide Cunningham, "Ancient Geography of India," 378-382.

⁶ سالک. It has already been observed that the fact of a *Ṣāfi*, one who has experienced جذبہ, i.e., has been mysteriously drawn to God, condescend-

57. mysterious attraction to God, but none the less ¹ left no jot or tittle of the pure law unobserved. At times, when overcome by religious ecstasy, he would blacken his face and, hanging the string of a bedstead round his neck, and would wander through the market-places uttering doleful and mournful cries; and he had many unusual observances such as these. One day, when he had completed the Friday prayers in the *Masjid-i-Hayy*, I waited on him. He got up and went to visit the old obliterated tombs of his noble ancestors, which were in the courtyard of the *masjid*, and at each ² grave he recited the *fātiḥah*,³ and told ⁴ one of his attendants who conversed with him the story of the life of the occupant of the grave, and after telling separately the stories of each of those holy men, he fell into a reverie, and when his reverie was over he put to that attendant a question from the *Farā'id*.⁵ The attendant replied, "If a man dies, and leaves as his heirs one son and one daughter, the son receives two-thirds of the property left by the deceased, and the daughter one-third." The *Shaiḫ* listened to him with approval and then, without saying another word,⁶ left the place. It afterwards became known⁷ that the *Shaiḫ* observed that practice in ac-

ing to observe any of the ordinary restrictions of religion and morality, is always regarded by Bādā'ī, and by all Muslims of Ṣūfī-istic tendencies, as worthy of special remark. The Ṣūfī holds himself to be absolved from all such observances. He is above such trivial matters, which have been ordained for the common herd. He is, in short, an antinomian. *Vide supra* p. 27 n. 4.

¹ با آن. MS. (A) has با آن, wrongly. Here we have another instance of fact of a Ṣūfī observing the religious and moral law being considered extraordinary.

² هر omitted from the text in spite of the authority of both MSS.

³ The opening chapter of the *Qur'ān*, recited either in behalf of one's self or of others. Here evidently used as a prayer for the dead.

⁴ The text here destroys the whole sense of this passage with *یکی از خادمان* omitting the preposition. The MSS. have the preposition *به* before *یکی*, shewing that it was the *Shaiḫ* who spoke to the attendant, not the attendant to the *Shaiḫ*.

⁵ The Muslim law of inheritance and the division of property left by a deceased person.

⁶ سخن نا گفت. MS. (B) has نه فلر نا.

⁷ چنان بظهور انجاسید. MS. (B) has چنانچه for چنان, but with چنان superscribed.

cordance with that tradition, pregnant with meaning, the substance of which is that if a question from the *Farā'iz* be recited over a tomb, and a statement of the shares of inheritance be made, all the people lying buried there are, by virtue of the recitation of that portion of the law, forgiven their sins.¹ The *Shaiḡh* never failed to observe this practice on Fridays.

XXXI. *SHAIḡH KAPŪR-I-MAJZŪB*² OF *GWĀLIYĀR*.

(*May God have mercy upon him !*)³

He was a Ḥusaini⁴ Sayyid, and in early life followed the military profession.⁵ Suddenly, leaving the service, he adopted the occupation of a water-carrier, and at night used to carry water to the houses of chaste and secluded widows,⁶ and used to take water to the people free of charge, until he experienced a mysterious attraction towards God, when he gave up all employment, and, abandoning his own free-will, no longer spoke at all, in the way of conversation, but was ever longing for dissolution.

58.

I passed from Thy street supporting myself in my weakness
with my hand against the wall,

Thou camest in Thy glory, and I was struck motionless as a
picture on the wall.⁷

He chose for his dwelling a house in the lower market of *Gwāliyār*,⁸ and always remained there, and passed all his time with his head drooping in meditation. If any question occurred to the minds of those who were present with him he would answer it, after the manner of those who are mysteriously drawn to God, as though he were raving in a delirium,⁹ and would solve

¹ Apparently by the vicarious merit of the reciter.

² Affected by *جذبة*, the mysterious attraction towards God.

³ This benediction occurs in MS. (A) only.

⁴ I.e., a Sayyid descended from Ḥusain.

⁵ *سپاهنگری* text, and MS. (B). MS. (A) has *سپاهگیری*.

⁶ *عورات بیوه*. The use of the word *عورت* in the sense of "woman," clearly shows the author to have been a native of India. The word does not mean "woman" in Arabic or Persian.

⁷ A very common simile in Persian poetry for a person who is suddenly struck motionless by surprise, terror, admiration, or any other emotion.

⁸ Or perhaps, "below the market place at *Gwāliyār*."

⁹ This passage shows us the frame of mind expected in men who claim to have been "mysteriously attracted" towards God. It is on this account that madness is regarded in the East with respect, for the Oriental commonly

the difficulty, and he would recount what was passing at a distance.¹ He always passed the night in a standing posture, sometimes weeping and sometimes laughing.

I have heard from his confidants² that on one occasion a *Sayyid* came from a foreign country and asked the *Shaiikh* to prove his claim to being a *Sayyid*.³ The *Shaiikh* ordered firewood to be brought, and a large fire to be lighted, and then, taking the man by the hand, said, "Come, let us both enter the fire,

"That his face may be blackened⁴ who is lying."

The *Sayyid* held aloof, but *Shaiikh* Kapūr, entering the fire, came out of it without hurt; and many other similar miracles are related of him. All accounts of him agree in this respect. For the sake of brevity I have related only this much.

⁵ In the course of the year H. 979 (A.D. 1571-2) he ran out one night shouting "Strike, strike!"⁶ and fell from over the door of his house, and surrendered his life to God. *Shaiikh* Faizī found the date of his death in the words "*Kapūr-i-Majzūb*."⁷

XXXII. *SHAIKH ALLĀH*⁸ *BAKHSH* OF *GARMAKTESAR*.⁹

Garmaktesar is a *pargana* town on the banks of the Ganges, in the *Sarkār* of Sambal. He lived for forty years in poverty

believes that the maniac is as likely to be possessed by God as by an evil spirit. The account of travels of the eccentric Tom Coryate supplies us with an interesting example of this view of madness.

¹ *صغيبات*. This word has been too much for the scribe of MS. (B), whose version is *صغيبات*.

² *نقبات*. MS. (B) has *نقاب*.

³ *برهان ميدات ازو طلبیده بود*. The MSS. omit *از*.

⁴ I.e., "that he may be put to shame," the usual idiom in Persian and Urdu. It is peculiarly appropriate here, from the nature of the ordeal.

⁵ MS. (A) has *و* here.

⁶ *مار مار*. These words are probably Hindūstāni, which the *Shaiikh* most likely spoke, at any rate in moments of excitement, and I have translated them accordingly. If we suppose them to be Persian they will mean "A snake, a snake!"

⁷ $20 + 2 + 6 + 200 + 40 + 3 + 600 + 6 + 2 = 879$, the sum being just a hundred short.

⁸ The text has *الله* (*Ilāh*) though both MSS. have *الله* (*Allāh*).

⁹ *Garmaktesar*, or more properly *Garmakhtesar*, is now an interesting old town in the Mirath District, N.-W. P., picturesquely situated on the

and contentment, employed in imparting religious instruction to students. He was noted for his resignation, and companionship with him caused one to think of God.

In his seventieth year he journeyed to Sambal¹ for pleasure, 59. and an old woman, the widow of the late Shaikh Banjū of Sambal, she being devout and given to fasting, the fourth (perfect woman)² of her age, having lived for thirty-five years without a husband, never breaking her fast save with milk, privately sought to become his disciple, and asked him to shew her the way of God. He sent an answer to her to this effect, "Until thou obey the law of his holiness the best of men,³ (on him and on his family be blessing and salutation from God), and enter the bonds of matrimony,⁴ it is in vain for thee to ask concerning this path,⁵ and to speak of it." She at once entered her travelling litter, and waited on him, and was married to him, and shortly afterwards both of them journeyed to the next world.⁶

I waited on that reverend man in company with one of my friends, by name Sayyid Qāsim, who was one of the noblest of the *Sayyids* of Dihli, and found him pleasant in companionship and likewise in speech. When a basin and ewer were brought for us to wash our hands he said, "Begin with that *Sayyid*, for 'One who is of the family of Hāshim⁷ has a better right to precedence.'"

right bank of the Ganges. It takes its name from the ancient fort and from the temple of Mukteshwara Mahādeva.

¹ سنبل (text). The reading of the MSS. (سندل) is correct.

² The reference here is to the tradition that Muhammad said, "Among men there have been many perfect, but among women only four. 'Asiyah, the wife of Fir'aun (Pharaoh), Maryam, the daughter of Amrān, Khadijah, the daughter of Khawailid, and Fātimah, daughter of Muhammad." In the *Qur'ān*, and probably, therefore, in this tradition, Miriam, the daughter of Amrān, and sister of Moses and Aaron, is confounded with the Blessed Virgin. Badi'oni means to say that this old lady was entitled to rank with the four perfect women of the tradition, but it would have been more logical to call her the fifth, not the fourth perfect woman.

³ Muhammad.

⁴ Celibacy is frequently condemned by Muhammad, for "when a Muslim marries he perfects half his religion." *Vide* Hughes, "Do t of Islam" *at* *coribus* "Celibacy" and "Marriage."

⁵ راه, in neither MS. but rightly supplied in the text.

⁶ سفر آخرت گزیدند. MS (B) has گزید, which is nonsense.

⁷ The great-grandfather of Muhammad, from whom the latter's family, represented now by the *Sayyids*, are called *Hāshimis*.

XXXIII. SHAIKH 'ARIF-I-HUSAINI.¹

- He is one of the grandsons of Shāh Isma'il-i-Safavi.² He is a great master of exorcism, practises many austerities and strives much in the path of holiness, breaking his fast always with some coarse burnt barley bread and bitter herbs, which none but himself can bear to eat. He walks steadfastly in the straight path of the holy law, and recites the *ḥẓān*³ at the five times of prayer, in the very portico⁴ of Shāikh Abū-'l-Faẓl, at the Imperial Court, fearing nobody. Many miracles are related of him, one of them being as follows. He will throw a round piece of paper into a chafing-dish, with the fire burning therein, and will take out of the chafing-dish coined *aḥḥrajīs*⁵ and distribute them to the company, how many soever they be. They say that he will come out of a locked room, just as bodies are transported from place to place, and will appear elsewhere. On one occasion he came from Gujārāt to the city of Lāhōr and gave to the people winter fruits in the summer time and summer fruits in the winter time. The *'ulamā* of the Panjāb, the chief of whom was Makhdūm-i-Mulk,⁶ raised objections to what he was doing, and said, "It is evident that this fruit comes from some people's orchards, and that he has possessed himself of it without the
- 60.

¹ I.e., a *Sayyid* descended from Husain.

² The word *Safavi* occurs in neither MS. Shāh Isma'il was the founder of the *Safavi* dynasty in Persia. He was descended of a long line of pious *Sayyids*. His reign commenced in A.D. 1500 according to Muslim historians, but according to Malcolm (*Hist. Persia* I. 500) he was not recognized as sovereign of the whole Persian Empire until A.D. 1502 in which year he overcame Sulhān Murad, in a battle fought near Hamadān in Irāq (Vide Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, and Beale *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, 183, 184).

³ The call to prayer.

⁴ The text and MSS. have بیشخانہ which has no meaning. I read پیشخانہ with the meaning here given. Another reading suggested is نیشخانہ, "wardrobe," "store-room for clothes," or for basins, ewers, &c. The two variants were suggested to me by Shamsu-l-'Ulama Shāikh Maḥmūd Jalām. He prefers the latter.

⁵ The gold coin commonly known as a "gold mohur."

⁶ Makhdūm-i-Mulk has already been mentioned more than once. He was chief of the *'Ulama* or orthodox doctors during the reigns of the Afghan Emperors, Shir Shāh, Salīm Shāh, Firuz Shāh, and 'Adli, during which period he held the title of *Makhdūm-i-Mulk* which had been given him by

owners' permission, and to eat it¹ is unlawful.' As he was not well received in that country, he went to Kashmir, and 'Alī Khān,² the ruler of that land believed firmly in him, and gave him his daughter in marriage, but, when he discovered that Shāikh 'Arif was setting up some claim or another,³ he demanded his daughter's dowry back again, and took a deed of divorce from her husband; and the Shāh⁴ went thence to Tibat, and there also, they say, he performed many miracles, one of them being that he shook a tree, and quantities of *dirhams* and *dīnārs*⁵ fell from it. In this manner he exhibited great supernatural power, in Gujārāt, Hindūstān,⁶ Kashmīr, and Tibat, and wherever he went attempts were made on his life, and he travelled from country to country.

On the first occasion on which the Emperor made a tour from Kashmīr to Kābul the Shāh came to see him in the course of that journey, and the Emperor appointed persons to have charge of him, who should not let him go out of their sight.⁷ And sometimes, when he came into the Emperor's presence, his Majesty would place musk, and camphor, and other perfumes in a golden cup, and present it to the Shākh as a gift, but

Humāyūn. His name was Maulānā 'Abdallāh Anṣārī, of Sultānpur. He did not die until H. 990 (A.D. 1582) being then, like the rest of the 'Ulamā, in disgrace. Vide Vol. II., text, 202-201, and *Ann. i-Akbari* I. (trans. Blochmann) introduction vii., 544 *et passim*.

¹ ش carelessly omitted from MS (B).

² This was 'Alī Khān Cak, King of Kashmīr, who reigned from A.H. 971 to A.H. 986 (A.D. 1563-1578) in which latter year he died from injuries received during a game of *cangān* (polo), and was succeeded by his son, Yusuf Khān (or Shāh) 'Ak, in whose time Kashmīr was conquered by Shāhbrukh Mīrā and annexed to the empire. Vide *Ann. i-Akbari* I. (trans. Blochmann), 478, 479 and II. (trans. Jarrett), 380.

³ This vague statement may mean that the Shākh was following the fashion of the time and setting up as *Mahdi*.

⁴ I.e., the Shāikh. This is the usual title of courtesy applied in India and especially in the Panjāb to *Sayyids*.

⁵ Small silver and gold coins. Vide *Ann. i-Akbari* I. (trans. Blochmann) 35, 36.

⁶ The word is هند (Hind), but from its juxtaposition with Gujārāt and Kashmīr it is evident that it means only Hindūstān proper.

⁷ The Shāikh though honoured on account of his reputation for sanctity was evidently regarded as a dangerous character. His royal descent would have served to increase the suspicion with which he was regarded.

- however much he said "Accept from¹ me some gold, or some land," the *Shaiikh* would reply, "Bestow² the gold upon your *Ahadis*,³ for they are in sorry case. What should I do with it?" When I saw the *Shah* in company with Qalij *Khān*, in the portico⁴ of *Shaiikh* Abū-'l-Faẓl, under whose protection the *Shah* was,⁵ I standing on the parapet of a roof which overlooked his cell, he had his face covered with a veil, and was writing, and was saying
61. to one who was with him, "It was this Qalij *Khān* who said, 'I am Qalij, your slave and servant.'"⁶ It is probable that the *Shaiikh* had been accustomed to veil his face for a long time, and it was said that he possibly did so to avoid being recognized when he travelled from place to place—but God knows the truth. I heard from a trusted and intimate associate of the *Shaiikh* that one day in Kashmir the Emperor sent *Shaiikh* Abū-'l-Faẓl and *Hakim* Abū-'l-Faṭḥ⁷ to wait upon the *Shah*, and one of them,⁸ agreeably to the Emperor's order, said, "*Shah* how would it be if you were to raise your veil, so that I might see your comeliness?" He would not comply and said, "I am a poor beggar; let me alone, and vex me no more."⁹ The *Hakim*, with

¹ قبول نمایند. Both MSS. have نمایند.

² عنایت کنید MS. (A) has کنند.

³ A *corpus d'élite*. Abū-'l-Faẓl says, in his stilted and obscure style, "They are called *Ahadis* because they are fit for a harmonious unity." They were employed in the Civil Departments of the Administration as well as in the Army. From the *Ain-i-Akbari* we learn that their pay was Rs. 25 *per mensem* in the case of Turanis and Persians, and Rs. 20 in the case of Hindūstānis. If employed to collect the revenue they received Rs. 15 *per mensem*, and were called *barāncardā*, which we may translate by "seconded." The lower pay of those employed in collecting the revenue is simply a recognition of the invariable Asiatic rule that all those concerned in collecting what is due to Government will also collect what is not due to themselves. Vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, *passim*.

⁴ Vide *supra*.

⁵ Or, perhaps more probably, "in whose custody the *Shah* was."

⁶ The *Shah* evidently had cause of complaint against Qalij *Khān*. The expression seems to mean that Qalij *Khān* had at first professed devotion to him as a holy man, and had afterwards treated him with coolness and indifference, taking his cue from his superior at Court.

⁷ Vide *infra* Chapter III, No. VIII, also Vol. II *passim*, and *Ain-i-Akbari* II (trans. Blochmann), 424, 425 *et passim*.

⁸ Evidently Abū-'l-Faṭḥ, from what follows.

⁹ پیشتر (text). Both MSS. have بیشتر, which is clearly the correct reading.

his usual impudence and insolence,¹ stretched forth his hand, and endeavoured to pull off the veil. The *Shāh* objected, and becoming² angry said, "God forbid! I am not leprous or deformed; behold! See my face!" and he rent the collar of his garment and threw the veil from his face on to the ground, and said, "*Hakim*, you have now seen my face, but, please God, the honoured One, you shall, in the space of a fortnight,³ see what the outcome of this matter will be." Fifteen days had not passed when the *Hakim*, in the course of that very journey, died of the complaint of hepatic diarrhoea.⁴ And countless other miracles of this sort are related of the *Shāikh*.

One day the Emperor said to him, "*Shāh*, either become like me, or make me like yourself." He answered, "How can we, who have abandoned worldly objects,⁵ become like you? If you will come and sit beside us, in order that you may become even as us."

XXXIV. MİR SAYYID 'ALĪ'r-'D-DĪN OF AWADH.⁶

(*May God have mercy upon him!*)

He possessed sublime perfections⁷ of nature and manifested miraculous powers, and gave clear proofs (of his sanctity).⁸ He was one of God's most wondrous works, and many miracles are related of him. Notwithstanding the glorious position and exalted degree (as a saint) to which he attained he would sometimes declare holy mysteries and sacred truths in verse,⁹ and this opening couplet by him is the admiration of the world:—

"I know not what colour and scent that smiling¹⁰ rose hath,
"With which the birds of every meadow hold converse."

¹ Badāoni had no liking for Abū'l-Fath, who had great influence over the Emperor, and was one of those who led him astray in religious matters.

² در غضب آمد. MS. (A) has آمد.

³ در مفتد carelessly omitted from MS. (B).

⁴ اسهال کبدی.

⁵ لامرادان

⁶ Ajudhya, near the modern Faizābād.

⁷ The text here has مقامات, though both MSS. have کمالات, which is the reading which I have followed.

⁸ صاحب حجج باهرة - حجج is the plural of حجة "that which convinces."

⁹ Strictly orthodox Muslims are inclined to regard poetry with suspicion.

¹⁰ Lit. "laughing." A "laughing rose" is a rose with its mouth open, i.e., a full-blown rose. MS. (B) reads خود رو, which means "self-growing."

And he has composed a *tarjī-band*¹ of which this is the refrain :—

“View with the eyes of thy heart nothing except the Friend,
“Whatsoever thou seest regard as a manifestation of Him.”

And *Shāikh* ‘Irāqī (may God² sanctify his soul!) has said on the same subject :—

Refrain.

“The world is outward show; its reality is the Friend,
“If thou lookest to reality, He is everything.”³

And another has said :—

Refrain.

“The world is a ray from the Face of the Friend,
“All things existing are the shadow of Him.”

And I have written the following :—

Refrain.

“He is the kernel of the world, the world is nought but the
shell,
“But what of kernel and of shell, when all things are He?”⁴

Many of the holy men of the time have sat at the *Mir*'s feet,⁵ one of them being his own worthy son, *Mir Sayyid Māhrū* who walks in the footsteps of his illustrious father. Another was *Mir Sayyid ‘Ali-yi-Nalhari*,⁶ who was subject to overpowering

The text follows this reading but gives *خندان*, the reading of MS. (A) as a footnote variant. I follow MS. (A).

¹ The *tarjī-band* opens with a *matla‘* like the *Qhizal* and consists of strophes or stanzas, each containing from five to eleven couplets. Between each stanza is inserted the band or refrain, a couplet which is of the same metre with the stanza, but which has a different rhyme.

² The word *اللّٰه* is not in MS. (A). If it be omitted the verb becomes passive and the benediction is, “may his soul be sanctified!”

³ MS. (B) omits *و* before *منی* and reads *کن* for *گنی*, two very careless errors.

⁴ The purport of all these refrains is the same. They voice the pantheism of the *Sūfis*.

⁵ Lit. have risen from his skirt.

⁶ The reading is clear in both MSS. and in the text. I cannot identify the place. It may very likely be *Bilehri* (*بلهري*) which much resembles “*Nalhari*” (*نلهري*) in the Persian character. *Bilehri* is a *garqana* town in the *sarkār* of *Awadh*. *Āin-i-Akbarī* II. (trans. Jarrett), 174.

fits of religious ecstasy, and always remained secluded, and in whom a wonderful degree of religious poverty and separation from the world¹ was apparent. He spoke wonderfully well on the mysticism of the *Śūfis*. I, in company with Husain Khān,² waited on him³ in Kāntu Gūla⁴ in the *sarkār* of Sambal, and received much profit from his precious utterances;—praise be to God therefor!

Mir Sayyid 'Alī used always to say in his prayers, "O God! make me a martyr!" Accordingly on one occasion some of the robbers of that town, which is a noted den of thieves, entered the Mir's house at midnight, and an outcry was raised. The Mir, notwithstanding his ninety years of age and his bodily feebleness, seized an iron mace, and shouting out "Allāh, Allāh!" followed the thieves, wounding and sending to hell one or two of them. At last an arrow struck him in a vital spot, and he attained the rank of a martyr. This event occurred in the year H. 993 (A.D. 1589-90), and the words, "What has happened to that perfect spiritual guide?"⁵ were found to give the date.

XXXV SHAIKH HAMZAH OF LAKHNĀU.

(*May the mercy of God be upon him!*)⁶

He is the grandson of Malik Ādam, the Kākar,⁷ who was one of the nobles of Sultān Sikandur, and Ibrāhīm Lōdī.⁸ He lived

¹ The word used is *فربت*, which means "exile," "sojourning in a strange land," just as *غريب* means "a stranger" or "foreigner." I take the meaning of the passage to be that Mir Sayyid 'Alī regarded this world merely as a place in which he sojourned for a time, looking for a better country. It may be thought, that as *غريب* has come to mean in Hindustān, and in Indian Persian, "poor," Badāoni, whose style is characteristically Indian, uses *فربت* in the sense of "poverty."

² Badāoni's first patron. Vide *supra* *passim*.

³ Evidently Mir Sayyid 'Alī.

⁴ Husain Khān's *jāgir*. The modern Shāhjahānpūr, in Rohilkhand

⁵ $3 + 5 + 300 + 4 + 1 + 50 + 40 + 200 + 300 + 4 + 20 + 1 + 40 + 30 = 998$.

⁶ MS. (A) has *رحمة الله عنه*. The text and (B) have *رحمة الله*.

⁷ An Afghān tribe. "The Kākar country on the Indus frontier is about a hundred miles square, and extends from the Waziri border on the north to the Baluch border on the south." Bellow's "Races of Afghānistān," 91-94. *Āin-i-Akbari* I. (trans. Blochmann), 377.

⁸ The second and third (and last) Sultāns of the Lodi dynasty. Ibrāhīm was conquered by Bābar at Pānipat, and slain.

always by the tomb of his grandfather. The tomb of Malik Adam is of the length of two ordinary tombs, or more.

Shaikh Hamzah was powerfully affected by a mysterious attraction towards God. He was of commanding presence and great stature, and from time to time he took walks in the city, striding along like a tiger, and carrying stones in his hand, which he would throw around him in all directions, never, however, hitting anybody with them. He recited very sweetly, and was always reading the glorious *Qur'ān*. He paid great attention to any person whom he considered to be well disposed, summoning such to his presence. God be praised that I was one of them. He used to read omens. For the rest, most people were terrified by his behaviour,¹ and would not frequent his society, lest some evil should happen to them.

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XXXVI. SHAIKH PIRAK.

(*May God have mercy upon him !*)

He was also a native of Lakhnau. He used to live secluded in a cave in the forest, in the banks of the river Kūdi,² remote from any habitation and so concealed that nobody could find the way thither. He broke his fast (no oftener than) once in every week, after the Friday prayers. In his house there was a decrepit old man who used to bring to him for his meal a fragment of dry bread and some of the fruit of a plantain tree, which (the *Shaikh*) had planted with his own hand. If anyone had embarked on an arduous enterprise he would come at that appointed time³ and sit at the door of the *Shaikh's* cell, but the *Shaikh* would never speak.⁴

When Husain Khān was governor of Lakhnau I went with a friend named 'Abdu'r-Rahmān, who was Husain Khān's deputy, to endeavour to obtain an interview with the *Shaikh*. We found

¹ حركات و سكنات lit. "his movements and restings."

² I think the Gumti river, on which Lakhnau is situated, must here be meant. I can find no river or stream in Awadh bearing the name of Kūdi or Gūdi.

³ I.e., the time when the *Shaikh* broke his fast.

⁴ This may mean that the visitor would never speak, but the statement refers more probably to the *Shaikh*. The visitor's idea apparently was that he had made a pilgrimage, the merit of which would benefit him, without any advice or consolation from the *Shaikh*.

him nothing but skin, as it were, stretched over bones, and great snakes darted their heads out of their holes both within and without the cave. . One of those present was terrified and would have struck at them with his staff, but the Shaikh forbade him by a sign, and said, "What have they taken from you?"

When we asked the little old man concerning him he told us that he had dwelt in that desolate spot for more than thirty years and that the snakes had become quite tame from being with him and never injured anybody. When we were bidding him farewell he made a sign to all of those present to take some fragments of bread, several days old, and some dried fruit, which he had before him, and my friend offered him a piece of gold which he would not accept. These two¹ holy men died very shortly after that time.

XXXVII. SHAIKH MUHAMMAD HUSAIN OF SIKANDRA.

Sikandra² is a town in the Doāb. The Shaikh was one who was mysteriously drawn to God and was subject to fits of religious ecstasy. For fifty years after leaving the public service he lived as a recluse, withdrawn from all people, ever and persist- 65.
ently seated in devotional seclusion, and visited nobody. When I waited on him in the year 974 (A.D. 1566-67) he asked me the meaning of this couplet of Khyāja Hāfiz :—

"God's forgiveness is greater than our sin.

Why utterest thou obscure sayings? Hold thy peace."

I asked him where the difficulty was and he said, "As it was he himself that uttered the obscure saying why did he command silence?" I asked him to explain the couplet and he said, "It occurs to me that the obscure saying may be this, that even our sins are part of His creation, and to say this is to transgress." I remained silent, and he then in like manner commented on the following verse :—

"And serve thy Lord till the certainty overtake thee."³

¹ Shaikh Pirak and his old attendant.

² Sikandra Rāo, headquarters of the *taqfil* of the same name in the 'Aligarh District of the U.P.

³ وَأَعِدُّوا لَهُمْ يَوْمَ يَقْبِضُونَ Qur'ān xv. 99. 'The certainty' is death.

He said, "The word حتى ('till') signifies the extreme limit, but there can be no question of an extreme limit here, but apparently this limit might have reference to the second person singular, to which it would be possible to apply it." God knows what his meaning was; and that was the last conversation that we had together.

XXXVIII. SHAIKH 'ABDU-L-WĀHID OF BILGRĀM.

Bilgrām¹ is a dependency of Qannauj. He is a most learned and accomplished man, much given to austerities and devotions. He has a sublime disposition and attractive qualities, and he follows a sublime religious rule. He used formerly to indulge in ecstatic exercises and sing ecstatic songs in Hindī and fall into trances, but he is now past all this. He has written an appreciative commentary on the *Nuzhatu-'l-arwāḳ*², and many treatises on the technical terms of the *Sūfis*, one of them named *Sanābil*,³ and many other able compositions besides. Although he is the

66. disciple of another he has profited much by the company of Shaiikh Husain of Sikandra, and used to come every year from Bilgrām for the Shaiikh's annual festival, but now that he suffers from defective sight he cannot go there and is settled in Qannauj.

In the year 977 (A.D. 1569-70), when I arrived in Bilgrām from Lucknow, the Shaiikh came to visit me, on my sick bed,⁴ and his was the first visit that had on my wounds the effect of ointment, and he said, "These wounds are the roses of love." It so happened that at the same time the venerable Shaiikh 'Abdu'llāh Badāoni came there, like an invisible spirit, from Badāon, and I am convinced that if ever in my life I experienced a "night of power"⁵ it was that night. The *Mir* has a genius

¹ The well-known *taḥṣil* town in the Hardoi District, famous for its Sayyids and learned men.

² "The joy (or purity) of souls," evidently a *Sūfī*-istic treatise.

³ "Ears of corn."

⁴ Badāoni had been severely wounded by the relatives of a boy whom he had assaulted.

⁵ A mysterious night in the month of Ramaḡān, the precise date of which is said to have been known only to Muḡammad and a few of the companions. See *Qur'ān* xvii. The excellences of this night are said to be innumerable, and it is believed that during its solemn hours the whole animal and vegetable creation bow down in humble adoration to the Almighty. Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, s. v. *Lailatu-'l-Qadr*.

for poetry and he wrote of a witty, beloved and acceptable friend named Rājā the following couplet:

“Thoughts of thee have made my heart their throne,
Never will my heart have room for any but thee.”

Do not depart in anger (lit. quarrel) as thou comest first in peace.

For a moment do thou sit with kindness, so that I may get out of my own self.

CHAPTER II.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LEARNED MEN, MOST OF WHOM THE AUTHOR HAS MET, OR FROM WHOM HE HAS RECEIVED INSTRUCTION.

Besides those learned men whom the author has met, the large number of those whom he has not seen, but who are well known in all parts of the land, exceeds the bounds of computation and the limits of enumeration. Of those whom the author has known one is that master of masters, Shaikh Hātim of Sambhal.

I. SHAIKH HĀTIM OF SAMBHAL.¹

He was the pupil of Miyān 'Azīzu-'llāh of Tālamba.² Taking him in all he had no equal in this generation as a sage versed both in those branches of knowledge which demand the exercise of the reasoning faculty, and in those which demand the exercise of the memory, but especially in scholastic theology, (Quranic) exegesis, practical theology, and Arabic literature. It used to be said that he had, in the course of teaching, gone through the commentary 67 on the *Miftāḥ*³ and the *Muṭawwal*,⁴ from the *bā* of *Bismi-'llāh* to the *lā* of "*tammata*," nearly forty times, and that he had gone through all other advanced works (on theology) as often. He used to tell Maḥdūmu-'l-Mulk that he had no rival in disputation. When Mullā 'Alā'u-d-dīn Lārī took to the *Miyān*, with the greatest assurance, his notes on the commentary on the '*Aqā'id-i-Nasafi*,⁵ the *Miyān*, after perusing them, discussed the matter with such minuteness of detail that Mullā 'Alā'u-d-dīn was unable to answer him.

¹ Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 428.

² Vide page 3, note 1.

³ The *Miftāḥu-l-'ulum*, a work on grammar and rhetoric. The commentary on it was written by Maulā Husānu-d-dīn al Muwazzim. Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 428, note 2.

⁴ A commentary on the book called *Talḥīqu-l-Miftāḥ*, vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 428, note 4.

⁵ Vide vol. ii, text, p. 56.

In scholastic theology the greatest of the Imāms¹ (on him be the mercy of God!) was inferior to the *Miyān*. The *Miyān* was an ascetic and strove much in the way of holiness, and was pious and devout, although he sat in the seat of honour and dignity, exercising absolute authority.

When I, in the time of Bairam Khān,² the Khān-Khānān, re-entered the service of the *Miyān* in Āgra, after an interval of five years, I delivered to him a request for a decision on a point of theology from *Shaiḫ* Mubārak³ of Nāgōr, from whom I was at that time receiving instruction. After inquiring of me how I had done during the time of my separation from him, the *Miyān* said, "What sort of a religious teacher is *Shaiḫ* Mubārak?" I told him what I knew of the *Shaiḫ's* conduct as a *Mulla*, of his piety, his poverty, his striving in the path of holiness, and his commands and prohibitions in religious matters which in those days he took upon himself to issue, declaring them to be binding. He replied, "Yes, indeed. I also have heard him well spoken of, but they say that he holds the *Mahdawī* doctrines. Is this true?" I said, "He believes Mir Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr⁴ (may his tomb be sanctified!) to have been a great saint, but does not believe him to have been the *Mahdī*." He replied, "What doubt can there be regarding the perfections of the Mir?" Mir Sayyid Muḥammad, *Mir-i-'Adl*,⁵ now deceased and pardoned, who was a pupil of the *Miyān*, was also present; and he said, "Why do they call Mir Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr the *Mahdī*?" I told him that it was on account of his assumption of the authority to issue authoritative orders and prohibitions in religious matters. Mir Sayyid Muḥammad again questioned me, saying, "Mir 'Abdu-'l-Ḥayy of Khurāsān,⁶ who held the title of *Sadr* for some time, one day spoke ill of the *Shaiḫ* to the Khān-

¹ Scil. the Imām Abū Ḥanīfah, founder of the Ḥanafī school of jurisprudence.

² Vide page 8, note 4.

³ The father of *Shaiḫ* Abū-l-Faiḏ Faiḏi and *Shaiḫ* Abū-l-Faḡl. Vide *infra*, No. III.

⁴ Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, page 420, note 8, and *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i (biog.), p. v.

⁵ Vide *infra*, No. IV.

⁶ Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 468, 471, 480. In the *Tabaqāt* he is called *Khān*.

i-*Khānān*. Do you know the reason of this?" I said, "The 68 *Shāikh* wrote him a note, giving him advice on various religious matters, and among other things advised him to attend prayers with the *Sunnī* congregation in the *Maḥjīd-i-Ḥayy*.¹ This offended 'Abdu-'l-Ḥayy, and he attributed this advice to the *Shāikh* being a *Mahdawi*, and supposed that he was reproaching him with heresy." Mir Sayyid Muḥammad said, "This deduction of the Mir with regard to his own heresy depends upon this syllogism, 'You do not join in the congregational prayers: everybody who does not join in the congregational prayers is a schismatic: therefore you are a schismatic.' But the major proposition is inadmissible. And likewise the syllogism, 'The *Shāikh* assumes the power of issuing authoritative commands; anybody who issues authoritative commands is the *Mahdī*, etc., is unsound.'" The *Miyān* then said, "I will seal this application for a decision,² but I will retain it in the same manner³ as I have retained another application for a decision which was sent to me under the seal of some of the elders of this place, and in respect of which I have some doubts. Now do you take this to *Shāikh Bahā'u-d-dīn*,

'Abdu-l-Ḥayy, and is said to have been an *Amir*. He was for some time *Mir-i-'Adl*, or chief justice of the empire. He was a jovial judge, and on one occasion with Mirān Šadr-i-Jahān, the chief ecclesiastical authority of the empire, exceeded the bounds of temperance at a drinking party. Akbar was much amused by the sight of his high dignitaries in their cups, and quoted the verse of *Hāfiẓ*,

در درویش پادشاه خطا بخش جرم پریش * حافظ قرآن کش شد و مفتی پیدانوش

'In the reign of the King who pardons faults and cloaks sins, the reciter of the *Qur'ān* has become a towsplot, and the judge a tippler.'

¹ 'The Mosque of the Living God.'

² *Ḥukm* (ḥukm), an application for an authoritative decision on a point of doctrine or ecclesiastical law, made to a *mufti*, or ecclesiastical judge having power to issue such decisions. The decision itself is a *fatwā*.

³ A word *بگرویی* occurs here in the text, which has puzzled the editor. He says in a note that in some MSS. it is written *بگرویی*, and it is thus written in MS. (B). I think that there is very little doubt that the expression is *بگرویی* 'as it were in pledge.' The omission of the second stroke of the *gaf*, though common enough in MSS. and almost universal in Persia at the present day, sometimes does puzzle Indian *Maulavis*.

who is an accepted *mufti*, and say to him that my excuse of lack of books of reference, owing to my being on a journey, is perfectly comprehensible, but that, as to the tradition on which he has authenticated that (other) *fatwā*, it will be well if he sends me his original authenticated *fatwā*"; and say to him further, "The long and the short of the matter is that you have delivered a *fatwā* authorizing men to sell their children, when impelled thereto by hunger. In the first place this tradition is solely an *Ibrāhīm Shāhī* tradition,¹ and is not in accordance with any other standard theological works, and it is well known that the *Ibrāhīm Shāhī* traditions are not accepted by the learned as of sufficient authority to support a *fatwā*, and if you maintain that a *mufti* is competent to give the preference to a superseded² tradition, I reply without hesitation that the expression used in the 69 *Ibrāhīm Shāhī* tradition is that it is lawful for fathers (أبوين),³ in time of distress, to sell their offspring, and it is well known that the word أبوين includes both father and grandfather, as we find in the book on marriage:—"Any person whose fathers (أبوين) were Muslims is equal to him whose ancestors attained to the honour of (accepting) *Islām*," and it is agreed that the word أبوين here means "father and grandfather," not "father and mother." On the assumption that this much is granted why should it not be (ruled) that the authority to sell children vests in both grandfather and father, acting jointly; and what proof is there that such authority should be assigned to the single individual? He then retained *Shāikh Mubārak*'s application for a decision, and gave the former application to me. When I brought it to *Shāikh Mubārak* he was loud in his praises of

¹ These words clearly refer to some collection of *fatwās* compiled in the reign of a king of the name of *Ibrāhīm Shāh*, but I have been unable to trace the collection or to ascertain who the *Ibrāhīm Shāh* was in whose reign it was compiled.

² مرجوعة (*marjū'ah*). This is another word which has puzzled the editor of the text. مرجوع (*marjū'*), of which this word is the feminine form, signifies 'referred,' 'brought back,' or 'sent back,' and may be used of a judgment or decision which is sent back for revision.

³ This word is an Arabic dual, and signifies, literally, 'the two fathers.'

Miyān Ḥātim's knowledge of theology and said, "Tell him, after conveying my salutations, that I did not affix my seal to the application for a decision as I expected that this occasion would arise." When I showed the document to Shaiḫ Bahā'u-d-dīn he said, "As other *muftis* had confirmed the decision I trusted to what they said, and did not go deeply into the question, and there certainly was negligence on my part." The readiness of Shaiḫ Bahā'u-d-dīn, the *mufti*, who was a man of high position and great virtue, to acknowledge his fault, was evidence of his perception and love of truth, and of his rectitude and justice :—

"At the head of that letter which Āṣaf wrote

He wrote, 'God had mercy on the most just.'"

Miyān Ḥātim, after enjoying the blessing of the opportunity of teaching and imparting instruction for a period of seventy years, passed away from this transitory world in the year H. 968 (A.D. 1560-61). The chronogram of his death has been already given; the words, "With the King he is powerful,"¹ were found to give the date of his death. He left his son, Shaiḫ 'Abdu'l-Ḥātim by name, as his successor as a religious leader and Shaiḫ, but 70 not as *Mulla*. He too rejoined his venerable father in the year H. 989 (A.D. 1581) and left some degenerate sons as his heirs.

"How long shall I cherish by blandishments the complaisance of stony-hearted mistresses (idols) ?

"These degenerate sons do not call to mind their father."

II. MAULĀNĀ 'ABDU'-LLĀH OF SULTĀNPŪR.²

He was of the *Anṣār*³ tribe. His ancestors came to Sultānpūr and settled there. He was one of the greatest sages of his time,

¹ عِنْدَ مَلِكٍ مُقْتَدِرٍ. These words, which may also be translated, 'He is with the mighty King,' give the date 968. The chronogram has already been given on p. 47 of vol. ii (text).

² Maulānā 'Abdu'-llāh, Maḥdūmū-l-Mulk, was the famous leader of the orthodox party in the reign of Akbar, and the persecutor of Shaiḫ Muḥṣin, father of Abū-l-Faḡl. Vide vol. ii, text, pp. 19, 44, 84, 151, 154, 198, 202, 203, 204, 209, 255, 263, 267, 270, 273, 277, 311. In his later years he advanced some heterodox opinions, but they were not of the kind that gained favour at court. Vide also vol. i, trans. Ranking, pp. 506, 513-519, 521, 523, 525, 534.

³ Apparently an Afghan tribe.

and had not his equal in this age, especially in his knowledge of Arabic, Quranic exegesis, scholastic theology, history, and all those branches of learning which depend upon the exercise of the memory. He has left wonderful compositions, worthy of himself, the best known among them being the books known as '*Imat-i-Anbiyā*'¹ and *Sharḥu Shama'ili-'n-Nabi*² (may God bless and save him!). From the Emperor who now has his resting place in paradise (*scil.* Humāyūn) he received the title of *Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk*, and also that of *Shaykhu-'l-Islām*. He always strenuously exerted himself to enforce the holy law, and was a bigoted *Sunni*. Owing to his exertions many heretics and schismatics went to the place prepared for them. He used, owing to his extreme bigotry, to aver of the third volume of the *Rawzatul-'Aḥbāb*³ that it was not the work of Mir⁴ Jamālud-dīn⁵ the traditionist. In the year⁶ in which Gujarāt was conquered and while Maulānā 'Abdu-'llāh possessed great honour and dignity as agent of the exalted Court in Fatḥpūr, I, who had just then returned from my journey to the Panjāb, went in company with *Shaykh* Abū-'l-Faḍl, who had not yet entered the Imperial service, and Ḥājī Sultān of Thānesar to see Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk. We saw that he had before him the third volume (of the *Rawzatul-'Aḥbāb*), and he said to us,

71 "See, what mischief those who are followed in this land have wrought in the faith," and thus saying he showed us that couplet which occurs in the encomium:—

"This alone is sufficient to prove his resemblance to God,⁷
That it has been doubted that he himself was God."

¹ 'The protection (or continence) of the prophets.'

² 'An exposition of the qualities of the prophet,' i.e., Muḥammad, hence the benedictory phrase which follows.

³ A work by 'Aḥu-'llāh, known as Jamāl-i-Husainī, on the history of Islām.

⁴ The text has *Amir*. I have followed the reading of both MSS.

⁵ *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 449.

⁶ A.D. 1572. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 142.

⁷ حق انساني MS. (A) has حق انساني which will not scan, and may be taken as the gloss of a pious *Sunni*, scandalised by the attribution of the Godhead to 'Alī.

and said, "He has passed beyond mere schism here, and has placed the question of his misbelief in quite another category, avouching his belief in the doctrine of incarnations. I am firmly resolved to burn this book in the presence of a *Shā'ah*." I, notwithstanding that I was unknown to any present,¹ and had never met *Makhdūmu-l-Mulk* before, made bold to say, "This couplet is a translation of those verses which are attributed to the *Imām Shāfi'*"² (may God have mercy upon him!).

He looked towards me sharply and asked, "From what are you quoting?" I said, "From the commentary on *Amīr's dīwān*." He said, "The commentator, *Qāḍī Mir Ḥussain-i-Midī*,³ has also been accused of schism." I said, "This is wandering from the point." *Shaiikh Abū-l-Faḍl* and *Hājī Sultān*,⁴ with their fingers on their lips, were every now and then signing to me to be silent. Again I said, "I have heard from some trustworthy men that the third volume is not the work *Mir Jamālū-d-dīn*, but is the work of his son *Sayyid Mirak Shāh*, or some other person, and that it is for this reason that its style differs from the style of the first two volumes, being poetical, and not the style peculiar to traditionists." He answered me, saying, "My child, in the second volume also I have found passages which clearly prove the heresy and misbelief of the author, and I have written notes on them. One of these passages is the statement by the author that 'Ali, the leader of the faithful (may God be gratified with him!),⁵ on the occasion when *Talḥah* (may God be gratified with him!) was the first to swear allegiance to him, said, "My hand is withered and thine allegiance is worthless," that is to say, that 'Ali *Murtazā*, the leader of the faithful, actually took as a bad omen the fact that *Talḥah's* arm was withered—that arm which

¹ This translation is conjectural. The reading of the text and the MSS. is *مروند از خبا بای مجهول آمده*. I cannot ascertain the meaning of the word *خبایا*.

² The *Imām* Abū "Abdu-'llāh Muḥammad bin Idris Shāfi', founder of one of the four principal *Sunni* schools of jurisprudence.

³ *Sic* in both MSS, the text has *Mibāzī*.

⁴ *Vide* No. XXXVII.

⁵ The words "'Ali' and the benedictory phrase are omitted from the text, but are to be found in both MSS.

in the battle of Uḥud¹ was the shield of his holiness the prophet 72 (may God bless and save him and his family!), and was pierced with eleven wounds,—a presumption expressly forbidden by the holy law. God forbid that such should be the case! It is impossible that 'Alī should have followed such a custom, and it is impossible to believe that he did so." I said, "There is manifestly a distinction between foreboding and augury." Shāikh Abū-'l-Faḥr secretly pressed my hand and warned me to be silent. 'Abdu-'llāh said to him, "Tell me something about this person (*scil.* Badā'oni); who is he?" He and Ḥājī Sulṭān then told him something of my affairs, and our meeting passed off quietly. After we had left him my friends said to me, "You have passed through a great danger, but (fortunately) he did not set himself to persecute you. Had he done so who could have saved you?" Maulānā 'Abdu-'llāh, when he first set eyes on Shāikh Abū-'l-Faḥr, in the early years of the Emperor's reign, said to his pupils, "What injury will this man not do to the faith?"

"When I saw him in his childhood I showed him to those of the faith,

"(Saying) 'He will work mischief among the souls of men, to your guardianship I entrust him.'"

Maulānā 'Abdu-'llāh departed to eternity in Gujarāt in the year H. 990 (A.D. 1582), after his return from the pilgrimage to the glorious city of Makkah, and the chronogram in the following verses was found to give the date of his death:—

Makhdūm-i-Mulk departed and took with him,

As a sign on his forehead, (the words) "the mercy of God."

¹ Uḥud is a mountain about four miles to the north of Madinah, where Muḥammad, at the head of 1,000 men, was defeated by the Quraish, who had marched against him to avenge their defeat at Badr. Of the Muslims seventy men were slain, among them Ḥamzah, the uncle of Muḥammad, and of the infidels twenty-two. Muḥammad was struck down by a shower of stones and wounded in the face with two arrows, on pulling out which his two front teeth dropped out. Vide *Qur'ān*, c. iii.

When I sought of my heart the date of his death,
It replied to me, "Reckon the second hemistich (of
these verses.)"¹

He left behind him some degenerate sons who are unworthy of mention; and here I may remark that all the rising generation give cause of complaint to their progenitors, for indeed it seems that the climate of this age will cherish, nay will produce, none better than such fellows:—

I see no good in the world,
This seems to be the age of impotence.

This state of affairs reminds us of the story that a certain king who was a bigoted *Sunni* led an army against Sabzawār, which is a hotbed of schism, its inhabitants being all fanatics. The chief men of the place came out and made their representations to the king, saying, "We are Musalmāns; what fault have we committed that you should have brought an army against us?" The king replied, "Your fault is your zeal for schism." They replied, "This is a false accusation that has been brought against us." The king said, "Produce from your city in support of your allegation a man of the name of Abū Bakr,² and I will swerve from my intention of slaying you and of plundering your city." After much search and with much difficulty they produced before the king an unknown pauper, saying, "This man is called by the name which you desired." After observing the man's old garments and despicable condition, the king asked, "Had you nobody better than this to produce before me?" They said, "O king, ceremony apart, the climate

¹ There is something wrong with this chronogram. The values of the letters of the words composing the second hemistich give either 1488 or 1093, according to the value, 5 or 400, given to the letter *z* in the word *مصرع*. The words *مصرع ثاني* ('the second hemistich') give the date 961. There may, perhaps, be an enigma concealed in the verses, though none is indicated.

² The name of the first *Khalīfah*. The *Shā'ahs* do not give to their sons the names of Abū-Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān, which were those of the first three *Khalīfahs*, whom they execrate as usurpers.

of Sabzawār cherishes an Abū Bakr no better than this." And the *Mawlavi-yi-ma'navi*¹ (may his tomb be hallowed) refers to this story in his *Maṣnavi* as follows:—

"This unstable world is a Sabzawār to us,
We, like Bū-Bakrs, live in it mean and despised."

III. SHAIKH MUBĀRAK OF NĪGŌR²

He was one of the great sages of the age and was distinguished among the men of his time and his contemporaries for his piety, devotion, and trust in God. In early life he observed many austerities and strove much in the way of holiness, and was so zealous in enforcing the commands and prohibitions of the holy law that if anybody was present while he was giving religious instruction wearing a golden ring, or silk clothing, or red hose, or red or yellow garments, he at once made him remove them, and if anyone appeared with long breeches, descending below the heel, he immediately had them torn to the proper length. If, while walking through the streets, he heard the noise of any singing he would start violently. In his zeal for God he was so devoted to singing that he was scarcely for a moment of the day at ease without being employed in listening to the chanting of hymns, psalms, mystic melodies, and music.

74 In short he followed many and various rules of life. For some time during the reigns of the Afghān Emperors he used to keep

¹ Manlās Jalālu-d-dīn Rūmī, author of the *Maṣnavi-yi-ma'navi*.

² Shaikh Mubārak of Nīgōr was the father of Shaikh Faiṣi and Shaikh Abū-l-Faṣl. At one time he held the Mahdavi doctrines and was persecuted by Maḥdūmu-l-Mulk, but when Abū-l-Faṣl attained a high position at court the orthodox were, in their turn, harassed and persecuted. Shaikh Mubārak was the composer and chief signatory of the instrument which declared the emperor to be the highest authority on religious and ecclesiastical as well as in secular matters, an instrument which utterly broke the power of the 'Ulamā. Shaikh Mubārak afterwards joined Akbar's new religion, 'the divine faith.' Vide vol. II, text, pp. 32, 198, 304, 370, 312, 343; also *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 490. Shaikh Mubārak often changed his religious opinions, having first become a Mahdavi, then a Naqshbandī, then a Hamadīnī, and then a Shī'ah, before he joined the 'divine faith.'

company with *Shaiikh 'Alā'ī*,¹ and in the beginning of the Emperor's reign, when the *Naqshbandī* order were in great esteem, he adapted himself to their rule, and for some time he was attached to the Hamadānī *Shaiikhs*, and at last when the 'Irāqīs were in great favour at Court he spoke as one of their religion.² "Converse with men according to their understanding," was his practice, and so he continued to do. He was always employed in giving religious instruction, and was well-versed in poetry, enigmas, and in all other arts and branches of learning, but especially in the theology of the *Sūfis*, and, unlike most other learned men of India, he practised their system thoroughly. He also had *Shāfi'ī* by heart, and used to give instruction in the law of inheritance. He also had by heart the glorious *Qur'ān*, according to each of the ten methods of reading it.

He never went to the houses of nobles, but was a very pleasant companion, and had a great stock of wonderful anecdotes. Towards the end of his life, when his sight failed him and he was unable to read, he went into retirement and wrote a commentary similar to the *Tafsīr-i-Kabīr*,³ contained in four large volumes, and named it the *Mamba'u-Nafā'isi-l-'Uyūn*.⁴ The strange thing is that in the exordium to that commentary he wrote certain passages which seem to contain pretensions to the establishment of new principles in religion, and the innovations contained therein are those which are well known. At the time when he was enabled, by God's grace, to complete that commentary he used constantly to recite, with a view to reminding himself of what he owed to God, the *Qasīda-yi-Fāriḡiyya* in *ta*,⁵ which contains seven hundred couplets, the *Qasīda-yi-Burda*, by Ka'b bin Zuhair,⁶ and other epodes which he had committed to memory,

¹ *Shaiikh 'Alā'ī* of Biyāna, son of *Shaiikh Hasan* of Bengal, for an account of whom vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i (biog.), p. v; also *Badā'uni*, vol. i, trans. Ranking, 507-524.

² i.e., as one of the *Shā'ah* sect. ³ 'The great commentary' on the *Qur'ān*.

⁴ 'The source of excellent fountains.'

⁵ That is to say, a *qasīdah* of which the rhyming words end in the letter ط (*ṭ*).

⁶ Vide page 4, note 1. The text runs قصيدۀ بردۀ و قصيدۀ كعب بن زهير

until, on the seventeenth of Zi-Qa'da, A.H. 1001 (Aug. 15, 1593), he passed away from this world in Lāhor. He was a *mullā* whose like, as regards the scope of his attainments, has never been seen, and the pity is that his love of the world with its pomps, concealed under the garment of holy poverty, left no room for the love of the faith of Islām. The author, in his youth, spent some 75 years in Āgra under his tuition, and owes him much, but can no longer feel himself fettered by his indebtedness to him, owing to his numerous acts of worldliness and impiety, his devotion to wealth and pomp, his time serving, his deceit and double-dealing, and his zeal for innovations in the faith. "Answer, God; and either we, or ye, follow the direction, or are in a manifest error." ¹

In short, the saying of the common people, that the son brings curses on his father, is exemplified in his case, just as it happened in the case of Yazid,² in respect of whom some impudently and presumptuously say, "Curses be on Yazid and on his father!"

IV. MIR SAYYID MUHAMMAD, *Mir-i-'Adl*.³ of AMROHA.

Amroha⁴ is a *pargana* town in the *Sarkār* of Sambhal. Mir Sayyid Muḥammad was exceedingly pious, devout, and abstemi-

as though two separate *qaṣidah* were indicated. MS. (A) reads تصيد كعب بن زهير and MS. (B) reads تصيد برد كعب بن زهير. The editor has inserted both readings, which are alternative. For mention of this *qaṣidah*, vide p. 4 and note 1.

قُلْ اَللّٰهُ وَاَنَا اِرِىْكُمْ لَعَلٰى هٰدٰى اَوْ نَبٰى ضَلٰلٍ مُّبِيْنٍ ¹ Qu'rān xxxiv, 24.

The answer is to the question, "Who provideth food for you from heaven and earth?"

² Yazid, the son of Mu'awiyah, the second *Khālifah* of the house of Ummayyah. He is celebrated in Muḥammadian history as the opponent of Ḥusain, the son of 'Alī, who was killed at Karbalā in A.H. 61 (A.D. 680-81).

³ i.e., Chief justice. For mention of Mir Sayyid Muḥammad, who was one of the *Ulamā*, vide vol. ii, text, pp. 220, 222, 245.

⁴ Now the headquarters of the *taḥsil* of the same name in the Murādābād

ous. He and the author's father were in their youth fellow-students under various teachers in the city of Sambhal, and also in Badāon under Mir Sayyid Jalāl, a sage who had studied the traditional sayings of the prophet under Mir Sayyid Rafi'u'd-din. Mir Sayyid Muḥammad, after completing his course of studies, employed himself in teaching, and towards the end of his life attained to a high position in the Imperial Court, receiving the appointment of *Mir-i-'Adl*. In this high post he showed himself to be scrupulously just, straightforward and trustworthy, so that even the *Qāzi'u-'l-Quzzāt*¹ of the time, out of respect to Mir Sayyid Muḥammad's age, refrained from his customary double-dealing and base behaviour, and during the Mir's tenure of his post no heretic or schismatic had an opportunity of damaging the faith of Islām.

After the death of Mir Sayyid Muḥammad the title of *Mir-i-'Adl* was applied to and assumed by many persons.

The *Mir*, owing to his hereditary connection with me and the long-standing affection which he had for me, advised me, when I first appeared at court, to have nothing to do with any *madad-i-76 ma'āgh*, and to refrain from subjecting myself to the base actions of the *Sadr*s, recommending me to enter the Imperial service in any post I could obtain, for that the *Sadr*s were tyrannical egotists. Owing to my disregard of his advice I naturally experienced what I have experienced, and suffered what I have suffered. The *Mir* was appointed to the government of Bakkar² in the year H. 984 (A.D. 1576-77), and in that city departed this life in the year H. 986 (A.D. 1578-79).³

District of the United Provinces. *Vide Imperial Gasetteer* (now series), v, 330, and *Āin-i-Akbari*, ii, 289.

¹ Badāoni apparently uses this title as equivalent to that of *Sadr-i-Jahān* who was chief of the *qāzis*. If this be so, the person referred to is probably *Shaiḫ* 'Abdu-'n-Nabi. *Vide infra*, No. X, or perhaps *Qāzi Ya'qūb*, No. IX.

² He was sent to Bakkar on the dispersal of the 'Ulamā from court.

³ According to the *Tārīkh-i-Ma'āzimi* Mir Sayyid Muḥammad arrived at Bakkar on Ramaḡān 11, A.H. 983 (Dec. 14th, 1575) and died there *Sha'bān* 8, A.H. 984 (Oct. 31st, 1576).

V. SHAIKH GADĪ'Ī OF DIHLI, THE KAMBŪ.¹

He was the son and successor of Shaiikh Jamālī, the famous poet. He perfected himself in exoteric learning and enjoyed the society of the learned men of the age, being much benefited by their companionship. By means of the claim which intimate friendship gave him on Bairam Khān he obtained the appointment of *Ṣadru-'s-Ṣudūr*² in India, and was for several years resorted to, as an authority on religious questions, by the sages and principal men of Hindūstān, Khurāsān, Transoxiana, and 'Irāq. He was a born poet, and used to compose and sing hymns and religious songs after the Indian manner,³ to which pursuits he was passionately addicted.

After he had dissociated himself from Bairam Khān, the Khān-i-Khānān, and returned from the neighbourhood of Bikanir to Dihli,⁴ he was honoured and esteemed at Court as before. When in Dihli he always used to attend the shrines of the saints there (may God sanctify their souls!) on their anniversaries, and used to hold assemblies with great pomp and circumstance. He left this world for the next either in the year H. 976

¹ Kambū (spelt Kambūh in vol. ii, *passim*) is the name of a tribe. According to a proverb the Afghāns are the first, the Kambūs the second, and the Kashmīris the third sets of scoundrels. Shaiikh Gadī'ī was one of those who attempted to persuade Akbar to butcher Hemū in cold blood. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 16.

² Shaiikh Gadī'ī was Akbar's first *Ṣadru-s-Ṣudūr* or *Ṣadr-i-Jahān*, a very important post. The dignity of the *Ṣadr*, especially before the advent of the Mughul dynasty, had been very great. 'It was he who legalized the accession of a new king. During the reign of Akbar also he ranked as the fourth officer of the empire. His power was immense. He was the highest law officer and had the powers which Administrators-General have among us; he was in charge of all lands devoted to ecclesiastical and benevolent purposes and possessed an almost unlimited authority of conferring such lands independently of the king. He was also the highest ecclesiastical law officer, and might exercise the powers of a High Inquisitor.' *Vide Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 270. Shaiikh Gadī'ī was, like his patron, a *Shāf'ah*. *Vide* vol. ii, text, *passim*.

³ *موسيقى هندية* MS. (B) has, wrongly, *موسيقى* for *موسيقى*.

⁴ In A.D. 1560. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 38.

(A.D. 1568-69) or in the year H. 979 (A.D. 1571-72),¹ leaving behind him sons no better than the sons of most men in this degenerate age, "as has been decreed for these days, and in accordance with the decree of God the all-wise."

The following verses are an extract from the poems of Shaiikh Gadā'i:—

- "At times my soul, at times my heart became the abode of 77
grief,
"I ever grieve after thee, as I travel, stage by stage.
"Be not forgetful of my grief and pain,
"For there is no moment of my life which is not occupied
with thoughts of thee.
"I have bound my frenzied heart in thy tresses,
"Myself am bound in those musky chains.
"If desires could be easily accomplished by the surrender of
life
"No difficulties would remain to true lovers.
"Gadā'i, thou hast lost thy life in unsuccessful endeavour!
"I have not obtained my desire from the lips of my
friend."

I have copied these verses from the memoir of Mir 'Alā'u-'d-daulah, which is not to be trusted. I suspect that they are not Gadā'i's. But God knows the truth!

VI. MIYĀN JAMĀL KHĀN, MUFTI OF DELHI²

He was the pupil of his own worthy father, Shaiikh Naṣīru-'d-din, and the brother of Miyān Lādan. He was of the Kambū tribe. He was one of the most learned men of his time both in those branches of knowledge which depend on the reasoning

¹ In the former year, according to vol. ii (text, p. 119) where the chronogram مرده کلاه (' You are dead, you great hog '), giving the date 976, confirms the statement in the text.

² Vide *Zin-i-Ātbari*, i, 544. He is classed by Abū'l-Faṣl as one of those who understand sciences resting on testimony only, i.e., as a mere theologian.

faculty, and in those which depend on the memory, but especially in practical and scholastic theology, knowledge of Arabic, and expounding the *Qur'an*, in which studies he was unequalled. He used to speak authoritatively on the commentaries on the *Miftāḥ*,¹ and it is said that he had, in the course of teaching, gone through the book '*Aḍḍī*', one of the most advanced works, forty times. He used to impart religious instruction, and never went to the houses of kings or nobles, but always affected the company of magistrates who were honoured and respected. Most of his pupils have become wise men. He passed away to the next world in the year H. 984 (A.D. 1576-77) at the age of more than ninety years.

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VII. QĀḌĪ JALĀLU-D-DĪN OF MULTĀN.²

He came originally from the neighbourhood of the fortress of Bakkar.³ He was a profound sage, ever speaking the truth and loving it. In early life he was a merchant, and in middle age he employed himself in teaching. He taught in Āgra for some years, and then, in consequence of certain events which have been narrated in the detailed account of Akbar's reign, was employed in the high post of *Qāḍī*, after the dismissal of *Qāḍī* Ya'qūb. In respect of his integrity and trustworthiness he was the best of *Qāḍīs*, but, owing to the misfortune of his having a corrupt son, a handsome blockhead, and in consequence of the machinations of all the base pimps about the Court, his own lack of worldly wisdom, and his inability to appreciate the spirit of the age and the ideas of his contemporaries, he was banished to

¹ Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 428, note 2.

² *Qāḍī* Jalālu-d-dīn is classed by Abū-l-Faḍl in the same category as Jamāl Khān, vide *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 546. He was appointed *Qāḍī'u-l-Quḍḍāt* on the degradation of *Shāikh* Ya'qūb for refusing to pronounce *mu'ah* marriages to be legal. He was one of the signatories of the deed which recognised Akbar as the chief ecclesiastical authority in the empire. Vide vol. ii, text, pp. 209, 270.

³ Bhakkar, formerly headquarters of the Bhakkar *Sarkār* of the *Sūba* of Multān, vide *Āin-i-Akbari*, ii, 333. Now headquarters of the *talūq* of the same name in the Miyānwāli District, Panjāb; vide Imperial Gazetteer of India (new series), viii, 44.

the Dakan,¹ the rulers of which land, having heard of his staunchness to Islām and his preaching of the word of God, honoured him to the utmost extent of their power. From the Dakan he was privileged to perform the pilgrimage to the holy house of God, and there replied, "Here am I," to the summons of God.

VIII. QĀZĪ TĀWĀ'ISĪ.

Tāwā'is² is a dependency of Khurāsān. He was a most trustworthy man, but, as he was devoid of learning, some of his decisions were wrong. He had suffered much at the hands of the wealthy men of his time,³ and was therefore always much prejudiced against them, and would, as far as possible, show favour to the poorer party, even though he were in the wrong. He did not understand that in these days it is generally the wrong-doer that cries for justice, in which connection Shaikh 79 Abū'l-Faẓl has said, "If the greatest of the *Imāms* ⁴ had lived in our time he would have written on practical theology otherwise than as he did."

When the Khān-i-Zaman broke out into rebellion he gave a decision to the effect that the seizure of the effects of a rebel was unlawful,⁵ and this decision led to his deposition and the appointment of Qāzī Ya'qūb in his place. Very shortly after his deposition he passed away from this world.

¹ Badā'uni here makes it appear that Jalālu-d-dīn's banishment was the result of underhand machinations, but as a matter of fact he was banished for forging a draft on the treasury for 500,000 *tankas*. He was banished to the Dakan in the hope that the Muhammadan kings in Southern India, being bigoted *Shi'ahs*, would have him put to death as a bigoted *Sunnī*. Vide vol. ii, text, 313.

² Probably the same as Tāwawis, 'a dependency of Bukhārā, seven parasangs from Bukhārā,' vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, iii, 97.

³ *افيداي زمان* MS. (A) has *اعنيا بزنان* and MS. (B) *اعيار زمان*. Both of those readings are wrong.

⁴ Abū Hanifah, one of the four great *Sunnī* doctors of the law, and founder of the *Hanafi* school of jurisprudence.

⁵ Vide vol. ii, text, p. 100. Qāzī Tāwā'isī, whom I find nowhere described by name, was at the time Akbar's camp Qāzī. The Lakhnau edition of the *Tabaqāt* calls him 'Qāzī Tāwā'ish.'

IX. QĀZĪ YA'QŪB OF MĀNIKPŪR.¹

He was related to Qāzī Faḡilat,² and was well skilled in practical theology and in the principles of that science. He was of a cheerful and open disposition, and used to compose Arabic verses in Indian metres. They say that while he was, for several years, the *Qāzī'u-l-Quzzāt* of India, he used to take aphrodisiac electuaries in large quantities. One day when he was present at a party given by the Emperor, several intoxicating and stimulating drugs were handed round, and were offered to the *Qāzī* among others. He refused them, and when he was asked what sort of drugs he took, one of the Emperor's Hindū favourites immediately replied, "The *Qāzī* takes mercury."³

After his dismissal from the post of *Qāzī'u-l-Quzzāt* he was appointed to be *Qāzī* of Bangāl, and was sent off to that province,⁴ and while there used to use aphrodisiacs to excess, a slave to the violence of his lusts. He was a confederate of Ma'āsum-i-Kābuli in his rebellion⁵ and was in consequence recalled from that province and sentenced to be imprisoned in the fortress of Gwāliyār, and on his way to that place removed the baggage

¹ Mānikpūr was the headquarters of a *sarkār* in the *ṣūba* of Ilāhābād, vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, ii, 184.

² Qāzī Ya'qūb was son-in-law to Qāzī Faḡilat, Qāzī of the army under Shīr Shāh, 'who was popularly known by the more appropriate title of Qāzī Faḡilat.' Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 474 and note 4, and vol. ii, text, p. 101.

³ *سُر*, or *لُر*, a Hindī word. Mercury was apparently used as an aphrodisiac.

⁴ According to vol. ii, text, p. 101, Ya'qūb superseded Ṭawā'isi as chief *qāzī* in A. H. 974 (A. D. 1567) and was degraded ten years later, so that he must have gone to Bengal in A. H. 984 (A. D. 1576-77).

⁵ Vide vol. ii, text, p. 276. The rebellion was first preached at Jaunpūr by Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd, who gave a *fatwā* or formal decision to the effect that rebellion against Akbar, as an enemy to Islām, was lawful. It broke out in A. D. 1579, the ringleaders being Muḥammad Ma'āsum of Kābul, Muḥammad Ma'āsum Khān Farankhūdī, Mir Mu'izzu-l-Mulk, Niyābat Khān, 'Arab Bahādar, and others. Mu'izzu-l-Mulk and Mullā Muḥammad Yazdī were called to the capital, and on their way thither were put to death by being drowned in the Jamna.

of his existence from this world, and joined Mir Mu'izzu-'l-Mulk and Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd.¹

X. SHAIKH 'ABDU-'N-NABĪ,² THE ṢADRU'-Ṣ-ṢUDŪR.³

He was the son of Shaiikh Aḥmad, the son of Shaiikh 'Abdu-'l-Quddūs of Kango. He journeyed several times to the glorious city of Makkah and the delectable city of Madīnah, and there studied the traditional sayings of Muḥammad, and after his return he abandoned the mode of life of his forefathers, and, **80** objecting to the ecstasies and vocal music (of the *Ṣūfis*) followed the rule of the traditionists, and busied himself in ceremonial and outward piety, cleanliness, purification and devotion. When he was appointed *Ṣadru'-s-Ṣudūr* he distributed enormous areas of land to the people as *madad-i-ma'ānah*, pensions, and religious endowments, and never was there in the reign of any monarch a *Ṣadru'-s-Ṣudūr* so powerful as Shaiikh 'Abdu-'n-Nabī, or one who alienated the tenth part of what he did in religious endowments.⁴ For some time the Emperor had so great faith in him as a religious leader that he would bring him his shoes and place them before his feet. At last, owing to the disagreements⁵ of *Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk* and all the other ill-dispositioned '*Ulamā*' the Emperor's opinion of him changed completely.

Couplet.

All those who seek for pride of place are fools,
Aye, those who style themselves the '*Ulamā*'.

The chief cause of his fall was as follows:—When the Emperor, after his journey to Bānswāla,⁶ halted at Fathpūr,

¹ It would appear from this passage that Ya'qūb died a natural death on his way to Qwāliyār, but from vol. ii, text, p. 277, it is evident that he was executed by drowning, as were Mu'izzu-'l-Mulk and Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd. This event happened in A.D. 1579.

² Vide vol. ii, text, *passim*, and *Īn-i-Akbari*, i, 490, 545.

³ For a definition of the powers and duties of the *Ṣadru'-s-Ṣudūr* or *Ṣadr-i-jahān*, vide *supra* p. 122, note 2.

⁴ Vide vol. ii, text, p. 71.

⁵ Vide vol. ii, text, p. 255.

⁶ In A.D. 1577, vide vol. ii, text, 242, Akbar returned to Fathpur on

Qāzi 'Abdu'r-Rahim, the Qāzi of Mathura, laid a complaint before the Shaiikh, to the effect that a wealthy and stiff-necked Brahman of that place had carried off the materials which he, the Qāzi, had collected for the construction of a *masjid*, and had built of them an idol-temple, and that, when the Qāzi had attempted to prevent him, he had, in the presence of witnesses, opened his foul mouth to curse the prophet (on whom be peace), and had shown his contempt for Muslims in various other ways. When the Brahman was called upon to appear, he disobeyed the Shaiikh's summons. The Emperor sent Bir Bar and Shaiikh Abū'l-Faḡl to fetch him, and they brought him, and Shaiikh Abū'l-Faḡl represented to the Emperor what he had heard of the case from the people, and stated that it was certainly proved that he had uttered abuse of the prophet. Some of the 'Ulamā were of opinion that he should suffer death, while others were in favour of his being publicly paraded on the back of an ass and heavily fined. The 'Ulamā were thus divided into two parties and the question was argued at length. The Shaiikh required the

81 Emperor's sanction to the execution of the Brahman, but, notwithstanding his importunity, no open sanction was given, and the Emperor said in private, "Punishments for offences against the holy law are in the hands of you, the 'Ulamā; what do you require of me?" The Brahman remained for some time in custody on the charge, and the ladies of the Imperial *ḥaram* busied themselves in interceding for his release, but the Shaiikh's known opinions stood in the way. At last, when the Shaiikh's importunity exceeded all bounds, the Emperor said, "You have received your answer, it is that which I have already given you." No sooner had the Shaiikh reached his lodging than he issued orders for the execution of the Brahman. When this

May 12th of that year, *ibid.* 248. Although the slaying of the Brahman is here mentioned as the chief cause of 'Abdu-n-Nabi's fall, Akbar had for some time been displeased with him. *Fide* vol. ii, text, p. 208, where the incident of the discussion on the marriage-law of Islām is related. Akbar then accused the Shaiikh of having at one time interpreted that law very liberally, and of having subsequently retracted this interpretation to his (Akbar's) detriment. It would appear that Akbar never forgot this.

matter was reported to the Emperor he was exceedingly wroth. The ladies of his *harem* complained in private and the Hindū courtiers in public, saying, "You have pampered these *Mullās* till their insolence has reached such a pitch that they pay no heed to your wishes, and, merely to display their own power and authority, put men to death without your orders." They plied his Majesty with arguments to such an extent that he could endure it no longer, and the leaven of designs which had long been working in his mind at length fermented and overflowed. One night, at the tank known as *Anūp Talā'ō*,¹ he set forth the whole case, and asked certain time-serving *muftis* and stirrers up of strife for a decision on the question. One of them said, "The witnesses who have been produced prove that he has committed an offence against the person under cover of the law." Another said, "The strange thing is that *Shāikh* 'Abdu-'n-Nabi should claim to be a descendant of the greatest of the *Imāms*² (may God have mercy upon him!) according to whose school of theology the cursing of the prophet by unbelievers who have submitted to the rule of Islām gives no ground for any breach of agreement by Muslims, and in no way absolves Muslims from their obligation to safeguard infidel subjects. This question has been discursively treated in theological works, and it is hard to understand how the *Shāikh* can have so opposed himself to the principles of his ancestor." All at once the Emperor's glance fell on the author of these historical selections, standing afar off, and, turning to me he summoned me to him, saying, "Come forward." I advanced, and he put to me a question, saying, "Have you heard 82 that, supposing there are ninety-nine traditions awarding the punishment of death for a certain offence, and one tradition in accordance with which the accused person may be set at liberty, *muftis* should give the preference to that one tradition?" I said, "Yes, it is just as your Majesty has said; but this question turns on the maxim "Verily legal punishments and inflictions are set aside by doubts"; and I translated the maxim into Persian. The

¹ i. e., the '*Idādat-Khāna*' or 'hall of worship.' Vide vol. ii, text, p. 201.

² *Abū Ḥanīfah*.

Emperor said, with evident sorrow, "Perhaps Shaikh 'Abdu-'n-Nabi was not aware of this ruling, that he put the unfortunate Brāhman to death. Yet how could it be so?" I replied, "The Shaikh is, beyond all doubt, a learned man, but he must have had some wise purpose in view, in knowingly giving an order contrary to this tradition." The Emperor said, "What purpose can he have had in view?" I said, "The closing of sedition and the uprooting of the germs of insolence from the minds of the common people." I also brought to his Majesty's notice the tradition of Qāzī 'Ayyāz on the remedies of evils, which tradition had been laid before him in connection with this case. Certain lewd fellows of the baser sort said, "Qāzī 'Ayyāz was a Mālikī,¹ and his decisions have no weight in a land of the Hanafis." The Emperor said to me, "What do you say to this?" I said, "Although he was a Mālikī, it is yet permissible, by the sacred law, for a recognized mufti to pass sentence in accordance with his decisions." The question was argued at length, and the bystanders observed that the Emperor's moustache, during the discussion, bristled like the whiskers of a tiger, and those who were standing behind him signed to me to desist from argument. All at once the Emperor, opposing my decision, said, "What you say is nonsense!" I immediately made my submission, and retired and took my place in the circle of courtiers, and have ever since eschewed forwardness and the company of disputants, preferring retirement, and saluting the Emperor from afar.

From this time forth the fortunes of Shaikh 'Abdu-'n-Nabi began to decline. He withdrew himself from company and avoided it, concerning himself principally with his own claims to superiority and the repudiation of former decisions in legal matters, whether modern or ancient. He never went to Court.

- 83 About this time Shaikh Mubārak came from Āgra to Fathpūr to offer his felicitations to the Emperor on some subject or another, and the Emperor told him what had happened and asked him for his opinion. He gave his opinion authoritatively, saying.

¹ i.e., a follower of the school of jurisprudence founded by Mālik bin Anas, one of the four great Sunni doctors of the law. The Hannfis are the followers of the school founded by Abu Hanifah.

'Your Majesty is the *Imām* and *Mujtahid* of the age. What need have you of these '*Ulamā* for assistance in issuing your commands, whether religious or secular. They have no lot or part in true knowledge, beyond a groundless reputation therefor.' The Emperor said, "Since you are my teacher and I am ready to learn from you why do you not free me from dependence on these *Mullās*?" Shaikh Mubārak made a supreme effort to gain his end, and, aflame with rancour and contumacy, said, "Do you make a claim to religious supremacy, and demand from them an attestation of your claim." He ultimately wrote a decree affirming the religious supremacy of the Emperor and his superiority to all ecclesiastical dignitaries.¹ Shaikh 'Abdu-'u-Nabī and Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk were forcibly seized and compelled, as though they had been mere nobodies, to attend that assembly of base fellows. No one saluted them, and they took their seats in the *Ṣaff-i-ni'āl*,² and they were forced, much against their will, to attest that decree, whether they would or no,³ as has been mentioned in the detailed history of the Emperor's reign; and at last they both received permission to make the pilgrimage to Makkah.

Shaikh 'Abdu-'u-Nabī died in the year H. 991 (A.D. 1583).⁴

IX. SHAIKH AHMADĪ FAYYĀZ, OF AMBETHI.⁵

He was among the first of the greatest sages of the time. He was devout, following a severe rule and striving much in the

¹ *Vide* vol. ii, text, 270.

² 'The row of shoes,' i.e., at the place where the courtier's left their shoes when entering the emperor's presence.

³ The nature of the compulsion used is not mentioned. Badāoni, in vol. ii, text, p. 270, says that some signed willingly and others unwillingly.

⁴ In vol. ii, text, p. 312, the date of the Shaikh's death is given as 992 (A.D. 1584), and the chronogram there given (شیخ کنبی) gives the same date. He returned to Fatḥpūr from Makkah apparently in A.H. 990 (A.D. 1582). 'On his using some harsh language the emperor struck him a heavy blow in the face with his fist. The Shaikh said, "Why dost thou not strike me with a knife?"' 'Abdu-'u-Nabī was then called to account for the sum of Rs. 70,000 which had been advanced for his journey to Makkah, and was thrown into prison, where he was strangled one night by a gang of men.

⁵ *Vide* p. 27, note 3.

path of holiness. In the feebleness of old age, when he had no longer the power to walk, and was completely bedridden, he learnt the glorious *Qur'ān* by heart. He had by heart the contents of most of the books generally read, and if one of his pupils made a mistake in reading he would correct him without referring to the text. He was well skilled in expounding the *Qur'ān*, in the traditional sayings and biography of Muḥammad, and in history. He was a fellow-citizen and contemporary of Shaiḫ 84 Nizāmu-'d-dīn¹ of Ambāṣīhi, and he used to say of him that he was strongly opposed to the recital by the congregation of the *fatihah* after the *imām* (during public prayers in the *masjid*).

The author had the honour of paying his respects to the Shaiḫ while he was employed in giving instruction in the *Sharḥ-i-Viqāya*. One of the Shaiḫ's pupils happened to be reading the following verses of Hazal:—

“Abū-Bakr, the son of the chosen one,
Resolved on a foray in connection with a strange matter.
And he said, ‘Verily I have resolved on a foray
Against Kaftārah, who is my father's mother.’
And I said, ‘Wilt thou not hearken, O my son,
To the prohibition against associating with the base?’”

and a discussion arose whether the reading should be كَفَّارَةٌ or كَفَّارَةٌ² which latter is the feminine intensive form of the word كَفَّارٌ, “an unbeliever.” He said that the true reading was كَفَّارَةٌ and that no other reading would make sense, for that كَفَّارَةٌ was a Persian word. My contention was that the meaning of كَفَّارَةٌ was more obvious than that of كَفَّالَةٌ,—but God knows the truth!

¹ Vide p. 27.

² كَفَّارَةٌ means ‘an ungrateful woman’ or ‘an intensely unbelieving woman.’ كَفَّارَةٌ appears to be an Arabicized feminine form of the Persian word كَفَّار, ‘a hyaena,’ and, as applied to a woman, might be translated ‘ghoul’ or ‘vampire.’ The discussion between Badāoni and Shaiḫ Ahmadi is of no practical interest.

XII. QIZI ŞADRU-'D-DÛN,¹ SOME TIME OF JALANDAR, AFTERWARDS OF
LĀHOR.

He was a profound sage, and was regarded as a leader in religious matters both by *Şūfis* and by orthodox Muslims.² He was a cheerful and pleasant companion. Although he was for a time, as is well known, the pupil of *Shaikh* 'Abdu-'llāh Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk, I certainly found him to be far superior to Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk. So broad-minded was he in religious matters that he was commonly suspected of being a heretic. But the fact is that he was so credulous that he would implicitly trust any person, even a manifest heretic, who was inclined to asceticism, and would stand before him with joined hands, and regard anything he might say as an authoritative utterance.

They say that a heretic who pretended to be mysteriously attracted to God one day came upon the *Qāzī*, and that the *Qāzī* after his custom, stood before him with his hands joined in 85 reverence. The heretic, deluded wretch, said, "*Khizr*³ is always with me." The *Qāzī* fell at his feet saying, "Show him to me." The heretic replied, "I am at present in great anxiety over the marriage of my daughter, an affair which will cost me seven hundred *tankas*; when my anxiety is removed I will effect a meeting between you and *Khizr*." The *Qāzī* at once gave him seven hundred *tankas*. Two days later the man came to him and said, "Come that I may show you *Khizr*," and took him away with him to the river. Now the heretic was a very tall man, while the *Qāzī* was low of stature. The heretic walked into the river until the water reached his neck, and then stood still, and said to the *Qāzī*, "Come to me, for *Khizr* is here." The *Qāzī* replied, "I cannot swim: how can I come to you?" The heretic replied, "Well, I have shown you the place where *Khizr* is, if you cannot come to it it is no fault of mine." Many other stories.

¹ Vide *Āim-i-Akbari*, i, 545, where he is styled '*Quraighi*' and '*Abbāi*.' The *Tabaqāt* says that he was for some years *qāzī* of Lāhor.

² Literally, 'folk of the path,' i.e., those who follow the ceremonial ordinances, as opposed to the *Şūfis*, who discard them.

³ Vide Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*, p. 272.

even more laughable than this, are told of the *Qāḍī*, and to detail them would be to show the weakness of his intellect. His extreme simplicity can be estimated from the example cited.

When the Emperor bestowed¹ on the chief men of Lāhōr appointments in various parts of the Empire, and sent each one of them to fill some post in one city or another, Ṣadrū'd-dīn was appointed to be *Qāḍī* of the seaport town of Bahrōc, in the province of Gujarāt, and was despatched thither in that capacity. There he died, leaving behind him a son possessed of ability, named *Shāikh Muḥammad*, who now holds in that city the appointment held by his late father.

XIII. MIVĀN ILĀHDĀD OF LAKHNAU.

He was one of those sages whose knowledge is always at command and ready for use. He possessed a naturally acute intellect and intuitive intelligence. In knowledge of practical theology and the first principles of that science, and of Arabic, he had no equal. He wrote a treatise on syntax which he named after one of the nobles, *Qaṭṭī* by name,² and which contained some evidence of its author's industry.

I went to Lakhnau at the time when Ḥusain Khān was governor of that place,³ and met the *Miyān*. Among his works there were two books which struck me as being wonderful. One was a treatise, written in columns, which covered a piece of paper capable of containing fourteen lines of ordinary writing, and as broad as it was long. In this treatise the leading principles and

¹ On the dispersal of the 'Ulamā.

² A passage occurs here which I am unable to translate. It runs as follows:—

بالزام ايراد يصلح مثال درعين عبارت نه سابق نه لاحق

Both MSS. substitute *بصلح* for *بصلح*, and MS. (A) substitutes *مبادات* for *عبارت*, but even with these variants the passage is obscure and the text appears to me to be corrupt.

³ Vide p. 6, note 4. Ḥusain Khān was appointed to Lakhnau in A.H. 974 (A.D. 1566-67) and was transferred thence to Kānt-u-Gūla in A.H. 975 (A.D. 1567-68).

problems of fourteen different branches of knowledge were succinctly set forth. The other consisted of four *Maqāmahs* from a treatise in which the style of the *Maqāmātū-l-Ḥarirī*¹ was imitated, which treatise he entitled *Qifūn*.² He told me that he had composed other works besides these. His cousins, however, said that the treatise on fourteen different branches of knowledge and the *Qifūn* were written by Ḥakīm Zibriqī,³ who, having come to Jaunpūr, employed himself in collating books, together with the well-known⁴ Qaṣī Shihābū-d-dīn. These works, they said, found their way, in the course of time, to the library of *Shāikh A'zam* of Lakhnau, who obtained the title of *Ṣūnī-yi-Imām-i-A'zam*,⁵ and thence came into the hands of Miyaṅ Ilāhdād, who was a descendant of *Shāikh A'zam*;—and God knows the truth of the matter!

XIV. MİR SAYYID JALĀLU'D-DIN-I-QĀDIRI,⁶ OF ĀGRA.

He was one of the greatest of the *Sayyids* of Āgra, and was pre-eminent in his piety and resignation to the Divine will. From his youth to the end of his life he lived in seclusion, avoiding the society of the wealthy⁷ and all pomps and ceremony, and in his capacity as deputy of his holiness, the *Ghaus*⁸ of the Everlasting God, the pole-star (of religion) fixed by the Lord, the inhabitant of that place which is beyond locality, *Shāikh Muḥtyyū-d-dīn*

¹ 'The assemblies of *Ḥarirī*'; one of the Arabian classics.

² A Turkish word, signifying 'a border,' 'an edging of silk'; and hence, in analogy of the Arabic word حاشية, 'a supplement or commentary.' The aptness of the title will be understood if it be remembered that حرير (*harir*) in Arabic means 'silk.'

³ MS. (A) has زبرقي (*Ziraqi*). I have not been able to find any mention of Zibriqī elsewhere.

⁴ MS. (B) has مسطور, 'above-mentioned.'

⁵ i.e., 'Second (only) to the greatest of the *Imāms* (Abū Ḥanīfah).'

⁶ The Qādiris are an order of *darvīshes*. Vide p. 12, note 4.

⁷ MS. (A) has افيار ('strangers') with اغنيا ('the wealthy') as a correction in the margin.

⁸ غوث (*Ghaus*) means 'defender' or 'helper' and is a common title of Muhammadan saints.

'Abdu-'l-Qādir-i-Jilāni (may God be gratified with him and cause him to be gratified with us!), he received pupils up to the time when he bade farewell to this fleeting world. At this time his son, strong in the faith, Mir Sayyid Dā'ūd, is the representative of his reverend father, and spends his life in holy poverty, indigence, and peregrination. As the auspicious splendour of his dread Majesty the Emperor and the pomp of the greatness of his glorious progeny shone with ever-increasing brilliancy over the horizon of the imperial domain of Āgra, the effulgence of this
 87 unfortunate family has abated in splendour, and the families of other deceased saints too have declined in like manner.

Couplet.

"Hundreds of thousands of children were beheaded
 Before he who spake with God¹ saw the light."

XV. SHAIKH HUSAIN OF AJMER.

It is commonly reported that he was a descendant of that polestar of holy men, and king of true lovers of God Khāja Mu'in-u-'d-din-i-Sanjari-yi-Cishti² (may God hallow his soul)! Since the Emperor, in the days when he first began especially to venerate his holiness the Khāja of Ajmer, happened to slight the claims of the Shaikh (to descent from him) some perverse fellows, prompted thereto by certain Shaikhs of Fathpūr, men who have endeavoured to the utmost to depose and discredit those of their own class (may God reward them therefor!), gave evidence against his claim to descent from the Khāja, saying that his holiness left no descendants, and the Sulrs and Qazis also issued decrees to that effect, being guided by their time-serving dispositions.

Hemistich.

"The ago hath its raiment. Be thou clad therein!"

Thus the hereditary trusteeship of the shrine which had come

¹ i.e., Moses. The allusion is to the slaughter of the children of the Israelites by Pharaoh's order

² The great saint of Ajmer. Vide vol. i. trans., Ranking, p. 70, and note 2

down to him through so many years was transferred to others. The Shaikh, who was a man of great estate, lived in that province like a king, and the Emperor's regal jealousy, both on this account and on account of certain other events which happened, could not endure the Shaikh's position, so he ordered him to leave India and to journey to Makkah, and the Shaikh accordingly took formal leave of his Majesty during the march to Bāns-wāla,¹ and, after successfully performing the pilgrimage to Makkah, returned. Having accomplished his journey to the Hijāz, he paid his respects at Court, on his return, on the very day on which the Emperor had marched from Fatḥpūr towards Kabul against Muhammad Ḥakim Mirzā; but he would not conform to the ceremonies which have in these days been established by those who have accepted a new faith and have been recently converted to Islām, new followers of a new order of things.

The Emperor, after studying the page of the Shaikh's life and the lines of his forehead read there the signs of disaffection to himself, and commanded that the Shaikh should be imprisoned in the fortress of Bakkar.² There he spent some years, and at last, in the year H. 1002 (A.D. 1593-94), owing to the efforts made on his behalf by certain courtiers who had his Majesty's confidence, he was summoned from Bakkar to the Imperial presence, and, in company with some other prisoners, such as Shaikh Kamāl-i-Biyābāni, the impostor, some mention of whom, has already been made,³ and the Qāzis of Fatḥpūr, who had been imprisoned in Bakkar for fourteen years, owing to the machinations of Shaikh Ibrāhīm-i-Cishtī,⁴ and whose release had been ordered

¹ In A.D. 1577.

² Bakkar. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 300.

³ *Vide* vol. ii, text, pp. 300, 366.

⁴ Shaikh Ibrāhīm was the son of Shaikh Muṣā and elder brother of Shaikh Salim-i-Cishtī of Fatḥpūr Sikri, to whose intercessions the birth of Sultan Salim (Jahāngir) was attributed. In A.H. 986 (A.D. 1578-79) he was made governor of Fatḥpūr Sikri, and it was apparently while he held that post that he had the qāzis of the town imprisoned. He died in A.H. 990 (A.D. 1590-91). *Vide* *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 402, and *Bādāonī*, vol. ii, text, p. 374 *et passim*.

by means of the intercession of Mirzā Nizāmu-'d-din Ahmad,¹ he arrived at Court, and there they all paid their respects to his Majesty, and all, with the exception of the Shaiikh, prostrated themselves. He, an old man of seventy years of age, utterly unaccustomed to the ceremonial of kingly courts and the correct fashion of waiting upon royal personages, made a slight inclination and a mere bow, after the old custom. The Emperor's displeasure with him was renewed, and the Mirzā was ordered to have a grant of three hundred *bigas* of land in Bakkar made out to him, as *madaḍ-i-ma'āsh*,² and to despatch the Shaiikh thither once more. Begum Pādshāh, the mother of his Majesty, busied herself in the ladies' apartments of the palace in interceding for the Shaiikh, and said to the Emperor, "My son, he has an aged and decrepit mother in Ajmer, whose heart yearns to see her son again. How would it be if you were to give him leave to depart to Ajmer? He desires no *madaḍ-i-ma'āsh* from you." The Emperor would not accede to her request, and said, "Mother, he will start business afresh in the place to which he is now going, and people will present to him alms, presents, and complimentary gifts in plenty. He leads a number of men astray. In fine, let him summon his mother hither." This treatment of his mother was much bitterer to the Shaiikh than was the mere going to Bakkar.

On the night on which the *Sadr-i-Jahān* summoned the compiler of these historical selections to the Imperial presence in connection with the Shaiikh's resignation of his trusteeship of the 89 shrine in Ajmer, as has already been mentioned, the Emperor was perturbed in respect of that case, which he had himself brought forward, and refused to ratify the decree (with regard to the resignation), and retained the Shaiikh in his service. He said to the *Sadr-i-Jahān*, "Where is that simple-hearted old man?" (meaning Shaiikh Husain). I reminded him that he was in Lāhōr, and urged the *Sadr-i-Jahān*, since I myself was unworthy to hold such a blessed position, to have him appointed as the

¹ Author of the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*.

² A grant in aid of livelihood.

trustee of the shrine in that protected¹ city, and so restore to him his just due. But, since it is not in the nature of natives of India to work in the interests of their own brethren, or to trust one another, the efforts of the *Sadr-i-Jahān* availed neither in my case, unfortunate wretch that I am, nor in the case of *Shaiikh* Husain. That aged man, whose sins have surely been forgiven by God, now lives in affliction and distress, in perturbation of spirit and in perplexity, seated in the nook of obscurity, unable to haunt the doors of the great ones of this world, or to obtain their influence and interest on his behalf; while at the same time the road of representation is closed to him, and all hopes² of the intercession of others in his behalf are ruined.

But, to continue: the *Shaiikh's* existence is a blessing and a boon to be highly prized by his contemporaries. I was not personally acquainted with him till recently, but now that he has returned from his pilgrimage to the Hijāz, and has suffered bonds, he appears to me to be a quantity of (heavenly) light, and an angel in bodily form. Never have I known him to speak of worldly matters, either in public or in private. He is ever employed in austerities, in worship, and in striving in the way of holiness, fasting continually and always watching at night. It is my hope that God (may He be praised and glorified!) will open to him the door of his desire, in accordance with the text, "Verily a difficulty shall be attended with ease, aye, verily a difficulty shall be attended with ease." It is my hope, too, that God will speedily recompense him for his afflictions with the blessing described in the couplet:—

Couplet.

When hardships press upon thee, think on the chapter "Have we not opened?"³

And the word "difficulty" lies between two repetitions of the word "ease,"

When thou thinkest on this rejoice.

¹ محض (mahfūz), protected, that is to say, from evil by the presence therein of Mu'inn-d-din Chishti's shrine.

² Literally, 'the house of intercession is ruined.'

³ The ninety-fourth chapter of the Qur'ān, from which the text is quoted.

I pray, too, that I, bondsman of this world as I am, may by
 90 the blessing of that leader of all the pious, attain salvation, that,
 being delivered from my purposeless pursuits, my wild talk,
 levity, folly, and futile scribbling, I may reach my "true native
 land" and abiding city, to meet there my departed wife, children,
 and relatives, and, above all my son, and that I may be enabled
 to employ what remains to me of life in some occupation that
 shall serve me hereafter.

Couplet.

My purpose is, if it be possible,
 So to employ myself as to dissipate my grief.

And since these lines were written just as the scroll of felicity
 was unfolding itself, and the blessed breeze of morn was begin-
 ning to blow, and the true dawn was just breaking, what wonder
 if the arrow of my disinterested prayer strikes the target of
 acceptance through the bounty of the Lord, on whose boundless
 mercy I have always trained myself to believe, and by whose free
 grace I have been nourished?

Couplet.

91 "He may well unfold the desire of my fortune, for which
 last night
 "I prayed, and the true dawn broke." ¹

These complainings are out of place here, but what can I do?
 My soul and heart are so oppressed with weakness and un-
 easiness that these few bitter lamentations have escaped from
 the pipe of my tongueless pen. Please God I shall be excused
 and forgiven.

¹ This couplet is from an ode of Hâfiz, No. 236 in Colonel Jarrett's edition
 of Hâfiz. For صبح صادق in the second hemistich Colonel Jarrett's edition
 reads صبح آئین without any variant. A fine MS. of Hâfiz in my possession
 reads صبح صادق. The same MS. reads گریبا, or rather, as it is written, گریبا,
 for فالیبا in the first hemistich. This reading does not commend itself to me.
 The Cawnpore edition of Hâfiz (1902) reads آئین for آئین or صادق.

Couplet.

"I am not one to weep from grief of heart,
But this load of grief heavily oppresses my heart."

XVI. SHAIKH 'ABDU-'L-QĀDIR.¹

He was an inhabitant of U'cch, and was the delight of the heart and the apple of the eye of his holiness Shaikh Hāmid-i-Qādiri: may God make his soul fragrant!

At the time when that holy man (may God the most High have mercy upon him!) was in Agra in the days when Bairām Khān, the Khānkhanān, was in power, I was a student, but I had not the good fortune of waiting on him. When Bairām Khān, owing to the machinations of malevolent and perverse persons, the chief of whom was Shaikh Gadā'i,² became puffed up with pride on account of his transient high position, he began to regard the holy Shaikh with disfavour, and summoned him from U'cch. The Shaikh was much displeased, and declared that the order augured ill for his persecutor, and there happened to Bairām Khān what did happen.³ But Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauḡ used to attribute the subsequent confusion in the affairs of Bairām Khān to his own journey to Court (in obedience to a summons).

When the holy Shaikh Hāmid returned to Multan his soul, now resting on high, conveyed itself in the sacred shrine to the neighbourhood of the attendants of the sublime court of heaven and his pure body was committed to the ground in the village of Hāmidpūr, a dependency of Multān.

There had been for many years a dispute between Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir and his younger brother, Shaikh Mūsā, regarding the title to the Shaikh-dom, and Shaikh Mūsā, consequently,

¹ Vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, 544.

² Vide *supra* No. V.

³ Scil. his removal from his position by Akbar. Vide vol. ii, text, p. 36. As a matter of fact many things contributed to Bairam's fall. He was unfortunate in having the whole interest of the family of Akbar's foster-mother arrayed against him.

spent most of his time at Court. One night when the Shaiikh 'Abdu-l-Qādir was at Fathpūr oil of poppies was offered to him, and he declared the use of it to be unlawful. The Emperor was displeased with him on account of what he said on this occasion and one day in the hall of audience at Fathpūr, after the congregational prayers had been recited, the Shaiikh busied himself with his supererogatory devotions. The Emperor said, "Shaiikh, perform your supererogatory devotions in your own house." The 92 Shaiikh replied, "Sire, in this kingdom your commands have no force." The Emperor was much displeased and said, "What an ignorant fellow is this Shaiikh." He then said, "Since you do not desire what my power can give you, remain no longer in my kingdom." The Shaiikh immediately left the assembly, resigned his *madad-i-ma'āsh*, and ceased to prosecute his case against his younger brother. He retired to Uch, the burial place of his revered predecessors, and, in Shaiikh Mūsā's absence, removed the bones of the holy Shaiikh Hāmid to Uch, and followed the sublime and laudable rule of his predecessors. He now walks, with the footsteps of resignation, in the way of holy poverty, and receives so much in the way of alms that he has no need of any *madad-i-ma'āsh*. Now Shaiikh Mūsā, after all the years which he has spent in piety, devotion, holy endeavour, and saintliness, has become a secular follower of the Emperor, has adopted the profession of arms, and, having resigned his former service, has now become a commander of five hundred horse. This is similar to the story of a man who became a Musalmān, to whom one said, "You have done well, there were too few Musalmāns without you!"

So long as Shaiikh Mūsā was with the Emperor he would, at the stated times for prayer, whether he were in the public or the private hall of audience, himself utter the call to prayer, and would then lead the congregational prayers in the presence of the Khalifah of the age, and none could gainsay him.

¹ Badāoni apparently means to be sarcastic, insinuating that there were plenty of ~~cavalent~~ ^{relevant} holy men who had relinquished the service of God for the service of Akbar. With reference to what follows, however, he may mean that the imperial service was benefited by the accession of at least one true Muslim.

When news was brought to Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir of his brother's new rank at Court, he said, "He well deserves the command of a thousand horse. Why did he not enter the imperial service before, and receive a *jāgīr* in Multān, instead of causelessly quarrelling for so long?"

Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir, well content with the honour and high place which he has gained through holy poverty, follows the rule of his noble ancestors and, sitting as their successor, employs himself in guiding and teaching the people, and spends his precious time in worship, in the practice of severe austerities, and in holy endeavour, so that his leadership in the religious world is established.¹

Couplet,

We will not deprive ourselves of the honour of holy poverty 93
and contentment :

Tell the king that our daily bread has been appointed for us
by God.

XVII. SHAIKH KABIR.

He was the spiritual successor of his holiness Shaikh Bahā'u-d-din Zakariyā² (may God sanctify his soul!). The people of Multan gave him the title of *Valī* (saint), and so great was their faith in him that he could, if he chose, assemble a thousand horsemen in one day. He employed his time so busily that he took his meals at variable times, as it were, and owing to the redness of his eyes, caused really by his night watches, the common people believed him to be a drunkard.

"So much is my own blood my drink that all night long I am beside myself,

"And for this reason men charge me with wine-bibbing."

Nevertheless, Shaikh Mūsā-i-Qādiri, who has been mentioned above, always attributed the redness of Shaikh Kabir's eyes to actual drunkenness, and he would continually say, "I fear that

¹ Literally, 'has been stamped as current coin.'

² Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, 133 and note 2; and *Am-i-Akbari* iii, 362 and note 3. Badāoni does not, of course, mean that Kabir was the immediate successor of this saint, who died in A.D. 1267-68. In the *Tabaqat* Kabir is said to have been an actual descendant of Bahā'u-d-din Zakariyā.

the saints of old, too, whose morals we read of in books, were like Shaiikh Kabir, who is well known as a "Saint," and that the old poets, also, were like Shaiikh Faizī and the rest of them." God forbid!

I saw Shaiikh Kabir once at Fathpūr, when I was with Husam Khān, and observed his dignity of appearance, and I firmly believe that inwardly he was a knower of hidden secrets.

(A fragment¹ from Sa'di.)

"Whomsoever thou seest clad in the garments of holiness,

"Believe him to be holy, and a pious man.

"If thou knowest not his actual state.

"What business has the police officer within the house?"

His death took place in the year H. 995 (A.D. 1587) and he is buried in the burial place of his venerable forefathers (may blessing and peace be upon them!).

He is one of the faithful men of this age, and is among the greatest of the spiritual representatives of Shaiikh 'Abdu'l-Razzāq of Jhanjhāna, a noted Shaiikh, who was widely venerated by ecstatic mystics, and followed by those who had acquired learning and perfection.

The *Mir* passed his eightieth year, and advanced well into his ninth decade, and throughout his precious life he never set foot outside his house once he had received authoritative permission to give religious instruction. He was resorted to by the great, and by all, both rich and poor. Many miracles are related of him, and whosoever was honoured by the *Mir's* companionship, and in all sincerity enrolled himself among his disciples, obtained grace to avoid all forbidden things and wanton pastimes, to ally himself to the Fount of all grace, and to attain his true object. Among such was Muḥammad Ja'far, the relative of Mirzā Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad, an orthodox youth, but polluted with debauchery. When he travelled from Lāhōr to take up the

¹ قطعه. The text does not give the source of the quotation. I have inserted it from MS. (A). The verses are well known.

*faujdārī*¹ of the *pargana* of *Shamsābād*,² which was in the *Mirzā's jāgīr*, and reached Lādhīāna, he enrolled himself among Mir Sayyid 'Alī's disciples, and, by God's grace, repented of his sins, and, leaving aside all³ things that should be shunned,⁴ and everything that is forbidden, frequently begged the *Mir* to offer up a prayer⁵ that he might attain to the dignity of martyrdom. The *Mir* offered up prayers in accordance with his request, and in the course of three or four months Muḥammad Ja'far became so well known for his piety, abstinence, asceticism, and devotion, that he became an object of envy⁶ to many of the pious, and he, who used with much pride and pomp, and with many attendants, to recite his night prayers, now drew water for his ceremonial ablutions without the help of any servant, and aroused nobody.

In a short time the *Mir's* prayer was answered, and in a village 95 in the *pargana* of *Shamsābād* Muḥammad Ja'far attained to the dignity of martyrdom,⁷ fighting manfully against the warlike infidels.

In that same year I waited on Mir Sayyid 'Alī, on the occasion on which I, in company with Mirzā Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, obtained leave to visit my beloved home. The conversation turned on the martyrdom of Ja'far, and Mir Sayyid 'Alī said, "It is admissible for martyrs to satisfy their love of pleasure in

¹ The *faujdār* was the chief military and police officer of a *pargana*, or 'hundred.'

² Headquarters of a *pargana* in the *sarkār* of *Qannauj* in the *suba* of *Agra*, vide *Asiatic Researches*, ii, 185. Now a town in the *Qaimganj tahsil* of the *Farrukhābād District* in the U. P., vide *Imp. Gazetteer (new series)*, xxii, 229.

جميع, omitted from the text, though both MSS. have it.

⁴ محذورات MS. (A) has محذورات which is not so good a reading.

⁵ فاتحة the opening chapter of the *Qur'ān* which is recited as a prayer with intention.

⁶ غبطة *Badāoni* always used the word in this wrong sense, vide *supra* p. 30, note 2, also vol. i. trans. *Ramking*, 395 and 543, note 4.

⁷ In A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590-91), vide vol. ii, text, p. 376 Muḥammad Ja'far was the son of Nizāmu-d-dīn's maternal aunt.

this world as well (as in the next), as is certain from the following text which occurs in the glorious word of God :—‘Nay, rather, alive with their Lord they are provided for, rejoicing.’”¹ He then said, in this connection, “There was a newly married youth who met his death by martyrdom in this neighbourhood, and after his death he used to return always on Friday nights, in appearance the same as when he was alive, and pass the night with his wife in conjugal intercourse.” I said, “They say too that deceased martyrs are capable of begetting children in these circumstances, and it is well known that this is a fact. In the *pargana* town of Basāwar, which was my birthplace, an Afghān named Ishāq suffered martyrdom but used to consort with his newly-married wife after his death, visiting her every Friday night. He ordered her to keep the matter secret, but shortly afterwards, when the woman became pregnant, she was accused of misconducting herself. On being much pressed she revealed the whole matter to her mother-in-law, Ishāq’s mother, and one Friday night showed her the form of her son. The mother cried out, calling her son by name, and tried to embrace him. The shape vanished, and from that day forth Ishāq appeared no more. His mother dug a well and named it after him, and the well exists to this day. How can these things be?” Mir Sayyid ‘Alī answered, “They are possible, and they are not contrary to reason.” Mirzā Nizāmu’-d-din Ahmad said, “It may be that a *jinn* appeared in the outward form of the Martyr.” The *Mir* said, “A *jinn* has not the power to appear in the semblance of the bodies of prophets, saints, pious men, and martyrs.”

The death of the *Mir* occurred in the year H. 1002 (A.D. 1593-94), or H. 1003 (A.D. 1594-95). One of the learned men 96 of the time found that the words, “The religious leader of mankind,”² gave the date of his death. The *Mir*’s worthy son, Mir Sayyid Maḥmūd, has succeeded him.

¹ بل احياء عند ربهم يرزقون *Qur’ān* iii, part of verses 163, 164.

² شيخنا *Shaykh*. This chronogram gives the date A.D. 1002 (A.D. 1593-94).

XIX. SHAIKH MU'IN.

He was the grandson of Maulānā Mu'in the preacher, a well-known man, the author of the *Ma'ārij-u-n-nubūwah*.¹ Shaikh Mu'in (of whom I am writing) was an angel in human form. He was employed for some time, under the *farmān* of the *Khālifah* of the age, as *Qāḍī* of Lāhōr. They say that he never decided a case, and that if a plaintiff pressed for the decision of his suit he would with much insistence and lamentation and with protestations of his own incompetence, say, "For God's sake compromise the matter between you, so that I may avoid responsibility, and have no cause for repentance or shame." He would also say, "You both know all about the case; it is my misfortune that I, who know nothing of it, am left alone to decide between two who knew all about it. Do not, then, give me cause to be ashamed before the Court of God, the Most High!" If a woman prayed for a separation from her husband on the ground of his absence from her he would provide her with means of livelihood to the extent of his ability, and would say, "Take this much for your subsistence and await your husband's return: do not separate from him."

He devoted his subsistence allowance, over which he had exclusive rights, to the pay of scribes, whom he used to employ to copy valuable books, and he used to collate the copies and have them bound, and would then present them to students. This was his principal occupation and employment throughout his life, and he must have distributed thousands of such volumes to the people.

In the year H. 995 (A.D. 1587) he took his departure from this world, the sojourning place of toil, for the garden of eternity, leaving two sons, one of whom is famous in all riots and combats for his skill in wrestling, while the other is a noted pigeon-flier. On account of these accomplishments their names were mentioned the Emperor, and he was a spectator of their performances. 97

¹ The text has *Mi'raj*, but both MSS. have *Ma'ārij*, which reading I have adopted. The title of the book, which I have not found mentioned elsewhere means "Steps to prophet-hood."

"The living comes forth from the dead and the dead comes forth from the living."¹

XX. MİR 'ABDU-'L-LATĪF OF QAZVIN.

He was a *Saifī* Sayyid descended from Ḥasan. He was well-versed both in those branches of knowledge which depend upon the exercise of the reasoning faculties and in those which depend upon the exercise of the memory. Every step in his pedigree is historical, as Ḥairatī, the famous poet, wrote in an ode in praise of Qāzī Yahyā, the venerable father of the *Mīr* :—

"Tales of history should be heard from his lips,

For no one has seen his like in history."

He or one of his relations found the date of the perversion of *Shāh Isma'il* in the words, "the untrue religion." When he was arrested in consequence he said, "I said 'the religion' wrongly,"² and obtained his freedom by this artifice. The *Saifī Sayyids* were all bigoted *Sunnīs*, and *Shāh Tahmāsp* deprived them of their families and estates on this charge, and this was the cause of *Mīr 'Abdu-'l-Latīf's* coming to India. I heard this from *Mirzā Ghiyāṣu-'d-dīn 'Alī*,³ who is entitled *Āṣaf Khān*. When *Mīr 'Abdu-'l-Latīf* and his family fell into disfavour with the (Persian) king, *Mīr 'Alā'u-'d-daulah*, the writer of the *Tazkirah*, who was the younger brother of 'Abdu-'l-Latīf and had been brought up by him, and who used to call him *Ḥazrat-i-Āqā*, with some object of his own in view wrote an ode, declaring his complete separation and estrangement from his brother. One of the hemistichs of that ode is as follows :—

"I utter curses on Yahyā and on Ḥazrat-i-Āqā."⁴

98 People said to him, "The *Mīr* brought you up by his side, why

¹ That is to say, the dead *Shāikh* lives in his works while from his living sons proceeds nothing but dead works.

² i.e., 'I was wrong in calling it a religion at all.' *Shāh Isma'il's* 'perversion' was to the *Shāh* faith.

³ The text omits *Alī*, though both MSS. have it, and it is correct. *Vide Ain-i-Abbasi*, i, 433.

⁴ *Mīr 'Alā'u-'d-daulah* had apparently become a *Shāh*.

have you insulted him?" He answered, "Do you not see that I have shown my gratitude to him by mentioning him by the title of *Ḥaṣrat-i-Āqā*, while I have mentioned my father by his name only, without any honorific title?" To be brief, the depraved heretics worked on the mind of Shāh Tahmāsp, and completely alienated him from Mir Yahyā, and the *Shāh* sent a royal messenger, a man of devilish aspect, and in appearance like the guardians of hell, from Āzarbā'ijān with a written order which ran as follows:—"Since Mir Yahyā and his son Mir 'Abdu-'l-Laṭif are full of zeal for the *Sunni* persuasion, and are the chief cause of the staunchness of the *Sunnis* of Qazvin, therefore take both these men, and collect all the *Sunni* books which can be found within the limits of their jurisdiction, and send them to me, and take their wives and families to Iṣfahān." Thereupon Mir 'Alā'u'd-daulah who was then in Āzarbā'ijān sent a swift messenger with a letter to this effect, and the royal messengers arrested Mir Yahyā who was known as "Yahyā the innocent,"¹ and he was kept in Iṣfahān in bonds for eighteen months, until he was released at once from those bonds and from the bonds of this world of vexation and anguish. Mir 'Abdu-'l-Laṭif sought safety in flight and withdrew himself for a time to the mountains, and, relying on the promise of his late Majesty, came to India where he was honoured by being received into the imperial service and was gladdened by the emoluments which he received through the boundless liberality and generosity of the emperor. His present majesty also took some lessons from him in various passages of the *Divān* of Khāja Ḥāfiẓ and other books.

On the 5th *Rajab* in the year H. 981 (Oct. 31, 1573) in the new town of Fathpūr Mir 'Abdu-'l-Laṭif took his departure for paradise, the abode of bliss, and obtained the everlasting blessings of the heavenly damsels and mansions, and was buried on the ramparts of the fortress of Ajmer close to Mir Sayyid Ḥusain, "*Khing-sawār*."² Qāsim-i-Arsalān found the chronogram

¹ Or 'the divinely protected from error.'

² 'The rider of the grey horse.' Mir Sayyid Ḥusain is a saint who has a shrine at Ajmer.

99 "The glory of the race of Yas"¹ for the date of his death.

Mir 'Abdu-'l-Laṭif's fortunate, noble, and orthodox son Mirzā Ghīyāsu-'d-dīn 'Alī-yi-Akḥund, entitled Naqīb Khān,² who is endowed with angelic qualities and adorned with the graces and perfection of learning, has no equal either in Arabia or in Persia in his knowledge of works on travel, of history, and of chronicles, as has been said before. The author is more intimate with him than with any of the courtiers, and was his schoolfellow from childhood. He is now strenuously employed, night and day, in the imperial service, and for a whole generation past has been engaged in reading works on history, books of story, and anecdotes, and legends, both in Persian and in Hindi, which latter works have in these days been translated. One may say indeed that he has become a part of the life of the *Khālīfah* of the age, who never dreams of losing his companionship for a moment. Of late he has been suffering from slight fever, but it is hoped that he will be blessed with a rapid recovery and complete restoration to health. Since the good are everywhere acceptable may they live long! As for the evil ones of the age, what need is there to utter prayers for them? The evil that they do brings its own reward and evil befalls the tongue which pollutes itself by the mention of these nameless scoundrels.

XXI. KHĀJA MUḤAMMAD YAḤYĀ.

He was a descendant in the fourth generation of the holy Khāja Aḥrār³ (may God sanctify his soul!). He was well acquainted with the seven styles of penmanship, and was a professor of that art. He had great practice and wonderful skill in medicine and therapeutics. His excellent qualities and dis-

¹ The chronogram gives the date 981.

² Vide *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 441. Akḥund means 'theologian,' 'preacher,' or 'tutor.' Naqīb Khān was made a commander of fifteen hundred at the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign, and died in A.D. 1614. He was buried at Ajmer, beside his wife, in the enclosure of Mu'īnu-d-dīn Chishtī's tomb.

³ The renowned saint Khāja Nāṣiru-d-dīn 'Ubaidu-'llāh Aḥrār. Vide *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 322.

position were an inheritance which he had received from his forbears, and although he was little given to discourse he exercised hospitality, and whatever he received from his *jāgir* was 100 spent in furnishing the table of friendship. He was the benefactor both of high and low. When the new heresy was introduced and the influence of the vilest of men waxed great he withdrew from this society and obtained leave to perform the pilgrimage to the *Hijaz*. He was made "leader of the pilgrimage" and was sent on his way to the holy places with ample store for the journey. When he had attained the felicity of completing the pilgrimage he returned, and passed his precious time in *Agra*, in devotion and the service of the Most High God, which alone is the object for which man was created, until the importunate messenger of doom seized the garment of his holy life, and invited him to the abode of nearness to God and the threshold of His greatness, so that having obtained his release from this abode of distraction and darkness he entered into close fellowship with the faithful, the martyrs, and the pious.

Couplet.

They call to thee from the highest heaven,
I know not what more thou hast to do with this world
of snares.

XXII. SHAIKH HUSAIN OF BADAKHSHĀN.

He was one of the spiritual successors of the lord Shaikh Husain of Kh'arazm (may God sanctify his soul!). Religious ecstasy, overpowering him, used to reduce him to a state like inebriety. Daily, after early morning prayers, the *Mishkāt*, written by Shaikh Rashid (may God sanctify his soul!), used to be read in his venerable assembly, after the rule of the *Kibrawī* order, and he would then fall into a religious ecstasy, and in like manner he was assiduous in reading the *Maṣnavī* of the *Mawlānā-yi-Ma'nawī*.¹ His feet were firm in the path of the most pure law, and his speech sprang ever from spiritual knowledge, and

¹ *Mawlānā Jalālu-d-din-i-Rūmī.*

affected the hearts of his hearers. If at times one would praise him he would say, "It is yourself that you are regarding."

He stayed some time in Badāon for the purpose of seeing some
 101 Turks who had attached themselves to him as their spiritual leader, and made that place resplendent with the light of his presence, and the bounty of his blessed companionship reached the inhabitants of that district. Returning thence he came to Āgra, and thence hastened to the court of the great God.

XXIII. SHAIKH 'ABDU'-L-QĀDIR.

He is one of the descendants of Shaikh 'Abdu'-l-Qādir the second, of Uoch, who was entitled his holiness Ghaug-i-Rabbāni (may God be graciously pleased with them!). Shaikh 'Abdu'-l-Qādir and his younger brother, Shaikh Ilāh Baksh, were both educated in piety, devotion, and temperance, and were distinguished for their mental perfections. They lived for some time in Fathpūr, and the emperor, at the time when religious controversy waxed warm, extended his patronage to Shaikh Ilāh Baksh, and appointed him to Gujarāt with the title of *Sadr*, and sent him to Shāhbāz Khān.¹ This was, in fact, banishment. The Shaikh, however, rendered good service to the state, and constantly² sent express messengers with representations containing full news³ of the rebels, and other matters, so that a commission was issued, granting him the rank of commander of three hundred. But just then the messenger of death delivered in his ear the joyful message, "Return thou to thy Lord," and he responded cheerfully to the messenger of God. His elder brother, Shaikh 'Abdu'-l-Qādir, was then banished to the glorious city of Makkah, and at the time when the Khānkhānān, son of Bairām Khān,⁴ and Mirzā Nizāmu-'d-din Ahmad had the control

¹ Shāhbāz Khān Kambū; vide *Āin-i-Akbari* i, 390. Shaikh Ilāh Baksh was apparently sent to Gujarāt in 1578-79, at which time Shāhbāz Khān was in Western Rājputāna.

² پیای as in both MSS. The text has پیایی.

³ اخبار as in both MSS. The text has اخبار.

⁴ Mirzā 'Abdu-r-Rahim; vide *Āin-i-Akbari* i, 334. It was probably in 1583 that Shaikh 'Abdu'-l-Qādir was sent to Makkah.

of affairs in Gujarāt, he went thither, and having obtained from them provisions for his journey and attached himself to a company of pilgrims he obtained the glory of performing the pilgrimage of the *Hajj*. Thence he returned to his own native place, Lāhōr, where he now lives,¹ engaged in the service of God and in devotion, and remaining steadfast in the same.

XXIV. *SHAIKH ABŪ-'L-MA'ĀLI.*

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He is the nephew, the son-in-law and the spiritual successor of his holiness the true spiritual guide, the abode of saintship, him who is seated in the chair of unity, lord of the sword of might and the troop of power of the Eternal One, the manifestation of the perfections of Muḥammad, Miyān *Shaikh Dā'ūd* ² (may God sanctify his soul!). He is, in the swift pursuit of righteousness, the phoenix of the age, a pattern in all states and assemblies of holy poverty and self-effacement. If mention be made of those favoured by God it is his name which is most appropriately mentioned, and if the talk be of those who excel their fellows it is his name which is first spoken. He is a man of lofty soul who has completely effaced himself in the love which he bears to his spiritual guide, a man of noble mind who knows no other occupation than the adoration of his saintly preceptor. He has himself written verses to that purport:—

Couplets.

"I am ever inebriated with the cup of love;
What should I know of 'this' and 'that'—
I who worship *Dā'ūd*?"

"How can this frozen heart be warmed by the speech
of all?"

Nay, it requires the breath of *Dā'ūd*, which can soften
even iron."

¹ In A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1595-96).

² *Vide* p. 47.

"I sit on the thrones of poverty, now that I have attained
my desire,
I reign like Sulaimān, for I am heart and soul the
slave of Dā'ūd."

Quatrain.

"Lord, grant to me one glance of the eye which I
desire,¹
Grant to me freedom alike from being and non-exis-
tence,

And although I be not worthy of this high fortune,
Grant to me one atom of the love of Shaikh Dā'ūd."²

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One of his sayings is this:—"Oh, Abū-'l-Ma'ālī, be the slave of the Lord, the Most High, and be not the slave of money and jewels!" It is said that in the year of his auspicious birth he was taken to his holiness, the universally respected ³ Miyān Shaikh Dā'ūd (may God sanctify his tomb!) and that his worthy father asked the Miyān to give a name to his auspicious offspring. His holiness the Miyān said, "Let his name be Shāh ⁴ Abū-'l-Ma'ālī." As this name was very uncommon in India the bestowal of it has been regarded as a prophecy of the return of the Mughuls,⁵ and of the appearance of the army of the emperor Humāyūn (may his grave be fragrant!) and a year had not passed when that emperor, who has now obtained forgiveness of his sins, returned to India, and (the spiritual influence of) Abū-'l-Ma'ālī placed him who had thus conformed to that influence in possession of the country of the Panjab. The words "Abū-'l-Ma'ālī, the Worshipper of God" were found to give the date of his birth. The few flowing verses quoted below, which are to be interpreted mystically and not literally, are some of the products of his bright genius.

¹ Or 'of my true object of desire.'

² In both MSS. the second and fourth hemistichs of this quatrain are transposed.

³ Literally, 'the pole-star of pole-stars.'

⁴ Sic.

⁵ Because it was more common among them.

A fragment.

Ghurbati¹ speaks in his religious ecstasy,
 An ecstasy which is indeed altercation without speech.
 It were impossible to describe the condition of his love,
 Yet to refrain from doing so is another impossibility.

Ghurbati! Make thy life a sacrifice to Him,
 For the felicity of union with Him is not bea-
 towed as a worthless gift.

Keep the mention of love in thine heart, and open not
 thy lips.
 Keep the mouth of this flask well closed, lest (cold)
 air should enter it.

Ghurbati! Raise the cry of 'I am God!'² and fear 104
 not the stake,
 For rope and stake are the means of ascent in this path.

That which we have seen and known of that Soul of
 Souls
 (We learnt) not to repeat, but to see and to know.

The following copy of a letter is one of his wonderful epistles
 which he sent to me in Lāhor:—

Verses.

I increased my desire and my heart is in grief,
 And within my bowels a fire is kindled.
 When will the absent return from their long journey?³

¹ The *tasbeellus* or poetical name of Abu-'l-Ma'ālī.

² The reference is to Manjūr, *vide* p. 37, note 7.

³ These verses should be completed by a fourth hemistich, which is want-
 ing in the text and the MSS.

"My dear one,—At this time of dejection in my separation from every friend and stranger I had come to regard the news even of those who¹ asked after the well-being of all as a letter-carrier and messenger, and used to hope for greetings and a message, when suddenly your affectionate letter took the place of a prescription for the restoration to health of those cast down with melancholy at separation from their friends, and redoubled my desire to see you, and my affection. Now the verses of that holy man of the *Qadiri* order, the seething of whose waves of eloquence astonishes and bewilders the soul, expel the anguish of my heart, and I beg that you will excuse me (for quoting them) :—

Ho, ye (who hearken) ! I wonder at all men.

And in my drunkenness I see neither that which is before me nor that which is behind.

And there is nothing, I swear by God, in my bowels but desire for you,

My heart seeth you, as though I saw from your eyes.

From my grave whisper in the ears of my absent friends
That they are the objects of my regard both in life and death.

When Munkir and Nakir shall come to me

105 I shall answer to Nakir at the time of his coming,
and to Munkir.

And will say 'Question not me, but another' concerning them, for I am verily their friend,

And the bond of my love for them has suffered no change.

We all convey salutations to all of you.

Written by the humble Abū-'l-Ma'ālī."

And in another letter he wrote the following couplet :—

"As for that dear one who nightly moveth near me,
Blest will be the day when he appears clearly before me."

¹ Both MSS. insert (' and ') here.

"Salutations blended with the desire of seeing you and flaunted like the banners of the *Da'udiyyah* branch of the *Qadiriyyah* order are sent to you. Know that your friend has important business with Maulānā 'Abdu-'l-Ghafūr and Shaikh 'Umar, which can be settled by a moment's attention from you. If you can spare any of your precious time to bring it about it will, in truth, be most fruitful in benefits. My blessing."

XXV. MAULĀNĀ JALĀL OF TALĀ.

Talā is a famous quarter of Lāhōr. The Maulānā is a relative of Hājī Mahdi, who was one of the most famous *Shaikhs*. He is now one of the most learned men of the time, and has been appointed as a teacher at Lāhōr. He is a pupil of Mullā Isma'il of Uchh, and has also received instruction from other teachers. He is a most expert lapidary, possesses great acumen, and has much store of learning in all branches of knowledge, both those which call for the exercise of the reasoning faculty and those which depend on the memory. They say that he has been engaged in teaching since he was eight years old. He has a good delivery and speaks unambiguously so that he is able readily to convey to the understanding of his pupils the sense of arguments on knotty points of speculative and traditional science. He is kind-hearted, pious and religious, and has the *Qur'ān* by heart. He is endowed with noble qualities. The correction and arrangement of the Quranic exegesis¹ of Shaikh Faiẓ is principally his work. His age is between fifty and sixty.

Couplet.

What of argument regarding knowledge? Though it travel as 106
far as *Fargad*,²

The mention of the name of Maulānā Jamāl-n-'d-din Muḥam-
mad will accompany it.

XXVI. MAULĀNĀ 'ABDU-'RĤ-SHAKŪR OF LĀHŌR.

He is a most eminent and distinguished sage, and well known

¹ The *سوانح الإلهام* ('rays of inspiration').

² One of two bright stars near the North Pole.

for the vigour of his understanding and his natural acumen. His belief in the Shaiḥs is unshaken, and the firmness of his confidence in these men is wonderful. Most of his precious time is expended in perusing the works of this class of men, and he employs his life in the recitation of supererogatory prayers and petitions and in the perusal of the *Qur'ān*, and whatever comes to his board is at the disposal of the poor and needy. At the time when the controversy with the *'Ulamā* and the Shaiḥs took place he was banished,¹ and having been appointed to be Qāzi of Jaunpūr he was sent thither. When he joined the imperial Court at the time when it was at Ilāhābad² the Qāzi-ship of Jaunpūr was bestowed on the Ottoman Qāzi-zāda, an accomplished man of pleasant disposition and adorned with many mental perfections. Since that time Maulānā 'Abdu-'sh-Shakūr has remained there in retirement, engaged in teaching and imparting knowledge, contenting himself with what is sufficient for subsistence, averse from covetousness, far removed from worldly perils and fears, and near to the salvation of faith.

XXVII. SHAIKH KABIR, SON OF SHAIKH MUNAWWAR.³

He is the successor of his respected father. He is a young man who in childhood attained to perfection and excelled holy men. If in these latter days there be a son who is better than was his father it may be said that it is he who has attained this
 107 condition. He prosecuted his studies in most of those branches of knowledge which are included in the ordinary curriculum under his father, and his respected father-in-law, Miyān Sa'du-'llāh Bani Isrā'il, and subsequently made the society and companionship of his fellows the rule of his life, and became a

¹ In A.D. 1579. Vide vol. ii, text, p. 277, where 'Abdu-'sh-Shakūr is called *Qawāḍir*, i.e., wearer of a *darvish's* robe.

² In A.D. 1583. Vide vol. ii, text, p. 334.

³ Shaiḥ Munawwar was born at Lāhor and was noted for his memory and learning. When the *'Ulamā* of Lāhor were banished in 1579 he was made *Ḥadr* of Mālwa. He was afterwards imprisoned in Gwāliyār, where he died in A.D. 1602-03. Shaiḥ Kabir himself died at Aḥmadābād in Gujrat in A.D. 1617.

courtier. May the most Holy God (be He exalted!) grant him repentance for his indulgence in opium, his pride, and his lying and boasting. At the time when, in accordance with the imperial order, he accompanied his father to the *pargana* of Bajwāra¹ and the spurs of the northern mountains, and was employed in the administration of that district, he wrote a letter to me from which the degree of perfection to which he, as a man, had attained may be inferred. That letter was as follows:—

Poetry.

I had a heart by means of which I enjoyed life, but my heart
perished from me owing to the change which it suffered.

“May the attendants of that possessor of a sublime disposition, that resort of excellence, be in good health. Oh, my lord! The concerns of my heart and soul, that is to say the only true concerns of a man, are firmly established on the threshold of sincere affection; but my earthly body (may the dust of the world be on its head!) consorts with the birds and beasts of the wilderness of superfluity,² nay, by God! it consorts with a multitude from the sight of which the very birds and beasts could not choose but flee. Glory be to God! I know not where I may find a remedy. My vile spirit now knows what a blessing health is. From the time when I first came to years of discretion to this day, when I have reached my fortieth year, all my endeavours have been directed towards the companionship of the most spiritually-minded men, wherein I might seek a remedy for my spiritual imperfections and the diseases of my soul, and now zeal for the Supreme and jealous God (may His majesty be exalted!) having affected me has brought on me a sore affliction, which

¹ There were two *parganas* of this name. One was in the *Āgra sarkār* of the *ṣūba* of *Āgra* (*Āin*, ii, 182) and the other was in the *Beth Jālandhar Dūbb sarkār* of the *ṣūba* of *Lāhor* (*Āin*, ii, 316). The latter is the town mentioned here. It is now a town in the District and *taḥsil* of *Hoshiyār-pūr* in the *Panjab*. Vide ‘*Imperial Gazetteer of India*’ (new series), vi, 220.

² *فُروغ* The writer perhaps means the wilderness of the vulgar crowd.

none but He can cure. Cheerfulness,¹ contentment, and the quiet enjoyment of health have all been snatched from me. You, O Maulavi, will surely have experienced the magnanimous and affectionate solicitude of the Nawwāb Fayyāzi,² that most learned and most wise man, unique in this age (may God enrich us from his perfection, and may He bestow on us the profitable honour of **108** his discourse !), and you must have recognized it as one of the greatest of the Lord's benefits, and have returned thanks for this great gift. At the time when prayers are answered put up a petition for the needs of your slave. Salutations to you. May the attendants of the sympathetic Miyān Aḥmad, the marvel of the age, be in good health, and believe me to be desirous of reunion."

XXVIII. SHAIKH SA'DU-'ILLĀH, THE GRAMMARIAN.³

Biyāna⁴ is one of the districts in the eastern portion of India. The Shaiikh, from his childhood was in the service of Shaiikh Muḥammad Ḡhaug,⁵ and passed his time with him in fasts of forty days⁶ and in exorcism, and subsequently himself continued these practices. He built a hospice in the district of Biyāna and was for many years resorted to by students and followers of the religious life. He employed himself in the instruction and spiritual guidance of such men. In knowledge of syntax he had no equal in his time. For seventy years he never broke his fast save on

¹ شفای وقت in both MSS. The text has شفای وقت 'remedy for my days.' I have followed the MSS.

² The poet Shaiikh Abū-l-Faiṣ Faiṣi, Fayyāzi, elder brother of Shaiikh Abū-l-Faṣl. *Vide infra* chap. iv, No. cvii.

³ *Vide Ain-i Akbari*, i, 545, where he is called 'Maulānā Sa'du-'illāh.'

⁴ Then a pargana town in the *sarkār* and *sāba* of Āgra (*Ain-i Akbari*, ii, 182), now the headquarters of a *taluk* in the Bharatpūr State in Eastern Rajputana (*Imperial Gazetteer of India* (new series), vii, 687, s.v. Bayāna). In the *Ain* (ii, 180) Biyāna, which is a very ancient city, is mentioned as having been formerly the capital of a province of which Āgra was a dependent village.

⁵ *Vide* p. 6.

⁶ باز نعلیات MS. (A) has نعلیات by transposition of dots. The reading of the text and MS. (B) is correct.

milk, green vegetables,¹ and wild fruits. His liberality was profuse and open-handed. In the reign of Salim Shāh² I went, in company with my maternal grandfather, to pay my respects to the Shaikh and took some lessons in the *Kāfiyyah*³ from him. At last the Shaikh, withdrawing himself from all worldly concerns was overcome by stupor. He secluded himself alone in a room and would not admit even his sons to his presence, until in the year H. 989 (A.D. 1581) he departed from this world. He is buried in the hospice which he built. On the day of his death a sparrow fell down from the air on to the head of the corpse, and this was a matter of wonder to all who beheld it.

XXIX. SHAIKH NAṢIRU-'D-DIN.

He was a native of Hindaun,⁴ and had the reputation of being skilled in alchemy. It is said that the Shaikh was constantly in attendance on the emperor Humāyūn, who has obtained forgiveness of his sins, both in court and in camp, and that when the emperor arrived at Āgra after being defeated at Jausā⁵ the 109 Shaikh said,⁶ "Something will be required for the maintenance of a fresh army," and accordingly collected all the copper pots, dishes, and other vessels which could be found and, in the late emperor's presence, converted them into pure gold. This matter was noised abroad, but when I inquired into the truth of it from

¹ کچالو, literally 'grass.'

² Son and successor of Faridu-d-din Shīr Shāh, reigned A.D. 1545—1552.

³ A famous work on Arabic grammar, vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, 428 and note 6.

⁴ Then a *pargana* town in the *sarkār* and *pāba* of Āgra (*Ain-i-Akbari*, ii, 183). Now the headquarters of a *tahsil* and *niẓāmat* of the same name in the State of Jaipur in Eastern Rājputāna. Vide *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new series, xiii, 135.

⁵ Where Humāyūn was defeated by Shīr Shāh in A.H. 946 (A.D. 1569). Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 460.

⁶ شېخ فرمود کہ. Both MSS. have شېخ فرمود 'he said to the Shaikh.' In spite of the authority of the MSS. the context shows the reading of the text to be correct.

his sons, with whom I am connected by marriage, they told me that a *darvish* of great attainments¹ had given their father a basket, full of the ingredients necessary for the transmutation of the baser metals, and that to whatever copper this was applied the alchemist's object was attained, but that after their father had once mixed these ingredients with the copper he had no further power of manufacturing gold, as he was unacquainted with the science of alchemy,—but God knows the truth!

I saw the *Shaikh* in *Āgra* in the days when *Bairam Khān* was in power in the house of Sayyid *Shāh Mir*,² the nephew of *Mir Sayyid Rafi'u'd-din* the traditionist. He was an old man of enlightened appearance and of a good disposition. He died in those days, and is buried in *Hindaun*.

XXX. *SHAIKH MUBĀRAK OF ALWAR*.³

Salim Shāh used to call him *Shāh Mubārak*, and used to place his shoes before his feet. The *Shaikh* generally claimed to be a *Sayyid*, and was in great repute among the *Afghāns*. Thus when their power was on the wane and they were fleeing before the *Mughuls* some of the *Afghāns* seized *Shaikh Islām*⁴ of *Fathpūr* suspecting him of being a wealthy man, and, having confined him in a strange manner, carried him off to the fort of *Rantambhor*. *Shaikh Mubārak* went thither from *Alwar* by way of *Basāwar*, and was the means of *Shaikh Islām's*⁴ liberation.

Shaikh Mubārak twice attained the honour of performing pilgrimage to the glorious *ka'bah*.

I was sixteen years of age at that time when, in company with my venerated father, I paid my respects to the *Shaikh* in *Basāwār*, and after that, in the year H. 987 (A.D. 1579), when the 110 emperor was returning from his pilgrimage to *Ajmir* at which

¹ *كامل العیاری* The expression might also be rendered, 'full of knavery'

² *Vide infra* No. xxxviii.

³ Then the headquarters of *sarkār* of the same name in the *suba* of *Āgra*. Now the capital of the *Alwar State* in *Eastern Rājputāna*.

⁴ *Scil. Shaikh Salim-i-Oighti*, of *Fathpūr Sikri*. He is sometimes called '*Shaikh Islām*,' and, by *imālah*, '*Shaikh Islīm* (*Islam*).'

the whole of the *Qur'ān* was read, and was journeying to Fath-pūr by way of Alwar, I was again honoured by an interview with the *Shaiikh*. He had, in truth, reached perfection and was most liberal and open-handed. It is now ¹ reported that he has recently, at the age of ninety years, bidden farewell to this transitory world.

XXXI. *SHAIKH CĀYAN LADH OF SOHNA.*

(Ladh) Sohna ² is a *pargana* town of Mewāt, eighteen *kurūh* ³ distant from Dihli. There is there a hot spring, rising from a mine of sulphur. The water is green in colour and smells of sulphur. Even in the winter time the water is so hot that it is impossible to bear it on the body. Bathing at that spring is a remedy for scald-head and itch. The smell and colour of the water are clear proof that it springs from sulphur. On summer nights, too, small flashes of fire may be seen on the hills surrounding the town, though nobody kindle a fire there.

The *Shaiikh* was one of the most famous successors of *Shaiikh* 'Abdu-'l-'Azīz of Dihli ⁴ and travelled resolutely in the path of poverty. He used to give instruction in *Sūfi*-istic books, such as the *Fuṣūṣ* ⁵ and the *Naql-i-fuṣūṣ*, ⁶ to his pupils, who were seekers after the truth. The emperor, towards the end of the *Shaiikh*'s life, placed great confidence in him and sought the help of his auspices in several important matters of state. He appointed quarters for him in the '*ibādāt-khāna*' close to the imperial palace and

¹ A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1595-96).

² Then in the *Bewāri sarkār* of the *gūba* of Dihli (*Ain-i-Akhbari*, ii, 293, where it is called *Sohnah*). Now a town in the District and *taḥqīl* of Gurgaon, Panjāb. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new series, xiii, 72). The text has 'Ladh Sohni,' and the MSS. 'Ladh Sohni.' Neither MS. prefixes 'Ladh' to 'Sohna' in the account of the *Shaiikh*'s life.

³ In reality about twenty-five miles.

⁴ Vide *Ain-i-Akhbari*, i, 538.

⁵ Vide p. 17 and note 8.

⁶ 'The coin of the *Fuṣūṣ*.' Probably the commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ-i-Hikam* mentioned on p. 17. Both MSS. read *نهری* (*nahrī*) for *فهری*, the meaning of the book's title being, according to them, 'The coin of demon-strations.'

used to admit him to private interviews at night, and the inverted prayers of the recitation of which the emperor was a witness became inverted in their effects.¹

In the year H. 998 ² (A.D. 1590) when the Shaiikh fell sick of the complaint of which he died he sent for the worthy son of Shaiikh 'Abdu-'l-'Aziz Qutb-i-'Ālam, who was then employed in the army, from Dihli, and, placing before him the patched robe, the staff, and the other insignia of Shaiikh-dom, said to him, "These were a trust which I received from your venerable father. You are more worthy of them than I." He then set out on his journey to the next world. The words "the truth of poverty" ³ were found to give the date of his death.

Shaiikh Qutb-i-'Ālam, guided by God's grace, retired from the 111 imperial service, and, obeying the call to follow in his venerable father's footsteps, guided his life thereby. He is settled in Dihli, and is employed, by the emperor's order, in the guardianship of the footprint of his holiness the resort of apostleship ⁴ (the blessing and peace of God be upon him!), rendering service to all who visit it. If it please God, who is honoured, he will be endowed with the noble qualities of his honoured father.

XXXII. SHAIKH 'ABDU-'L-'ĠHĀNĪ OF BĀDĀŪN.

He ⁵ also is one of the successors of Shaiikh 'Abdu-'l-'Aziz. In asceticism ⁶ he has no equal in these days, and in seeking solitude,

¹ Vide vol. ii, text, p. 286. Shaiikh Cāyan Ladh (there called Shaiikh Cānilda, or 'Shaiikh Jānilda') ventured to prophesy that one of the ladies of the imperial harem would bear a son. She bore a daughter, and the Shaiikh was somewhat discredited.

² The text, while giving the correct date in words, gives it in figures, wrongly, as 989. Vide vol. ii, text, p. 373. The Shaiikh is there called Shaiikh Jāniladh' with 'Shaiikh Cāyanladina' as a variant.

³ حقیقت فقر. This chronogram, which gives the date 998, is quoted in vol. ii, text, p. 374, also.

⁴ A large stone bearing a footprint said to be that of Muḥammad, brought from Makkah by Shāh Abū Turāb in A.D. 1582. Vide vol. ii, p. 310.

⁵ MS. (A) gives the Shaiikh's name here.

⁶ The text has ترک ابن here. Some word has apparently been omitted.

he is the "Shibli ¹ of the age. At the beginning of his career, when he was a student in Badāon, he used to be overcome by religious ecstasy, and sometimes even in the midst of his studies on hearing the chanting of a mystical song he would remain insensible for a whole watch of the day, more or less. When his intimate friends asked him what he had seen to bring this ecstatic trance upon him he would reply, "I know nothing of it."

In consequence of the responsibilities which he incurred by his marriage, which is ² a pitfall for enlightened seekers after knowledge,—

Couplet.

Who are the robbers whom we encounter on our road to
God ?

Those robbers are no other than women—

he came to Dihli in search of a livelihood, and there entered the service of Tātār Khān,³ the governor of the city, who, though clad in the habiliments of the great ones of the earth, was one of the godly. The Shaikh attached himself as a disciple to Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-'Aziz, and under him he studied all those books which are generally current and are included in the ordinary curriculum. He then spent several years in teaching, and was then suddenly drawn mysteriously by God's grace, and, abandoning all his occupations, he joined the circle of ascetic *darvishes* in the Shaikh's hospice, and employed himself in striving in the path of holiness and in self-mortification. After attaining perfection he left human habitations and took up his dwelling near ¹¹² the footprint of his holiness the resort of apostleship (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him!), in a *masjid* known as

but the MSS give no help. The meaning of the passage is, however, clear.

¹ A famous Muhammadan saint. Vide vol. i, trans. Rauking, p. 59 and note 1.

² میگرد MS. (A) has میگردد which is equally good and MS. (B) میگرد which is wrong.

³ Vide *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 424. Tātār Khān died at Dihli in A.H. 986 (A.D. 1578-79) or, according to the *Tabaqāt*, in A.H. 985 (A.D. 1577-78).

the *masjid* of Khān-i-Jahān. There he dwells in religious seclusion, and, in spite of his having a large family, he follows a religious rule, with a firm trust in God. He had not taken one step from the corner of retirement when in the year H. 1003 (A.D. 1594-95) the Khān-i-Khānān¹ waited upon him, and asked him for his advice. He said, "Deem the following of the holy law² of Muḥammad (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him!) to be of the first importance." At the time when this hastily compiled history was written Aḥmad-i-Ṣūfiyā³ and Ḥisām⁴ of Banāras, men newly converted to Islām, who in the religious strife of these latter days are branded with the mark of eternal execration—

Maṣnawī.

Stand aloof from the *Sūfis* of the city and the country,
All of them are unmanly wretches, devourers of men.
Whatever one gives to them that they devour,
Whatever lies in their power that they do.
They have no occupation but sleeping and eating,
They take no thought on the day on which they shall die—

for the purpose of averting from themselves their evil reputation and concealing their gross immorality, formed the design of dispatching a *farmān* summoning from Dihli to Lāhōr Shaiḫ 'Abdu-'l-Qḥanī with one or two of his surviving children, whose names will be mentioned hereafter, for the purpose of urging him to submit to the new orders,⁵ which they themselves had most readily and cheerfully accepted. The Shaiḫ wrote a letter to me setting forth his helplessness and asking to be excused, and accordingly, after many representations Aḥmad-i-Ṣūfiyā was appeased, and abandoned his design, and he caused

¹ Mirzā 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm.

² مذہب with شریعت as a variant.

³ Aḥmad, the wretched little *Sūfi*. Vide vol. ii, text, p. 405.

⁴ The wretched little Ḥisām. Possibly Maṣlūḥ Ḥisāmu-d-din Lāhōr, who differed from the other *ulamā* of Lāhōr. Vide *Āin-i-Akbari* 538. The designation "of Banāras" may be given in contempt.

⁵ i.e., regarding the 'divine faith,' the manner of salutation at court, etc.

a letter to be written and sent to the Shaiikh excusing him from attending in obedience to the summons and asking forgiveness for what he had done. Please God, the matter will end satisfactorily.

XXXIII. SHAIKH BUHLŪL OF DILĪ.

He is very learned in the traditional sayings of the prophet, **113** Having associated much with men who are devoted to a life of poverty and self-effacement he has now, for some time past, recognized the delights of such a life, and, the grace of God helping him, has set himself to follow it for good, and has no longer any dealings with the worldly, but is busied in teaching and instructing his pupils.

XXXIV. SHAIKH 'ABDU-'L-ḤAQQ OF DILĪ.

He has taken *Ḥaqqī* as his poetical name. He is a compendium of perfect qualities and a source of excellence. He gives instruction in all branches of knowledge, both in those in which the reasoning faculty is called into play and in those which depend on the memory. He has attained a high degree in *Sufi*-ism, and among his works are the *History of Madīnah the Tranquil*, and a book on the modern Shaiikhs of India, the date of the writing of which is given by the words *zikru-'L-Auliya*.¹ From his earliest youth he has sought eagerly after God, and, on account of his long-standing friendship with them he was for some time the companion, in Fathpūr, of Shaiikh Faizi and Mirzā Nizāmu-'d-dīn Aḥmad, and by means of them I also had the honour of being permitted to wait on him, and continually enjoyed the advantages of his society. When a change came over the spirit of the time and the men of the time, all of whom are corrupters of what is good and compounded of the abominations of their own natures, and it was no longer safe to trust the dispositions of one's friends, the companionship of such a one and

¹ The chronogram gives the date A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590-91). I have not been able to find any mention elsewhere of Shaiikh 'Abdu-l-Ḥaqq's works.

such a one¹ became disagreeable to him, and, the grace of God influencing him, he was impelled to journey to the most noble *Ku'bah*, and he left Dihli for Gujarāt, in the condition of one who is mysteriously attracted by God, and cut off from all worldly concerns. Thanks to the good offices and assistance of Mirzā Nizāmu-'d-din Aḥmad he there obtained a passage on a ship bound for the Ḥijāz, but, being hindered by physical difficulties, he was unable to reach Madinah the Tranquil (on its inhabitants be peace and salutation!), and he spent some time in Makkah the glorious with Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Wahhāb of India, the follower of 114 Shaikh Raḥmatu-'llāh the traditionist (may the mercy of God be upon him!), who, having returned from the pilgrimage to Makkah with Ḥājī Begam,² came to Agra, where I drank some of the water of Zamzam³ from his auspicious hands, and took some lessons from him in the traditional sayings of Muḥammad, by way of a good augury, and from him, Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Wahhāb, that is, he received permission to give instruction in the traditional sayings, and then returned to his well-loved native land. Here he cloaks his *Sūfi*-ism by giving instruction in those branches of knowledge which are included in the ordinary course of education. His aspirations are so high that he will not, if God the most High please, be ensnared on his heavenly way, and fail of attaining his object.

At the time when he returned from Makkah the glorious to Dihli, and I, perplexed and troubled in pursuit of my object, was on my way to the imperial camp, I had the opportunity of paying my respects to him for a few minutes, and after I had arrived at Lāhōr I wrote him a letter. I place a copy of it on record by way of invoking a blessing and as a memento:—

“After expressing my subjection to you, and the obligations which I owe you, I would represent that the affairs of this disappointed exile are, so far as is compatible with exile and dis-

¹ These expressions are evidently a subterfuge to avoid mentioning the names of the emperor and his favourites, such as Abū-l-Faḡl and Faiḡi.

² Daughter of the brother of Humāyūn's mother. She returned from the pilgrimage in A.D. 1574 and died in A.D. 1581. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 299.

³ Hagar's well, at Makkah.

appointment, matter for thankfulness, and it is my hope that you too are constantly surrounded by God's protection. When you returned to Dibli and honoured me for one delightful hour, that interview did nothing but excite my thirst and vehement desire for your society, and so much remained unsaid and unheard that I cannot express it. 'A year of companionship is but an hour' as has been said, and I myself experienced the truth of the saying. Indeed, the same might be said even of lifelong companionship (between friends). They said, 'We have tarried for a day, or part of a day.'¹ This world does not allow us sufficient time for companionship, or the delights of the society of friends, if their friendship be true and its bonds strong: it may be that on the morrow, beyond the grave, we shall enjoy this companionship, 'seated face to face on thrones'² please God. To-day we must devote our efforts to strengthening the bonds and to directing 116 our aims aright. The time for true companionship will be the morrow, when presence and absence will be alike, and what we here call separation and union will be the same. May God (be He glorified and exalted!) grant to us some kind of affinity, even though it should be common to all, so that we may understand truly what sincerity really means. I pray you to keep your heart towards me, as mine is towards you. I have ascertained with the eye of certainty that the real meaning of affection and the true signification of friendship have implanted themselves in your nature, 'and praise be to God therefor.' May he increase them and not diminish them.' There was an honoured man, one of the dwellers in the two holy places, who used constantly to recite this prayer:—'O God! as Thou hast favoured so do Thou increase Thy favours, and as Thou hast increased them so do Thou continue them, and as Thou hast continued them, so do Thou bless them to us.' May God (be He glorified and exalted!)

¹ سنة الرمال سنة. Both MSS. and the text have, wrongly, سنة الرمال سنة

² قَالُوا لَبِئْسَ يَوْمًا أَوْ نَعَضْ يَوْمَ Qur'an, xviii, 18.

³ عَلَى سُرُرٍ مُتَقَابِلِينَ Qur'an, xv, 46.

increase, continue, and bless to us the gift of true knowledge and love, by the dignity of the chief of the first and the last of men, Muḥammad, and his family, and his companions, all of them! If you should ever honour your friend with a kind letter I hope that you will also honour and delight me with whatever holy news you may have of his holiness the Shaikh, him to whom all men turn, and who is named Kalimu-'llāh (may God bless and preserve him!), and that you will convey to his noble presence a few words from me, so that I may not disappear from his memory. Much as I wished to write something on this subject my pen refused its office. Nor was there any need that I should write anything, for when the time came for me to make my requests of the Mirzā¹ I composed some verses on this subject, moreover I wrote plainly that there was no occasion for ceremony. I hope that you will be diligent in delivering that letter. Farewell."

Shaikh Faizi, after his return from the Dakan, following his old custom of ingeniously tormenting his friends, was very desirous of gathering them round him in order to increase the attractions of his social circle and to indulge in conversation with them and was constantly annoying and troubling them (to come to him).

Hemistich.

Our friend has this, and also that.

- 116 He sent several letters from Lāhor to express the strong desire which he had of summoning Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Ḥaqq to him. The Shaikh, however, was exceedingly vexed, and would not come, but sent letters containing excuses, and made his seclusion from the world his pretext for not coming. Shaikh Faizi then sent in reply the letter of which a copy appears below, and this is the last letter which he wrote, and what is written in it is written.

"My strong desire of seeing you, my spiritual friend, dear to the Lord (may He long preserve you!) was not of the nature of official or formal matters, that it should have been reduced to writing. At first I was not aware that you were sick at heart—

¹ Mirzā Niḡamu-d-dīn Aḥmad.

that heart which displays bounty—and it is probable that I may have expressed my desire (somewhat too strongly). After I became aware that you had closed this way of access I gave your wishes precedence over my own, and I trust that the odour (of this action) will be agreeable to you. My request now is that you should not give yourself over to melancholy in your place of retirement. Two or three days ago that choicest of saints, Miyān Shaikh Mūsā,¹ honoured my poor dwelling with a visit, and said that it was not improbable that you would be coming hither about this time. I pressed him to tell me what grounds he had for saying this, but he left the matter uncertain and undetermined. I swear by God, the Supreme Object of worship, that I gave him no hint of my own wishes, nor shall I do so.

Hemistich.

When the time comes for speech what need is there of a letter?

If you remain at home, it is light, and if you come it will be light upon light. I swear by God that I have constrained myself to forego this wish and that I have not of my own accord given any intimation of my desire, nor shall I do so. I hope that you will not vex yourself further regarding this matter. But if I had wings I would sit daily on the roof of your chamber and would gather 117 the grains of your affectionate discourse, trilling forth the song of my desire. What more shall I write? Your pearl-like² petitions are few and far between. I pray you for God's sake close not the road against the caravan of my secrets. If it is closed from your side it shall not be from mine. Greetings. I send applications to the Alexander of the throne of holy poverty, Miyān Buhlāl. In the past two days what is expressed in the following quatrain has come to pass in a certain connection :—

¹ Probably Shaikh Mūsā of Fathpūr Sikri, elder brother of Shaikh Salim-i-Ciahtī, but perhaps Shaikh Mūsā of Lāhor (*Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 539) or Shaikh Mūsā, younger brother of Maulānā 'Abdu-l-Qādir.

² دریا either *durr-dāna* 'seed-pearls' or *dardāna*, 'sympathetic,' or, 'grief laden.'

Quatrain.

"Faizi! Old age is upon thee, walk circumspectly,
Let each step that thou takest be such as may be
approved.

*Through spectacles of glass thou wilt perceive naught,
Tear a bit from thy heart and place it on thine eyes."*

Glory be to God! That Shaiḡh Faizi has passed away and become a by-word, and as for these, the mention of whom is still among us for a few days, or rather for a few hours, who are they that we should waste time in addressing them where preparation is even now being made for our departure hence? All that remains to them is the wind of speech. How long shall we waste our time in measuring it?

Couplet.

It will not be long before no trace of us remains,
You have broken the flask and spilt the wine, there is no
cupbearer (to replace it).

XXXV. MAULĀNĀ ILĀHDĀD¹ OF SULṬĀNPŪR.

He originally came from Banoda, a village in Sind. He was a pupil of Makhdūm-l-Mulk. He is distinguished for the nobility of his descent. Although he was formerly much puffed up with the pride of learning and youth he has now gained experience, and his former pride has been changed for poverty and humility. For some time he held the appointment of *Sadr* of the *Ṣūba* of the Panjāb² but has now for a long time past held that of *Qāṣi* of the new settlement of the Ilāhābād,³ and remains in the imperial service, contenting himself with the small allowance which has been allotted to him in that city, and refraining from constantly visiting the houses of the worldly. He is endowed with probity and is zealous in devotion to God.

¹ In vol. ii, text, p. 295, he is called Mullā Ilāhdād Nabawī of Sulṭānpur, and is said to be notorious for his evil disposition.

² According to vol. ii (*loc. cit.*), he was *sadr* of one of the Dūās in the Panjāb, probably of the Jac Dūā, between the Jihām and the Cīnāb.

³ Probably in 1583, vide vol. ii, text, p. 335.

XXXVI. MAULĀNĀ 'UṢMĀN OF SĀMĀNĀ.¹

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In those branches of knowledge which call for the exercise of the reasoning faculty he was a pupil of Ḥakimu-l-Mulk,² and he acquired those which depend on the memory from other teachers. He is a capable and ready divine, and very liable to fits of religious ecstasy. He is now in attendance on the imperial court. His understanding is good. He is inclined to religious retirement, and most of his time is spent in devotion. He was employed for some years, by the interest of Qilij Khān,³ in the administration of some *parganas* in the Dū-āb. He has now come to court and is ranked among the *manṣabdārs*.⁴

XXXVII. ḤĀJĪ SULTĀN OF THĀNĒSAR.⁵

He has acquired the honour of performing the pilgrimage to Makkah the glorious and Madinah the delectable. He is well-versed in those branches of learning which depend on the memory and was for a long time in the imperial service. He was employed for four years, alone and without any co-adjutor, on the translation of the *Mahābhārata*, which is known as the *Razm-nāma*,⁶ and what was begun by Naqib Khān was finished by him. On account of an accusation of the crime of cow-killing which was brought against him by the Hindus of that *pargana* an order was issued for his banishment to Bhakkar, and the Khān-i-Khānān, who was in those days in charge of the *Ṣūba* (of Multān), treated him with great consideration and kindness, and

¹ Then a *pargana* town in the Sirhind *sarkār* of the *ṣūba* of Dihli. Now a town in the Bhawānigarh *taḥqīl* and Karnagarh *nizāmat* of the Patiala State, in the Panjāb. Vide *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xxi, 1.

² Vide *infra*, c. iii, no. i.

³ Vide A. A., vol. i (trans. Blochmann), p. 354, also *infra*, c. iv, no. xiv.

⁴ His name does not appear in the *Ḥin-i-Akbarī* among the *manṣabdārs*.

⁵ Vide A. A., vol. i (trans. Blochmann), pp. 104, 105(or), also *Baddoni* II, 302 (text). Ḥājī Sultān seems to have translated two parts of the *Mahābhārata*, besides some portions of other parts omitted by the other translators, who were, besides the Ḥājī and Naqib Khān, Baddoni himself, who was much disgusted with his task, and Faizī, the elder brother of Abū'l-Faizī.

⁶ Thānesar.

applied ointment to the wounds of his soul. After that land had been completely subjugated the Khān-i-Khānān took Hājī Sultān with him thence, and promised to procure the reversal of the sentence of banishment which had been passed against him. Hājī Sultān returned secretly to his native place, and the Khān-i-Khānān, after conquering the province of Asirgarh and Burhānpūr, prayed in one of his petitions for the reversal of the sentence against him. His request was granted, and Providence watched over the Hājī's affairs, so that the emperor privately ordered Shaikh Abū-l-Faḍl to appoint him Karōrī of Thānēsar and Karnāl,¹ so that he was freed from the fear that had beset him. He still holds the appointment of Karōrī.

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Poetry.

“How many mysterious favours are bestowed by God,
The mystery of which is great to the intelligent²
understanding!”

These events were, as one might say, comfort³ after adversity.

At the time when Hājī Sultān was translating the *Mahābhārata* one asked him what it was that he was writing. He replied, “I am translating what was well known ten thousand years ago into the modern tongue.”

XXXVIII. SAYYID SHĀH MĪR OF SĀMĀNA.

He is a *Sayyid* of authentic descent, adorned with the excellence of learning and decked with the jewel of piety. His hand is drawn within the skirt of contentment, and he passes his time in instructing students, having his dwelling on the far side of the river at Agra, near to where the late Shaikh Bahā'u-d-

¹ Thānēsar was a *pargana* in the Sirhind *sarkār* of the *ṣūba* of Dīblī, and Karnāl was a *pargana* in the *sarkār* and *ṣūba* of Dīblī. Karnāl is now the headquarters of a District in the Panjāb, and Thānēsar is the headquarters of a *taḥqīl* in the Karnāl District.

² The text has, wrongly, ذكى for ذكى.

³ The text has فرح but both MSS. have فرح. Whichever reading be adopted the meaning will be the same.

din, the *Mufti*, used to live. Students and *Sufis* are gathered together in his hospice and profit by his companionship. He had one pupil, a one-eyed man named Maulānā Farid, of whom it was said that, although ¹ he had not studied deeply, as soon as a difficult question or subtle and obscure argument was propounded to him from any advanced ² book whatsoever, he would at once call for pen and inkstand, and, having reduced it to writing, would solve it immediately, although he could not give the solution orally, or even read what he had himself written. *Shaiikh* Ziyā'u'llāh ³ and the whole of the *Ghauṣiyyah* order submitted themselves entirely to the authority of this (Farid), so that their subjection to the Sayyid may be imagined. I have also heard that the same Farid would in one night relate to Sayyid Shāh Mir events that had just happened in the farthest parts of the world, east or west. Some attributed this power to the possession of a *jinn*, and others to other causes. In the year in which the emperor summoned *Shaiikh* Ziyā'u'llāh from Āgra with great favour and kindness and assigned a place to him in the '*Ībādat-khāna* on an occasion when there was a gathering of the *Shaiikhs* and '*Ulamā*, I one night in private questioned the *Shaiikh* concerning the matter of Farid the scribe, and, after relating what was spread abroad concerning him, I said, "Are these things really so?" The *Shaiikh* first of all enumerated his own fragmentary writings and the works of which he was the author, detailed his own accomplishments and acquirements, and gave me a full account of himself, and then said, "In spite of all these favours which God (may His Majesty be exalted!) has bestowed upon me I cannot call myself so much as a gleaner (in the field of knowledge) after *Shaiikh* Farid, and all that you have heard of him does not amount to one hundredth part of the truth. His

¹ بائک MS. (B) has, wrongly, بائک

² متنبیان. This is the reading of the text. Both MSS. have متنبیان
"of or relating to one who is authorized to deliver a *fatwa*. The textual emendation appears to me to be correct, and I have accordingly adopted it.

³ Vide *infra*, No. XL. Both MSS. wrongly insert the name as a headline here.

dignity is above it all, and he has attained this great good fortune by means of sweeping the threshold of the holy Sayyid Shāh Mir. Now I had seen Sayyid Shāh Mir before this at Badāon, whither he had gone on business connected with his subsistence allowance. A copy of the *Mashāriqu-l-Anwār*¹ was between us, and we had much learned discourse. He certainly had the meditative faculty strongly developed, a pleasant disposition, a ready understanding and a good stock of knowledge, but I did not find him such a prodigy as Shaiḫ Ziyā'u-'llāh and other men had represented. As for the rest, God the most High knows the truth. It may be that he purposely concealed his abilities from me, but indeed what need is there to suppose that he might not have displayed to others those abilities of the display of which² he allowed me to be disappointed?

XXXIX.—SAYYID YĀSĪN.

He is one of the cousins of Sayyid Shāh Mir. He studied most of the books usually current, and acquired all such knowledge as is included in the ordinary course of education under Miyān Vajihu-'d-dīn,³ in Gujarāt, and also became his disciple in spiritual matters. He acquired the honour of performing the pilgrimage of Islām, and studied the traditions in the Hijāz, and there received authority to give instruction therein. Thence he returned to India, and spent some time in Lāhor in the company of wealthy and powerful men, who were concerned with the affairs of the state. He then broke off his companionship with these men, and lived in Sirhind, clad in the garb of Shaiḫs and the raiment of those who follow a life of holy poverty, and for some time gave instruction there to his followers, who were clad in blue, and he also claimed to be a religious leader. Since he was ever desirous of going again to Gujarāt, and thence

¹ A work on the *Aḥādith*, or traditional sayings of Muḥammad.

² The text has, carelessly, *ḥajj* for *ḥajj*. Both MSS. have the correct reading.

³ *Vide supra*, p. 70.

to the two holy places, he could not rest in the district of Sirhind, and went to Bangāl, where he is now travelling. It remains to be seen whither his destiny will lead him and in what land he will at last find the happiness of retirement.

XL.—SHAIKH ZIYĀ'U-'LLĀH.

He is the successor of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghaug.¹ Few of the Shaikhs of this age can be his equals in *Sūfi*-istic converse. In his assembly the talk was ever of "true knowledge," and nothing was spoken of save the contemplation of unity and the asceticism of the *Sūfis*, but who knows what his private opinions may be,² or to what extent he will carry his claims? At the beginning of his career, when the report of him was spread abroad in all the surrounding country, I heard that the Shaikh had succeeded his father in the throne of holy poverty and religious leadership and that in some accomplishments³ he excelled him, for instance, that he could explain the meaning of the *Qur'ān* in such a manner that there was no need of a commentary,⁴ besides having committed the *Qur'ān* to memory, so that he had it on the tip of his tongue. Accordingly in the year H. 970 (A.D. 1562-63) I went to visit him in Āgra, and that without⁵ the intervention of any person to introduce me and to act as a mentor, and in the character of one who was altogether free from ceremony and had been long disappointed of his object, a character to which I had accustomed myself. Indeed, in visiting holy men worldly means and the intervention of men interested in externals only are disturbing elements in the attainment of one's object. I made the usual salutation and I had a conversation with him face to face. The Shaikh himself, from the high consideration in which he was held, was probably

¹ Vide p. 6.

² بر باطن کسی کا نیست MS. (B) has و بر باطن وی کسی کا نیست which is nonsense.

³ فضیلت. MS. (A) has فضیلتا.

⁴ احتیاجی به تفسیری. MS. (A) has احتیاج تفسیری.

⁵ بی وسیلہ. MS. (B) has به وسیلہ which is wrong.

a slave to those ceremonial observances dear to *Shaiḥ's* sons, and my unceremonial manner of visiting him displeased him. Those who were present in his assembly said to me, "Where do you come from?" I said, "From Sahsarām."¹ When they asked me whether I had made any advance in the study of the sciences, I said that I had, at one time or another, studied a little of each one of them. Since Sahsawān is an inconsiderable town and at that time Qilij Khan,² Cangān Begi, the disciple of the *Shaiḥ's* father, was *jāgirdār* of that place, I was of small account in his eyes, and he esteemed me lightly and began to jest with me and mock me, and made a sign to a jester who was present, prompting him to scare me and turn me out of my place, but I, becoming aware of these proceedings, the like of which I had often witnessed, pretended that I had noticed nothing and posed as an innocent fool. The jester then began his pranks, saying, "the odour of some sweet scent has reached my nostrils, and my brain is becoming disordered, let those who are present in the assembly have a care, lest I do some one a mischief." He then began to foam at the mouth and one of the *Shaiḥ's* companions, who posed as a *Sūfī*, asked me whether I had applied the scent to myself. I said, "Yes; but what is the matter?" He said, "This person whom you see in this state of unconsciousness was once bitten by a mad dog, and now, whenever he smells a sweet scent he falls to foaming at the mouth, howling like a dog, and tries to bite people. Have a care for yourself." Those who were present there began to flee and the *Shaiḥ* too, inaugurating this new custom, joined with them in setting himself knowingly to terrify me, and became the accomplice³ of those devilish men. At that moment I said, "It is strange that men travel from distant lands to this exalted

¹ Then a *pargana* town in the Ruktās *sarkār* of the *pīḍa* of Bihār, now the headquarters of a subdivision in the Shāhābād District of Bengal. *Vide Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xxii, 111. Shīr Shāh of Dillī and his father, Hasan Shāh Sūr, are buried at Sahsarām.

² *Vide Ain-i-Akbari*, 34, 354.

³ The text has here, wrongly, *موانقت*. The reading of the MSS. (*موانقت*) is correct.

threshold in order to obtain the fulfilment of their desires when, as a matter of fact, one who has been bitten by a mad dog cannot find a remedy here." The *Shaiikh* asked me whether I knew of a remedy, and, on my replying that I did, asked me what it was. I replied, "This man should be beaten on the head with shoes and clods, as *Shaiikh* Sa'di (may God have mercy upon him!) said:—

HEMISTICH.

"The cure for a rabid dog is a clod!"

They were all astonished, and I continued, "The strange thing is," I said, "that *kulūkā* is also the name of a vegetable drug, which is a remedy for the bite of a dog." The *Shaiikh* then became uneasy,¹ fearing that his jest had fallen flat, and said, "Come, let us go and busy ourselves with the study of the words of God and His prophet." Then, taking a copy of the glorious *Qur'ān* he proceeded to expound a verse from the chapter of "The Cow,"² and in doing so exercised the right of private judgment very freely.³ His pupils, blockheads that they were, assented to every absurdity that he concocted, saying, "We believe it, we accept it!" I, since my heart was full (of indignation) said, "Perhaps this interpretation which is given by the *Shaiikh* is to be found in the commentary." He replied, "I am speaking of the secondary meaning⁴ of the text and what may be inferred from it,⁵ and this is a common practice and by no means a peculiarity of my own." I said, "Taking this for granted, is your interpretation literal or the metaphorical meaning of the text?" He replied, "The metaphorical meaning." I replied, "Pray then explain the connection between the two interpretations," and led him on into an argument regarding the meanings

¹ ترشده is the reading of both MSS. and is correct. The editor of the text, apparently not understanding the idiom, has altered it to ترسیده.

² The second chapter of the *Qur'ān*.

³ عندي عنديا گوناگون میگفت means 'from me.' It is here expressively used as a substantive 'from me-ism,' 'invention.'

⁴ تازیان The word signifies 'turning language from its obvious meaning.'

⁵ اشارة 'a sign,' i.e. what the text indicates by implication.

of the text. He replied disconnectedly and glanced, in an agitated manner, in all directions. When I held him firmly to the point he lost his temper, and said, shutting up the *Qur'ān*, "I have not studied dialectics." I said, "You have presumed so far as to interpret a text of the *Qur'ān* in a manner unsupported by tradition, and it is necessary that the connection between the literal interpretation and (your) metaphorical interpretation should be investigated." He then turned the subject and began to ask me about myself. In the meantime I produced a portion of a commentary which I had written on the *Qaṣīdah*¹ *Burdah*,¹ and called his attention to the expressions in the opening couplet of that *qaṣīdah* which had struck me. He praised my work, and himself also said something on the same subject, and our interview came to an end in that manner. This was all I saw of him until the time when I entered the imperial service, when the *Shaiikh* in obedience to a summons from the Court came alone and helpless to the *'Ibādat-khāna*, where he took his place. It was on a Friday when the *Shaiikh* with one or two of his intimate companions first entered the *'Ibādat-khāna* and Mirzā Ghiyāṣu-'d-dīn 'Alī the theologian,² Mirzā Akh'und, and Mirzā 'Alī Aṣaf Khān³ had been ordered to examine the *Shaiikh* thoroughly and to question him on his *Sūfī*-ism, in order to see what he would let fall. Aṣaf Khān introduced into the conversation the following quatrain from the *Lisā'ih*,⁴

"If thoughts of the rose pass in thy heart, thou becomest a
rose,
If thoughts of the passionate nightingale pass, thou
becomest a nightingale,
Thou art only an atom, God is all,
If thou accustom thyself to meditate on Him who is all in
all, thou wilt become all."

¹ Vide p. 4, note 1.

² Probably Naqīb Khān. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 447.

³ Aṣaf Khān's name was Mirzā Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī also, and both MSS. insert his full name. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 433.

⁴ The *Lisā'ih* is a mystical poem by the great poet Mullā 'Abdu-r-Rahman-i-Jāmi.

He then asked, "How can God the most Holy be described as "all" or "the whole," since He is above being defined as a part or the whole?" The *Shaiikh* who had undergone much tribulation before coming to Court, and whose pride, haughtiness and self-conceit were completely broken, since he had endured much trouble, was¹ very modest and indistinctly muttered a few words which nobody understood. At last I, growing bold, ventured to say, "Although the Maulavi Jāmi (may his tomb be sanctified!) has in this quatrain applied the expression "the whole" to God the most Holy and most High, yet he has in another quatrain spoken of Him as being divisible into parts, and far be that from the most High!

Quatrain.

"As for this love which is a part of the Indissoluble One
(whom) we (love)

God forbid that it should be comprehended of our intelligence,

Happy will it be for us if there flash a ray from the light
of certainty

Which will free us from the darkness of our doubts."

The meaning of these passages is that whatever can be conceived, whether it be the whole or a part, is nothing but God, and that besides Him there is no true existence. In short, since words fail to express the writer's meaning adequately he uses them in various senses, explaining (God's existence) sometimes as a whole and sometimes as (possessing) parts." I then adduced several propositions regarding the inherent unity of essence, a principle which had at that time become ingrained in me, and called upon the *Shaiikh* to corroborate my arguments, and both the emperor and the *Shaiikh* were well pleased with my discourse. About this time *Shaiikh* Isma'il, the half-brother of the *Shaiikh*, near whom I lived in the quarter of the *Kh'āja-yi Jahān* in *Fatḥpūr*, and with whom I was on terms of intimate

¹ The text has, wrongly, *برود*. Both MSS. have *بود*.

companionship, took me, in obedience to *Shaikh Ziyā'u'llāh's* wish, to the *'Ibādāt Khāna*, and there introduced me to him, and related to him the story of my meeting with him eleven years before, which he had heard from me. *Shaikh Ziyā'u'llāh* was much perturbed and said that he did not remember that any such thing had happened. The *Shaikh*, although he pretends to refrain from company, which is really self-advertisement, now lives in Agra, in outward appearance, like his father, one of the holy men, while on the contrary he spends his time in self-indulgence and idleness, clad in the raiment of men of rank, and retains his old habits, many strange utterances, calculated to deceive the vulgar, and delivered with apparent simplicity, being reported. I have not space to record them.

Mir Abū'l-Qhaṣṣ of Bukhārā¹ (may the mercy of God be upon him!) used to say, "Let him be what he may, with his devotee's raiment, his assemblies of those vowed to holy poverty, and his discourses on mysticism. We believe in him with our whole heart!"

In the year in which the *Khān-i-Zamān* was defeated² *Shaikh Ziyā'u'llāh* accompanied the army to Ambethl, and had an interview with his holiness Miyān *Shaikh Nizāmu'd-dīn* (may his tomb be sanctified!). When the Miyān was commenting on the blessed verse, "And therein shall they be given to drink of a cup of wine, mixed with the water of Zanjabil, a fountain in paradise named Salsabil,"³ *Shaikh Ziyā'u'llāh*, with a view of displaying his ability, interrupted the discourse, and said, "There is a discrepancy between this verse and another verse of the *Qur'ān*." The Miyān was moved to anger and said, "Holy is God! The father dived in that (sea of doubt) and must now be feeling the utmost need of intercession, and the son here sets himself to prove discrepancies between the words of God (be He honoured and glorified!)"

¹ Vide *infra*, No. XLI.

² A.D. 1567. Vide vol. II, text, p. 100.

³ *وَيُسْقَوْنَ فِيهَا كَأْسًا كَانَتْ مَزَاجُهَا زَنْجَبِيلًا فَبِهَا نَسِيَ مَلْجُوبًا* *Qur'ān* lxxvi, 17,

Everything that is in the heart is not instruction !

XLI. MIR ABŪ'L-GHĀIṢ OF BUKHĀRĪ.

He was a high-minded man and a follower of the pure religion who had so acquired angelic qualities that they became, as it were, ingrafted in his noble nature. Though clad in the outward garb of wealth he possessed the inward attributes of holy poverty. From association with many of the great *Shā'ikhs* of his time he had profited much, and had inherited much of the customs of his noble ancestors. In good breeding, but especially in liberal disbursement of his substance,¹ in independence of character, good fellowship, and uprightness in his dealings, he was one of the noblest of God's works. He followed the ceremonial observances of the law and imitated the laudable qualities of the ancients and their successors so closely that he omitted not the observance of one tittle of the holy law.² Such were his endeavours to fulfil all the requirements of the law of the congregation³ that even in the time of his mortal sickness, when he was suffering from a painful chronic disorder he did not omit the recital of the "*Allāhu Akbar*"⁴ at the commencement of his prayers. The conversation in his assemblies consisted always of texts from the *Qur'ān*, traditional sayings of the prophet, and the words of holy men. He died in the year H. 995 (A.D. 1587),⁵ and the words "The Mir of laudable qualities"⁶ were found to give the date of his death.

¹ بذل و انفاق MS. (A) has, wrongly, بذل و انفاق

² The text here has شرعى, evidently a misprint for شرمى, the reading of both MSS.

³ سنت جماعت the law as interpreted by the *Sunnīs*.

⁴ *Vide supra*, p. 36, n. 4.

⁵ These words "He died * * 995" are omitted from the text, though they appear in both MSS.

⁶ 40 + 10 + 200 + 60 + 400 + 6 + 4 + 5 + 60 + 10 + 200 = 995.

XLII. MIYÂN KAMĀLU-D-DĪN ḤUSAIN OF SHIRĀZ.

When the heart in calling loved ones to remembrance blossoms like the rose it is not becoming that the dust of vexation should reach or settle upon the hearts of friends even though the account of their lives be somewhat prolonged.

Miyân Kamālu-d-din Ḥusain is the worthy son of Maulānā Ḥasan of Shirāz who at the time when Shāh Isma'il was expelled from Shirāz went to Makkah the glorious, and on his return thence came to Gujarāt in the reign of Sulṭān Sikandar Lōdī,¹ and, accompanying the caravan of Sayyid Rafi'ū-d-din the traditionist,² and Miyân Abū-'l-Faṭḥ of Khurāsān, the father of Miyân Budh, he took up his residence in Agra. The famous and well-known Shaikh Zainu-d-din³ praises him as follows:—

127 “My verse is of both reason and tradition, therefore I would that it should be hearkened to
By him who combines the knowledge of sciences both of reason and tradition, Maulānā Ḥasan.”

Miyân Kamālu-d-din Ḥusain is an angel in the form of a man, whose laudable qualities and praiseworthy attributes are more than can be either written or related. The emperor, recognizing that he was distinguished for his greatness and loftiness (of mind), was exceedingly desirous that he should enter the imperial service. At last he abandoned everything, and contenting himself with a small grant of land for his subsistence found complete happiness in the exile of poverty and the honour of good faith, and spends his time in continual devotion. He lives, free from care, sometimes in Dihli and sometimes in Agra. From earliest youth till old age he has walked unintermittently in the path of devotion, reciting the praises of God, giving alms, reciting set portions of the word of God, and reading the Qur'ān, knowing no other habit of life; but with all this excellence and perfection

¹ Reigned from Dec. 1488 to Jan. 1517.

² Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 476, and note 6.

³ Probably Shaikh Zainu-d-din Vafā'i. Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 609, and note 5.

in religious matters he has the highest ability, and perfect eloquence, excellent penmanship, skill in orthography and a masterly style are his by inheritance.

When I first came to Agra in my youth, in the time of Bairam Khān, the first place where I lodged was his *masjid*, where bounty was bestowed upon me, and his dwelling, where my soul was cherished, and there, in my opinion, the gates of happiness were first opened to me.

From that time till the time of writing this hasty memoir a period of full forty years has elapsed, during which time I have observed that his kindness, sympathy, and regard for my friendship have increased daily, although (I could) not (have believed that) there was room for any increase :—

Poetry.

Enough of love, for that grows less, enough of beauty, for
that decays.

But my love for thee and thy beauty remain undiminished
—nay, have increased.

What now follows is a few drops distilled from his musk-diffusing pen, now incorporated by me in this record of friendship. They are as follows :—

“In ¹ the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate ! 128

We bless his prophet, the gracious one, and love for thee
has not waned but its strength is increased towards
thee,

and my desire towards thee is as it is.

¹ This is a letter from Kamālu-'d-dīn Husain to Badāoni. The style is stilted and bombastic in the original and must necessarily appear more so in the translation, but as the substance of the letter is of no importance I have preferred to render it literally. As is usual in epistles of this nature, the writer refers both to himself and to the person whom he addresses in the third person, using in the latter case the plural of respect. As this plural cannot be used in English the continued use of the third person is apt to be confusing. I have, therefore, retained it in the exordium only, except where honorific titles appear in the body of the letter.

This atom of dust, inconsiderable and full of defects and blemishes, Kamālu-d-dīn Husain, after conveying to you the greetings of an exile and the salutations of one who longs to see you, with the tongue of abridgment and brevity, of supplication and poverty, conveys to the enlightened mind, coruscating with benignity, namely, the mind of my worshipful master, the resort of clemency (may God save and preserve him and bestow on him all that pertains to matters both of religion and of the world!) the intelligence that since in these mournful days the hardships of loneliness and the grief of separation, the anxiety of religious duties and the absence of all traces of love and friendship have become my lot, I have sometimes in my restlessness travelled to the imperial city of Dihli and have there acquired the honour of visiting the blessed tombs (of the Saints), and at other times have gone to Agra to see my friendless children (may God guard them with his power!) who dwell there in retirement, and I was much disturbed in mind, when those kind letters from my lord¹ began to arrive at irregular intervals. I swear by God that they conveyed very much consolation and comfort to my mournful heart, and for some days I took delight in studying and repeating them, and morning and evening I raised and still raise my hands in prayer to the All-Wise, praying Him to grant length of life to my lord¹ :—

Hemistich.

(I pray to) God that thou mayest live till the day of resurrection.

But I will not dilate further on this subject, and will commit it to the care of the All-Wise God who knows the truth, and passing to my ulterior (outward) object, will bring it to your consideration,² informing you that for a long time I endured

¹ The word used here is *خدا*, ' (my lord's) servants.' The writer affects, as is usual in the language of oriental compliment, to be unworthy to mention the name of the person whom he addresses, and therefore speaks of his 'servants.' The best-known example of this idiom is the phrase *بندگان عالی* ('the exalted slaves') for 'his majesty,' or 'your majesty.'

² *مصدق میگردد*, literally 'I become the means of giving you a headache.'

great grief and sorrow from hearing of the death of that repository of humanity, inseparably connected with liberality, him who had acquired all perfections, Mirzâ Nizâm-u-d-din Ahmad, and from the passing away of all the excellence of that phoenix of the age and of his love and faithful affection for you, my lord.¹ "Verily we are God's, and to Him do we return!" What can I say, and to whom can I confide these griefs, which assail me incessantly and repeatedly? At all events we are awaiting our own death, and we have no resource but the favour of the bountiful God. My tongue is now ever chanting this prayer, "O God have mercy upon us, behold the sweat of our brows and the multitude of our groans! May the physician be disappointed of us, and may our friends weep for us! O God, have mercy upon us when the earth surrounds us, and our friends love us! Scatter Thy favours among us, and may the wind cease to blow upon us!" I hope that our end will be good and that we shall preserve our faith unblemished. Since the bearer of this letter was in great haste to depart I have written it hurriedly at night, and have not been able to explain one thousandth part of the desire which I have towards your service. You will be able to conceive it in your pure heart, for verily hearts have intercourse one with another. Salutations and honour be upon you and on him who is with you, both first and last, both inwardly and outwardly."

XLIII. SHAikh ABŪ-'L-FATH OF THĀNĒSAR.

He is one of the foremost* among the wise men of the age and one of the chief among profound and eminent scholars. He acquired a thorough knowledge of Islamic tradition under Sayyid Rafi'u-d-din the traditionist, and has now dwelt for about fifty years in the quarter named after the above-mentioned Mtr in Agra, engaged in teaching those branches of knowledge which call for the exercise of the reasoning faculty as well as those which depend upon the memory. Many able and ready scholars have sat at his feet and have gone out into the world (with the fruits

¹ Vide footnote 1 of p. 78.

* **مردود**. Literally 'males,' 'virile men.'

of his teaching). Both I and Miyān Kamālu-d-din Husain, just mentioned, shared the benefits of being taught by this great man. His most noble and orthodox son, Shaikh 'Isā, is now, by the emperor's appointment, the authorized deliverer of *fatwās*¹ in Agra.

XLIV. MAULĀNĀ 'UḤMĀN OF BANGĀL.

- 130 He was an old Shaikh who took up his residence in Sambhal. Miyān Ḥātim of Sambhal² was his pupil, and used sometimes to visit him and request him to put up a *fatḥah* on his behalf. On one occasion I, when I was in attendance on the late Miyān Ḥātim in my childhood, had the honour of waiting upon the Maulānā.

XLV. SHAIKH HUSAIN OF BAZHAR.³

He was one of the foremost among the distinguished men (of his day) and was employed in the instruction of students in the college of the imperial city of Dihli. In those branches of knowledge which depend on the memory and which are usually studied in India, he was the most accomplished man of his time. He had a generous disposition.

XLVI. MAULĀNĀ ISMĀ'IL THE 'ARAB.⁴

He was one of the contemporaries and equals in age of Shaikh Husain. In knowledge of mathematics, philosophy, and medicine he was unequalled, and as a teacher he was associated with Shaikh Husain, and by the blessing of their noble companionship the doors of bounty were opened to students. The *Maulavi* was possessed of considerable wealth, and one night some thieves, instigated by the inhabitants of the city, broke into his house and murdered him.⁵

XLVII. QĀZI MURĀRAK OF GOPĀNĀU.⁶

He was a most learned man and performed the duties of his office of *Qāzi* with great integrity and honesty. He acquired his knowledge and good breeding from his teacher, Shaikh Nizām-u-d-

¹ i.e. *mufti*.

² Vide p. 3.

³ Or Basahr. I have not been able to identify this place.

⁴ Vide *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 538.

⁵ Literally, 'caused him to attain martyrdom.'

⁶ Then a *pargana* town in the Khairābād sarkār of the *pāsa* of Awadh.

din of Ambēthi¹ (may his tomb be sanctified!), and the *Shaiḥ*, from the time when the *Miyān* first began to study in his hospice, had a special regard for him and bestowed care on his education, and whenever the *Qāḍī* used to make his request, saying, "Why should not I too receive my share from the reservoir of your saintship?" *Shaiḥ* Nizāmu-d-din would always reply, "Qāḍī Mubārak has devoured this world and gained (his reward in) the next." The *Qāḍī* lived highly regarded, honoured, and respected 131 to the end of his life, and thus too took his departure to the next world.

Among the sages and learned men who came and settled in Gopāman for the purpose of studying under the *Qāḍī* (on him be God's mercy!), and there grew to manhood, so that for the sake of profiting by their society men came from great distances, and attained to perfection thereby, was the respected Budh, who used to give instruction in all the books commonly studied. Another was Sayyid Muḥiyy, of whom the same may be said, and there were others too in the same category. That caravan of sojourners has now reached its journey's end, leaving no successors, and the mansions and abodes of learning have now been cleared of the tigers of the forest of knowledge, so that those who, fox-like, are ever ready to creep into an earth, have taken their place. The author of the *Maḥāriq-u'l-Anwār* too makes the same complaint of his own time, saying no sooner is the den clear of the lioness with two cubs than the gravid vixen enters it in the morning.

Verse.

This one small loaf² remains to poor Ḥasan,
I fear that day when not even this will be left.

XLVIII. MAULĀNĀ VAIS OF GWĀLIYĀR.

He was a learned man, argumentative and disputatious, and in his knowledge of first principles and deductions therefrom he had

¹ Vide p. 27. Now a town in the District and *taḥṣīl* of Hardoi, in the U. P., vide *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xii, 830. For mention of Qāḍī Mubārak, vide *supra*, p. 31.

² لُبّ, diminutive of لُبّ.

no equal in his time. The power of his memory ¹ was such that in the midst of an argument when there was any necessity for an appeal to any authority, he would seem to recite from memory whole pages and would say, "This is what is written in such and such a book, look it up and see," and would thus confute his adversary, but afterwards, when the book was searched, no trace of the pretended quotation would be found. In this manner he one day confuted, in the imperial assembly, Maulānā Iliyās the astrologer, who had been the tutor of the Emperor Muḥammad Humāyūn, and had great skill and readiness in the preparation of astronomical tables, so that the Maulānā, disgusted with his opposition, set out from Court, and travelling through the *pargana* of Mohān ² in the *Sarkār* of Lakhnau, which was his *jāgīr*, he gave up his military appointment in the imperial service, and 132 proceeded in haste to Gujarāt, and thence to Makkah the glorious, and thence went to the land of 'Irāq and Āzarbāijān, and Ardabil, which was his well-loved native land, and there he died. The story of his dealings with Shāh Ismā'il II is well known, and is briefly as follows: When Maulānā Iliyās arrived at Ardabil he wrote a letter to Shāh Ismā'il, who had been confined by Shāh Tahmāsp in the fortress of Qahqaha, saying, "From the aspects of the planets I have ascertained that in such a month you will obtain your freedom, and from the dungeon will attain to the highest rank, and will sit on the throne of the kingdom. Just as he had prophesied something was put into Shāh Tahmāsp's cup after a short space of time, and the affairs of Irāq fell into great confusion, and the *amīrs* and ministers of state summoned Shāh Ismā'il from his prison, by way of Ardabil, with a view of setting him on the throne. Now the *maulavī* had said in his letter, "On your way from Qahqaha, when you reach Ardabil it is necessary that you pay me a visit so that certain agreements and settlements may be made between us in your presence, and certain rites

¹ [sic] قوت حافظه. Badāoni should have said, 'his power of invention.'

² Vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, ii, 179. Mohān is now a town in the *talūq* of the same name in the Unao District of the U. P., vide *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xvii, 383.

of exorcism may be performed while we are face to face." It so happened that Shāh Ismā'il was in great haste and did not visit the *maulavi's* house, but after leaving Ardabil he turned back and went to the *maulavi's* house with the object of waiting upon him. The *maulavi* shut the door of his mansion and refused to grant him an interview. After waiting a long time the king was compelled to break the door, and, entering the *maulavi's* room by force, waited upon him; but the *maulavi* covered his face, and, turning round, sat facing the wall, and said, "The appointed hour passed, and you did not come; why should I now see your face?" Shāh Ismā'il turned away disappointed, and although he became king, the nobles of the realm, a year after he had ascended the throne, conspired to prompt his sister, Parijān Khānum, to attempt his life. He became cognizant of the plot, but before he could do anything to baffle it Parijān Khānum suffocated him and left his 133 room, closing the door behind her on his corpse.

XLIX. SHAIKH MUHAMMAD OF SYRIA,¹

He is a true² 'Arab and is nephew to that Shaiikh Zainu-d-din of Jabal-i-Āmili who was an ecclesiastical dignitary and religious guide among the Shi'ahs, and on whom the Sultan of Turkey after much finesse and many stratagems laid hands when he was in Makkah the glorious, and after summoning him to Constantinople, put him to death. Shaiikh Muḥammad is ranked among the *manṣabdārs*, and is distinguished for his bravery and valour and noted for that generosity and liberality which are characteristic of the 'Arabs. He is also well known for his good breeding and courtesy and those branches of knowledge which are generally treated of in the Arabic language, and in the humanities generally his attainments are such that he may be called a second Kisā'i.³ The following letter, which he wrote in Lāhōr in answer

¹ Shaiikh Muḥammad is not mentioned in the *Āin* as a *manṣabdār*.

² عربي. The expression may also mean 'a rough, or brutal, Arab.' MS.
(A) has عربي, wrongly.

³ A celebrated grammarian and reader of the *Qur'ān*. Vide vol. i, trans., Ranking, p. 30, note 1.

to one from me, in which I had been guilty of some insolence, when our friendship first began, is an example of his correspondence.

[Here follow five letters in Arabic, of which the Editor of the Text writes in a footnote, "Be it known that the whole of the text of these five letters, from beginning to end, is full of errors, and I have found it impossible, notwithstanding the utmost care, to correct it from the three manuscripts at my disposal." After a careful examination of the text in MSS. (A) and (B) I am compelled to agree with the Editor. Professor T. W. Arnold, who has kindly come to my assistance, agrees with me that the text is so corrupt that no satisfactory translation of these letters can be given. He also agrees, however, that the text, unsatisfactory as it is, is sufficient to indicate that the letters are not worth translating and consist, almost entirely, of long strings of bombastic and extravagant compliments. For this reason I have refrained from an attempt to reconstruct the text from other MSS.—T. W. H.]

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L. SHAIKH HASAN 'ALĪ OF MAUṢIL.¹

He was the faithful pupil of Shāh Fatḥu-llāh, but notwithstanding this he is an orthodox *Sunnī*. He entered the imperial service in the year in which Kābul was conquered, and was entrusted with the education of the emperor's eldest son until the young prince could repeat certain lessons from Persian and other treatises on philosophy. Shaikh Abū'-Faḥl also for some time secretly received instruction from him in the exact sciences, and in physics, and other branches of philosophy, but notwithstanding this he never attempted to advance the Shaikh's interests, so that while he himself has his place on the carpet in the imperial presence his master takes his stand on the bare floor. Shaikh Hasan 'Alī, finding that the conduct of such men was not in accord with his religious views, gave up the allowance which he used to receive and went to Gujarāt, where he associated himself for a time with Mirzā Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad. The

¹ Mosul in the maps, on the Tigris, opposite to the site of Nineveh.

latter, and his son, Muḥammad Sharif, received much profitable instruction from him in those branches of knowledge which exercise the reasoning faculty, and in secular learning, so much so indeed, that they advanced to perfection therein.

After the death of Shāh Fathu-'llāh Shaikh Abū-'l-Faẓl and other courtiers recounted some of the Shaikh's accomplishments 137 and perfections in the imperial assembly, whereby the emperor was so impressed that Shaikh Ḥasan 'Alī is now (recognized as) the spiritual successor of Shāh Fathu-'llāh. At that time an imperial order was issued summoning Shaikh Ḥasan 'Alī to the imperial presence, and he accordingly came to Lāhōr, but when he paid his respects at Court Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad directed him to perform the *siyāh* (instead of the *kūmish*),¹ which so displeased him that he made his release from the obligation of performing the ceremony a condition of his attendance, and even in his house he could not bear (to witness at Court) so many things which were abominations to him, and "the elephant once more remembered Hindustan"² and on the plea of an intention to visit his mother he obtained leave to go to his own country, and in the year H. 998 (A.D. 1589-90) he arrived at Thatta, when the Khān-i-Khānān was governor of that province, and having attained to trust in God and contentment of heart he set out for his own country, and when he arrived at Hurmuz he sent a message to the officers of the imperial court saying, "Praise be to God! I am freed from the hypocritical companionship of my friends." Please God he has attained the object of his desires.

LI. QAZI NŪRU-'LLĀH OF SHUSHTAR.³

Although he is by religion a Shā'ah,⁴ he is distinguished for his impartiality, justice, virtue, modesty, piety, continence, and such qualities as are possessed by noble men, and is well known for his learning, clemency, quickness of understanding, singleness of

¹ Vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, 159. •

² A proverb descriptive of home-sickness.

³ More properly Shushtar. On the Kārun river, in Persia.

⁴ According to Mr. Blochmann (*Ain-i-Akbari*, i, 545), Qazī Nāru-'llāh

heart, clearness of perception, and acumen. He is the author of several able works, and he has written a monograph on the "undotted commentary" ¹ of Shaikh Faiẓi which is beyond all praise. He also possesses the poetic faculty and writes impressive poetry. He was introduced to the emperor by the instrumentality of the physician Abū-'l-Fath, ² and when the victorious imperial army reached Lāhōr, and Shaikh Mu'in the *Qāḍī* of Lāhōr, when he was paying his respects to the emperor, was afflicted suddenly in the presence chamber with the falling sickness, which came upon him in consequence of the feebleness of old age, and the failure of his natural powers, the emperor took pity on his weakness, and said, "The Shaikh is past his work, 138 and we have therefore appointed Qāḍī Nūru-'llāh to the post which he held." In truth he has reduced the insolent *muftis* and the crafty and subtle *muftasibis* of Lāhōr, who venture to give lessons to the teacher of the angels, to order, and has closed to them the avenues of bribery, and restrained them within due bounds as closely as a nut is enclosed in its shell, and to such a degree that stricter discipline could not be imagined. One might almost say that the author of the following verses had the *Qāḍī* in his mind when he wrote them :—

"Thou art he who has never in all his life admitted

Any statement by anybody in a law-suit, except the sworn testimony of a witness."

One day when he was in the house of Shaikh Faiẓi the *Nishā-pūri* commentary was the subject of discussion, and regarding the blessed verse :—"When he said to his companion, 'Be not cast down, verily God is with us,' " ³—which verse is held, by the great majority of commentators, to refer to the greatest of

practised *taqiya*, or concealment of his religious views, among *Sunnis*, and was well acquainted with the system of jurisprudence of Abū Ḥanīfah. After Jahāngir's accession he was recalled from Lāhōr. Once he offended the emperor by a hasty word, and was executed.

¹ The *Sawāfi'u-l-Ilāhīn*, vide *Āin-i-Abbari*, i, 540.

² Vide *infra*, c. iii, no. viii.

³ *Qur'ān*, ix, 39, *إِنْ يَقُولُ لِمَا هُمْ لَا يَفْعَلُونَ* *أَلَمْ يَكُنْ*

faithful witnesses of the truth (Abū Bakr)—may God be graciously pleased with him!—he said, "If the signification of the companionship referred to in the text be trifling and unimportant then the expression cannot be understood as conveying praise of anybody, but if it be said that the word is used in the conventional sense which has been attributed to it by traditionists, we come back to the question under debate, and I deny that there was any companionship (in that sense)."¹ I replied, "If a mere child even who knew the Arabic language were asked he would say that this verse clearly involves praise (of the person referred to therein) and not blame, and an African infidel, or a Jew, or a Hindū who knew Arabic, would give the same reply." There was much controversy on the subject, and Shaikh Faiṣi after his usual vile custom took the side of the Qāṣi, though he actually had nothing whatever in common with either side. Suddenly a passage was turned up, in the Nishāpūrī commentary itself, which supported my contention, and even went beyond it, saying that the verse, supposing that the prophet (may God bless and preserve him!) had at that moment been summoned to the immediate presence of God, would have been authority for

¹ The original is rather stilted, and is not easy to translate. The Qāṣi, arguing as a *Shi'ah*, contended that the word *ṣāhib* ("companion") might be interpreted in two ways. It might be translated literally, without any ulterior signification, in which case its application to Abū Bakr could confer no honour upon him, for it would mean nothing more than that he chanced to be in the company of Muḥammad. The other signification, the technical or conventional meaning referred to by the Qāṣi, is the signification given by *Sunni* traditionists to the word *ṣāhib* when used in connection with the first three *Khalifas*, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān. These three were, the traditionists argue, the chosen and constant companions of Muḥammad, whose object in admitting them to this intimate companionship was to draw attention to the fact that they had been selected as his spiritual successors, and to qualify them for the posts they were to fill after his death. The Qāṣi objects to the assumption that the word *ṣāhib* bears this conventional meaning, as a *petitio principii*. Badā'oni, as a *Sunni*, argues that whatever may be the precise signification of the word *ṣāhib*, the verse confers honour on Abū Bakr, and contends that anybody acquainted with Arabic and ignorant of theology would at once see that it did so.

regarding Abū Bakr and no other as the successor nominated by the prophet himself.

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LII. HAJI IBRĀHĪM, THE TRADITIONIST.

He lived in Agra, leading an ascetic, abstemious, and pious life, and occupied in teaching divinity, and especially the traditions of the prophet. His strict observance of the holy law and his asceticism prevented him from mixing or associating with his fellow-men. He was in the habit of delivering authoritative commands and prohibitions in matters of faith. When, in obedience to a summons from Court, he attended the 'Ibādatkhāna, he declined to observe the etiquette and ceremonies of the Court and used to preach and utter admonitions (without respect of persons). To Kh'āja 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad of Shirāz, who, by reason of his habit of letting out for hire old cotton cloth for decorations, is known as Kh'āja 'Abdu-'llāh,¹ and is much occupied with ceremonial prayers and fasts, and with supererogatory prayers and outward devotions, and had great faith in the Hājī, he used to say, "Kh'āja, all these observances will profit you nothing until you give a place in your heart to love for the orthodox successors of the prophet."

LIII. SHAIKH JALĀL-I-WĀḠIL,² OF KĀLPĪ.³

He is one of the spiritual successors of Shaikh Muḥammad Qhauṣ.⁴ Early in his career he acquired perfection (in learning), but later he no longer allowed such matters to burden his memory and gave himself up wholly to the delight of listening to the chants of mystics, and to fits of religious ecstasy. His majesty the emperor has a very high opinion of him. On the whole there was less of striving after appearances among the spiritual successors of Shaikh Muḥammad Qhauṣ than among

¹ I do not understand the applicability of this nickname.

² واصل. The word means 'united (with God).'

³ Then the chief town of the Sarkār of the same name in the Siba of Agra. Now the chief town of a taḥṣīl of the same name in the Jalaun District of the U.P. Vide *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xiv, 318.

⁴ See p. 6.

those of *Shaikh Salim*,¹ though each sect decried and sought to ruin the other; and now the words of 'Ali, the leader of the faithful (may God be graciously pleased with him!), which he spoke on hearing the blessed verse, "The Jews say, 'the Christians are grounded on nothing,' and the Christians say, 'the Jews are grounded on nothing!'"² are applicable to both parties. 'Ali said, on hearing this verse, "We believe it." Praise be to God, no trace of either sect remains.

LIV. MALIK MAHMŪD-I-PIYĀRŪ.

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He possessed such outward accomplishments as a knowledge of Arabic, Qurānic commentaries, the traditions, and miscellaneous Persian compositions in prose and poetry, and was also adorned with spiritual perfection in such matters as devotion, piety, a mystic longing for union with God,³ and religious ecstasy. He was descended from the *maliks* of the land of Gujarāt, and his venerable father bore the name of Malik Piyārū. Malik Mahmūd, owing to the elegance and copiousness of his discourse, his knowledge, and his ingenuity, was accorded the great honour of conversing with the *Khalifah* of the age, in the heavenly assemblies held at Court, and ingratiated himself with his majesty, and owing to the great pleasure which he took in rendering any service to the godly, he was for some time favoured by being appointed to and associated with the glorious post of the trusteeship of the blessed tomb of that pole-star of saints who have become united with God, *Kh'āja Mu'inu-d-dīn-i-Sanjari-yi-Cishti* (may God sanctify his tomb!). But notwithstanding all the favour which the emperor bestowed upon him and the faith which he had in him, and his nearness to the emperor's person, owing to the all-mastering love and overpowering desire and the strength of the mystic bonds by which he was bound to that pole-star of the heaven of chiefship and centre of the circle of happiness, the lord *Shāh-i-'Ālam* of *Bukhārā*, one of the sons of

¹ See p. 18.² *و قال اليهود ليست النصرى على شئ و قالت النصرى ليست اليهود على شئ* *Qur'ān*, II, 111.³ *ذوق* See p. 11, note 4.

Makhdūm-i-Jahānī of Bukhārā¹ (may God sanctify his honoured tomb!), him who was the beloved of the possessors of true knowledge, and who was sought after by travellers in the right path, Malik Maḥmūd exerted all the influence and employed all the interest which he possessed in preferring his request that he might be permitted to depart from Court and undertake the guardianship of the holy man's tomb, employing himself in the circumambulation of its threshold, the dwelling-place of angels, and urged his request with an utter disregard of the emperor's wishes. Since he was thoroughly sincere in his intention and design, and was altogether free from any suspicion of hypocrisy or worldly designs, his prayer was naturally granted, but after much discussion and debate, and he retired to the corner of contentment and resignation, passing most of his blessed time in Aḥmadābād in the service of that shrine until he departed from its parterres to those of the abode of peace.

- 141 The author had the honour of being admitted to his joy-diffusing presence in Fatḥpūr and Ajmir.

The following opening couplet of a *qaṣīdah* is by the *Malik* :—

"I have an ever-veering heart which nevertheless I call my *qibla-numā*,²

Whithersoever I turn it, it still turns towards His eye-brow."

LV. ŠADR-I-JAHĀN,³ OF PĪHĀNĪ.

Pīhānī is a village in the district of Qannauj.⁴ Šadr-i-Jahān

¹ See vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 376.

² That which points to the *qibla*, or the direction in which to pray.

³ See *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 468. Šadr-i-Jahān was both the Mirān's personal name and the name of the office to which he was appointed in the 34th year. He was one of the signatories to the deed which acknowledged Akbar's spiritual supremacy as well as his temporal supremacy. His position with regard to the 'divine faith' is not clear, but he evidently temporized. During the reign of Jahāngīr, who was very fond of him, he was promoted to a command of four thousand, and received Qannauj as *tuyūl*. He died in A.D. 1611 at the age, it is believed, of 120 years. See also vol. ii, text, *passim*.

⁴ According to the *Maʿāziru-l-Umra* Pīhānī is near Lakhnau, but from

is a learned *Sayyid* of a happy disposition, most of whose life has been passed in the camp. He acquired his great learning under the tuition of *Shaikh* 'Abdu-'n-Nabi,¹ and it was in consequence of the *Shaikh's* exertions that he was appointed chief *mufti* of the empire, a post which he held for several years. After the religious leaders of India had fallen into disgrace, his habits of submission to authority and his time-serving and worldly disposition led him to regard before everything the honour and esteem which he enjoyed in the world. He accompanied the physician Humām² on his embassy to the ruler of Tūrān,³ and when he returned thence he was honoured by being appointed *Ṣadr* of the empire. At the time when it was noised abroad in Lāhōr that those who remained of the '*Ulamā* were to be banished to Makkah the glorious, and a list of them had been prepared, the *Ṣadr-i-Jahān* said one day, "I fear lest I may have been included in this class," Mirzā Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, who had prepared the list, said, "Why should you be sent to Makkah?" The *Ṣadr-i-Jahān* asked the Mirzā, why he needed to ask the question, and the Mirzā replied, "You have never given utterance to God's words, that you should be worthy of this banishment."

The *Ṣadr-i-Jahān*, notwithstanding his poetic gifts and his great aptitude for writing poetry, now repents of his former devotion to the art. The following opening couplet of a *qaṣīdah* is by him:—

the fact that *Ṣadr-i-Jahān* received Qannauj as *tuyūl* in Jahāngir's reign it would appear that Badāoni is right.

¹ Vide *supra*, no. x.

² Vide *infra*, Chap. iii, no. x.

³ The object of this embassy was to answer a letter which 'Abdu-'llāh Khān Usbak had written to Akbar, questioning him regarding his apostasy from Islām. The answer which they took to 'Abdu-'llāh contained the following Arabic verses:—

قيل إن الرسول قد كهنا	قيل إن الإله ذو ولد
من لسان الوري فكيف أنا	ما نجا الله والرسول مما

"Of God it has been said that He had a Son; of the prophet it has been said that he was a sorcerer. Neither God nor the prophet has escaped the slander of men,—then how should I?"

" May each hair of my beloved's locks,
 O God, become an affliction,
 And may my heart be afflicted with each one of those
 afflictions!"

I pray that, if it please God, he may be given grace to repent of foolish disputations on points of secular knowledge, of hypocrisy, ostentation, self-esteem, and extravagant boasting, which he must have learnt from one possessed of a devil, just as he has repented of writing poetry.

LVI. SHAIKH YA'QŪB OF KASHMĪR.¹

He assumed as a poet the *nom-de-plume* of *Sarfi*, and in him were displayed both the accomplishments of learning and the perfect qualities which distinguish a pious man. He was the spiritual successor of the great master Shaiikh Husain of Kh'ārazm (may God sanctify his tomb!), and acquired honour by performing the pilgrimage to the two most excellent holy places. He received from Shaiikh Ibn-u Hajar a licence to give instruction in the traditions of Muḥammad, and clad in the robes of a Shaiikh he travelled much and visited most of the Shaiikhs of Arabia and Persia, and profited much by his intercourse with them, and received authority to assume the prerogatives of a religious teacher and spiritual guide, and as such he had many disciples, both in Hindūstān and Kashmīr. He was the superior of an hospice. He was the author of some sublime and beautiful works, and completed a Khamsah,¹ and wrote many treatises on the art of composing enigmas, and also quatrains on the mysticism of the *Safis*, with a commentary. His works, indeed, are too numerous to be recapitulated, and had it not been necessary that some slight mention should be made of his *Sūfi*-ism, and his mystic longing for God, even these few works could not have been noticed. He was illustrious and much relied upon as an authority in all branches of learning which are treated of in Arabic, such as Quranic commentaries, the traditions of Muḥammad, and *Sūfi*-ism, and he was an authorized religious leader.

¹ A series of five *magnavis*, in imitation of the Khamsah of Nizāmi.

Latterly, not long before his death, he was writing a commentary which was one of the most wonderful productions of his perfect genius. Both the late emperor and his present majesty had a wonderful belief in him and conferred distinction on him by admitting him to the honour of their society, regarding him with gracious favour, so that he was held in high estimation and much honoured. He was generous and open-handed beyond anything that can be imagined of his contemporaries.

Although his poetry was very poor, in accordance with the verse :—"Poetry does not become the learned," he used nevertheless, continually to exercise his intellect in this direction. These following few couplets are by him :—

*Couplets.*¹

- "I see that comely face manifest in whatever I regard, 143
 "Though I look at a hundred thousand mirrors in all that
 one face is manifest.
 "On all sides people are wandering in search of the Friend,
 "And the strange thing is that the Friend is manifest on
 every side."

Other couplets by the *Shaiikh* are these :—

- "Thy mole lurks near the corner of thine eyebrow to
 deceive,
 "Wherever a recluse, lurking in a corner, is to be found,
 deceit is in him."
 "Break not my heart, Oh grief! and regard not whose that
 heart may be,
 "The heart is indeed mine, but consider who dwelleth
 there."
 "If thou sayest to him, "It behoves that Thy foot pass
 over my head,"
 "(Remember that) thou shouldst at once forsake all thought
 of self."

This enigma on the name of *Shaidā* is also by the *Shaiikh* :—

¹ The following verses are all mystical.

"My moon hath cast the veil from off her face,
 "See, how she hath of set purpose turned day into night!"

At the time when he obtained permission to depart from Lāhor to his dearly loved native land, he wrote to me from the far side of the river Rāvi a letter, which I copy here as a fortunate relic.

"My helper and my mighty one! After laying before you the prayers and supplications of true friendship, I represent to your mind, brilliant as the sun, that the cause of your neglecting to observe, in respect of your sincere and true friend, one most excellent institution was probably the fact that, though the approved custom of travelling with a friend for a part of his journey is one of the requirements of the observance of setting
 144 him on his way, you were not able at the present time to perform this office and therefore could not help but leave it undone. I hope, however, that you will not entirely efface the memory of me from the margin of your bounteous heart, and that you will adopt the graceful habit of remembering the absent. If you should have any need of Kashmir paper for rough notes and drafts I hope that you will inform me of the fact, so that I may send you from Kashmir the rough copy of my commentaries, the writing of which can be washed from the paper with water so completely that no trace of the ink will remain, as you yourself have seen. And now peace be with you and grace be upon you."

When he reached Kashmir he sent me from there another letter, which was the last he wrote. I copy it here.

"In the presence of the bounteous Shaiikh 'Abdu-l-Qādir, him who is removed beyond the need of praise, recommendation, or encomium, that is to say our lord and leader in learning, may this letter be opened.

Without a doubt Badāoni excels Dawwāni¹

In all branches of learning,

¹ Muhaqqiq-i-Dawwāni, the famous logician. His name in Persian script is دوانی, while Badāoni is بداونی, which Shaiikh Ya'qub would, for the purposes of this conceit, metamorphose into بدوانی by the transposition of two letters, thus converting it into Dawwāni with the addition of one letter (پ). The play upon the two names is somewhat clumsy.

Thus a proof of the superabundance of the signification of his name,

Is that its very beginning appears to be redundant.

As to the suppliant letters which from time to time I send to you, although owing to their not being worthy of an answer I do not trouble your wonder-describing pen to write one, nevertheless the pen of sincere friendship cannot be restrained from running on in (its desire of) setting forth my submission to you. I hope that whenever you sit in the Nawwāb Fazīl Fayyāzi's¹ apartment of fragrant grass,² on the floor with its matting cooler than the breezes of Kashmīr, in the midday heat of summer,³ drinking the water which, though warm, has been cooled with ice, and listening to sublime talk and witty conversation, you will think on me, the captive of the hardships of disappointment."

Couplet.

"Ah! ye who meet in the cheerful assembly of union extend
a helping hand to the absent,

"For the hand of those who thus meet is never withheld
from the absent."

"I pray you to accept, on behalf of your most honoured, most **145**
orthodox, and most glorious son, Shaikh Muhiyyu-d-din Muḥammad, my humble submission. May God, the most Holy and most High, assist him in the acquirement of all knowledge, both secular and spiritual, by the honour of him⁴ who was named with the name of his sublime title (may his pure tomb be hallowed!).

It is probable that, owing to your claims as a neighbour to confidence, you may have heard what that resort of chiefship,

¹ The text has 'Fayyāzi' only. MS. (A), which I follow, has 'Fazīl Fayyāzi.'

² *خسخانه*, 'a house of *Khas*.' *Khas* is a fragrant grass (*andropogon muricatum*). See vol. i, trans. Ranking, 411, note 1

³ *تموز*, the Syrian month corresponding with July. The word is omitted from MS. (B).

⁴ i.e. the prophet Muḥammad, from whom Badā'uni's son had one of his names.

Mirān Sayyid Quṭbu-d-dīn, had to say with regard to his failure to answer my humble letter to him, but it behoves you rather to regard my essential claims upon you, for these claims are clearly to be preferred to the claim of mere neighbourhood; and likewise you should not place too much confidence in the display of affection which the worshipful Mirān makes, for in the end it has no stability. God the most High knows the truth!

I have lost the rough copy of the verses which I wrote in the new *Āṣafkhānī* style, explaining what had not previously been clearly expressed. It is possible that you, my honoured friend, may have taken a copy from my rough draft, and, if so, I pray you to send me a copy of your copy. If you answer this letter it will be well. (I call to mind) God!"

Verses by the Author.¹

"O thou, at the thought of whose face intimacy comes back to me,
My desire cannot be borne on paper,
As the lofty mountain cannot be weighed in a balance,
And as the ocean cannot be measured by a water-gauge.

Why should I sing your praises? They are far beyond the pretensions of the bald style and the impotent rhetoric of me, 'Abdu-l-Qādir; and any attempt to comprise them therein would resemble the endeavour to imprison the sea in a jug."

Poetry.

"And what shall I say of my blessings on you?
No bird of devotion flies from me to the lote-tree of Paradise,
For no bird bears in his beak a list of my blessings on thee.
Why should I say anything of my desire of seeing you again?

Quatrain.

O thou whose hand has been held in my two hands,
Who hast hindered me from the enjoyment of health,

¹ These verses begin a letter from Badī'oni to Shaikh Ya'qūb.

It is impossible, that I should record my desire towards thee, 146

The strong desire that I have towards thee.

Since the time when you saw fit to take your departure hence to the land where you now dwell, the interpreter of divine secrets, by which expression may be understood the root of the elements of true knowledge, gladdened me by coming to me repeatedly, both for a few days before and a few days after the festival of the new year, conveying to me the truth contained in the following couplet from the *Ten Sayings of Good Tidings*:¹—

Couplet.

"This day a tall and comely man, in his own city,
'Sits with his bride, rejoicing in his good fortune."

You wrote with that pen which cherishes the poor and distils
musk,

"Without a doubt Badāoni, excels Dawwāni," etc.

I reply to those verses in the following *magnavi*:—

O thou whose tongue is the key of the Hidden Book,
Whose pure heart is an outcome of the Infallible,
Thy pen hath displayed miracles,
The hidden treasures of "Be, and it was."²
Thou saidst, with a logic which nourishes the intelligence,
"Badāoni is more pleasant than Dawwāni."³
Whether it be of Dawwāni or of Badāoni (that thou
speakest),
Both subjects receive all their wealth from the treasure-
house of thy grace.
My heart has become the mirror of thy beauty,
The place where thy never-failing bounty is displayed.
What wonder then if, in regarding it truly,
Thou shouldst see thyself there?

If these verses be mere ostentation then let this much suffice.
Who am I that I should presume in answering you? I have had

¹ I have not been able to find any mention of this work elsewhere.

² *بَدَائِي*, i.e. 'creation.'

³ *Vide supra*, p. 202, note 1.

recourse to poetry, wherein I have loosed the tongue of deprecation, seeking forgiveness, and asking pardon for my remissness in observing the custom of writing friendly letters, a custom which is contrary to the habit and wont of the vulgar, nay, may rather be described as one of the peculiar characteristics of those who are raised above the common herd, as you yourself know well, and, regarding this letter as atonement for my fault, I count it full satisfaction of all that is past.

- 147 As for what you wrote regarding the air of the apartment of fragrant grass, and the iced water, it brought to my mind the following verse :—

“Of life (is left) but that which is ice in summer heat.”

And reminded me of the saying, “O company of Muslims, have pity upon him whose stock-in-trade has declined,” for it is some days since I have enjoyed that cool air and that iced water.

“The wolf’s mouth is bloody, but he has not torn Yūsuf,”¹

Verse.

“Let him who imagines that love is an easy matter come, and look upon my face, and from its haggardness he will understand that lovè is a hard matter.”

His Majesty, who is near the sun in excellence, has, for some reason, and without the intervention of any person whatsoever, taken the name of me, the humblest of his slaves, on his blessed tongue, expressing some intention of bestowing on me the trusteeship of (the shrine in) the exalted region of Ajmer.

Verse.

Those tents have vanished from the sight of me, the watcher,
Peace be on the dwellers therein, is the wish which I would
have conveyed.

¹ i.e. ‘I have not done as you suppose, though appearances may be against me.’ The reference is to the story of Joseph. According to the Qur’ān (chap. xii) the sons of Jacob told their father that a wolf had devoured Joseph. In the Old Testament version of the story (Gen. xxxvii. 20, 22) the brethren merely led their father to suppose that an evil beast (‘fera pessima’) had devoured him,

Nevertheless I have not yet been installed in the office,¹ and it is my earnest desire that the effects of this good fortune may soon emerge from the region of probabilities into that of accomplished facts. Then my heart will be independent of the water of the whirlpools of daily life and the unwholesome air of every country, and the coolness of pure truth will become my portion, so that the rubbish-heap of the world will appear to me to be no more than rubbish, and the iced water of the times a mere mirage. My wretched lot impels me to be chanting ever this mournful refrain:—

“Wonder of wonders that your heart is not disgusted, and
your soul is not sick
With the putrid odours which arise from these unwholesome waters.”

The ambition and object of me, your well-wisher, is that you will strive to help me in all matters, worldly and spiritual, so that when I go to Ajmir² I may remember that the name of the place rhymes with Kashmir inasmuch as each delightful place **148** is the pivot of one of the two axes, or rather the two extremities, north and south, of the same axis, which extends in either direction.* “A delectable city, and a forgiving God!”

Just as you, in Kashmir, will be drinking the ice water³ of the fount Jhālārā,⁴ so shall I be moistening my tongue with the limpid water of thanks and praise to the Giver of all good things, both spiritual and bodily.

Verse.

To the bounteous may their bounty be pleasant,
And to the poor lover that which he sips.

A counterpart of my present condition would be the revealing of that which has been disclosed to the inspired. Your servant's

¹ Badāoni was disappointed of this office, which would have suited him very well. See vol. ii, text, pp. 400, 401. The shrine was that of Kh'āja Mu'īnu-d-dīn Cighī.

² Ajmir is now usually spelt Ajmer.

³ آب برقیں according to both MSS. The text has, wrongly, آب برقیں.

⁴ I have not been able to find mention of this fountain elsewhere.

son has gone to *Badāon*, where he is employed in putting up prayers for you. May your sublime shadow never grow less!

Written in the month of *Ramāzān* the blessed, dispensing blessings, in the year *h.* 1003 (May-June, 1595)."

The following ode is one of the productions of the *Shaikh's* pearl-scattering and jewel-dispersing pen, which he wrote to me during one of his travels.

Ode.

"At the moment when I was writing this letter,
My tears were flowing, mingled with blood,
All the writing which was set forth by my pen,
The letter of my longing for you, has been blotted out from my heart.

The bitterness of separation is medicine.

Şarfi, so great is the flood of my tears that the nine oceans to me

Seem but as the dropping of rain."

To be brief I may say that one so feeble and so devoid of the graces of speech as I has not the power to recount fully the excellent qualities and perfection of the noble *Shaikh*. The noble works which he has left behind him, and which have, as one may say, put a girdle round the day of resurrection, are a sufficient witness to what he was. On the 18th of *Zi-qa'dah*, in the year *h.* 1003 (July 25, 1595) the bird of his soul, whose nest was holiness, escaping from the cage of this world of confinement, flew to that of liberation, and the words "He was the *Shaikh* of nations" were found to give the date of his death.¹

Verses.

148 Peace be to the world, for pleasant are its blessings.
As though *Yūsuf* were sitting in it.

Verses.

Seek not in this waste spot the road to the treasure-house of your desire,

¹ شينج اسم يرد , giving the date 1003.

For this ruined abode is nought but the place of toil and grief.

Fate has laid, at every step herein, a snare of calamity,
Who is there that has set his foot in this region of snares
who has not also left his head here?

The vanished heart of the rose has left behind it a word of
hope,

But what can that profit us who are unable to read? ¹

The days of man's life are exceeding short. Be not deceived
For no sooner have you drawn a breath than you give your
life to the wind.

LVII. MAULĀNĀ MIRZĀ OF SAMARQAND.

He was an angel in the form of a man, who had acquired honour by performing the pilgrimage to the two holy places, (may God increase their honour!). During the regency of Bairam Khān, the Khān-i-Khānān, he dwelt in Āgra, where the people profited much by his precious utterances. Under the tuition of the *Maulānā*, who was one of the best men of his time. I studied a portion of the *Shamsiyyah*,² commentary on logic, the work of Amir Sayyid Muḥammad, who was the most noble and most orthodox son and successor of the holy Amir Sayyid 'Alī of Hamadān, by the blessing of whose holy foot-steps, which were inseparably connected with the spiritual instruction of the people, the faith of Islām was first promulgated and preached in the land of Kashmīr. And besides this commentary on logic I read other brief works with the *Maulānā*. From his blessed tongue I heard the following saying of the prophet, which has the very highest authority. "The prophet (may God bless and assoil him!) said, 'He who sees a stranger (with his wife) may slay him; his blood is lawful (to him),' " and from him also I

¹ There is pun on the word, سواد here, which cannot be reproduced in English.

² See vol. i, trans., Ranking, p. 427 and note 1. Badāonī's attribution of this work does not, however, agree with that there mentioned.

received authority to propound and expound this tradition, he having received it through only six intermediaries from 150 that holy one who was the seal of prophecy (on him and on his family be blessings without end!) The authenticity of the tradition of this saying is related in detail in the *Najātu-r-Raḥīd*.¹

The *Mawlānā*, at the time of the Khān-i-Zamān's rebellion, came from Agra to Dihli, further than which place I have not been able to trace him, so that I do not know the (latter) circumstances of his auspicious life.

LVIII. QĀZI ABŪ-'L-MA'ĀLĪ.²

He is the disciple, the spiritual successor, and also the son-in-law of the Governor³ of Bukhārā (may his honoured tomb be sanctified!). The venerable Governor was so learned in law and divinity that if we may suppose that all the books on the theology of the *Ḥanafī*⁴ school had disappeared from the world, he would have been able to write them afresh. It was on his account that 'Abdu-'llāh Khān,⁵ the king of Tūrān, put a stop to the study of logic and dialectics in his dominions, and expelled Mullā 'Iṣṣamu-d-din of Isfārāin with his vile pupils from Transoxiana. The circumstances were as follows: After the study of logic and dialectics had gained ground in Bukhārā and Samarqand vile and wicked students, whenever they met a pious and simple-minded man, used to say, "This fellow is an ass, for he will deny the proposition that he is an animal,"⁶ and, since the

¹ By Badāoni. See vol. i, trans., Banking, p. 511, note 2, and p. 609, note 8.

² See vol. ii, text, p. 40.

³ عزیزی, honorific plural of عزیز, most commonly used in this sense with regard to Joseph (عزیر مصر), Governor of Egypt.

⁴ The school of Abū Ḥanīfah, one of the four great *Sunnī* doctors of the law.

⁵ 'Abdu'llāh Khān Uzbak, King of Transoxiana.

⁶ This appears to be the author's meaning, though the literal translation is 'he denies the proposition لا حیوانی ('no animal'). My late friend Shamsu-l-'Ulāmā Shaiḫ Mahmūd-i-Gillāni informed me that the passage

rejection of a general proposition necessarily involves the rejection of particular propositions dependent on it, he necessarily denies also his humanity." When fallacies of this nature were frequently repeated and spread abroad the Governor wrote a treatise on divinity, inciting and urging 'Abdu-'llah Khān to banish this school, and adducing clear proofs of the unlawfulness of teaching and studying logic and philosophy. He also recorded his opinion that there was no harm in using as a *torchecul* paper on which logical exercises had been written, and wrote much more to the same purport.

The *Qāfi* always performed the *sitr-i-arra*¹ after his prayers with his companions, and used to enroll disciples.

In the year H. 969 (A.D. 1561-62) he came to Agra, and I, as a 151 means of attaining good fortune and blessing, read some lessons with him in the beginning of the *Sharḥ-i-Wiqāyah*, and in truth, so far as that subject was concerned I found him to be a boundless sea of learning.

LIX. MAULĀNĀ MĪR-I-KALĀN.²

He was the grandson of Mulla Kh'āja, one of the greatest of related to a childish trick, which the budding logicians of Transoxiana probably believed to be clever. *حیوان* means 'an animal,' and is usually and vulgarly used in the sense of 'beast' or 'brute.' The trick was to apply the term, in its approbrious sense, to some simpleton, as one might call another in English 'a wretched animal,' thereby inducing him to deny that he was an animal, and then, referring to the more general and scientific meaning of the word, to turn on him and say, 'since you are no animal you are no man, for man is an animal.' It seems strange that this stupid hoax should have seriously annoyed learned men, but it must be remembered that Badkōni's 'learned men' were theologians pure and simple, who regarded logic as 'carnal learning,' trivial, if not absolutely harmful, and would be ready to use any pretext for the purpose of harassing both its professors and its students.

¹ ذکر آراء, a religious exercise of the *Sūfi*. The late Shamsu-l-'Ulami Shaiḫ Maḥmūd-i-Gilāni informed me that he was not aware in what it consisted, but believed that it consisted in reciting the word *All* (*Allāh*) on a prolonged note and in a guttural tone. [170.

² He was the first teacher of Sulṭān Salīm (Jahāngir). See vol. ii, text,

the *Shaikhs* of *Khurāsān*. Maulānā Mir-i-Kalān was endowed with both inward and outward perfection and was a profound sage, being especially proficient in the traditions, in which respect he was the wonder of the age. He had authority from Sayyid Mirak Shāh¹ to teach this branch of knowledge. He was highly regarded by Maulānā Zainu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, the bow-maker² (may his honoured tomb be sanctified!). He was preserved by God, the most Holy and most High, from all sins, mortal and venial, and was ever employed in teaching divinity, and passed his life with his eyes cast down in meditation. He was the disciple of *Shaikh* Jalāl of Hirāt, who was one of the most famous of great *Shaikhs*. Maulānā Mir-i-Kalān acquired a disposition like that of Muḥammad (may God bless and assoil him!), and his angelic nature was a manifestation of the (ninety-nine) attributes of God. He attained the age of eighty years, and his mother, who was a *Sayyidah*, was living at the time of his death. He never married, for fear lest his wife should not subject herself to his mother, and thus he passed away in his mother's lifetime. At the time when the *Maulavi* passed away to the eternal abode his mother was engaged in reading the glorious *Qur'ān*, and when they conveyed to her the news of the death of so precious a son, and asked her permission to proceed with the last rites she recited the noble verse, "We are God's, and to Him do we return," and continued her reading of the *Qur'ān*, without a sign of weeping or lamentation. The Maulānā
 152 passed away to the Presence of God's mercy in Agra, in the year H. 981 (A.D. 1573-74), and was buried also in Agra, and a year later his mother too journeyed to the next world and obtained the felicity of rejoining her blessed son.

I was blessed and honoured by meeting with the Maulānā of angelic disposition, but I received no instruction from him.

LX. MAULĀNĀ SA'ID OF TURKISTĀN.³

He was the most learned of the sages of his time. Some of

¹ See vol. ii, text, loc. cit.

² Mr. Blochmann suggests (*Ain-i-Akbari*, i, 539) that this saint may be identical with *Shaikh* Ruknu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, the bow-maker.

³ He came from Transoxiana to India in A.D. 1560-61, 'and was unable

his learning he acquired from Mullā Aḥmad-i-Jand¹ and some from Mullā Maḥmūd-i-Surkh,² and he also studied for a while under Mullā 'Iṣāmu-'d-dīn Ibrāhīm.³ He came to India and entered the service of the emperor, who delighted much in his company. He possessed all the qualities of a true, religious man and was lowly-minded and of a most genial disposition. In from understanding, likewise, and quickness of perception no *Mulla* Turkistān who has appeared in this country has equalled him. He was an eloquent and charming speaker, and as a teacher was kind and gentle towards his pupils.

He passed away into the presence of the Lord's mercy in the year H. 970 (A.D. 1562-63) after his return from India to Kābul.

LXI. ḤĀFIẒ-I-KŪMAKĪ.⁴

He was generally known as Ḥāfiẓ of Tāshkand,⁵ and was a profound scholar, especially in Arabic. He studied under Maulānā 'Iṣāmu-d-dīn⁶ and acquired proficiency in all branches of knowledge. He taught much, and all the learned men of Transoxiana concurred in acknowledging his superiority. He affected a military mode of life, and whenever he rode abroad had a quiver in his belt, after the manner of the Turks. He came to India in the year H. 977 (A.D. 1569-70) and was honoured by 153 being admitted to the service of the *Khalifah* of the age. After

to remain in Hindūstān owing to the blindness of its people.' See vol. ii, text, p. 49.

¹ Or 'Junsaid.' See vol. i, trans., Ranking, 486, and note 1.

² The text has *Muḥammad-i-Surkh*, but I follow both MSS.

³ This was 'Iṣāmu-d-dīn of Isfāraīn, the logician, who was expelled from Transoxiana by command of 'Abdu-'llāh Khān the Uzbek. See vol ii, text, 187.

⁴ See vol. ii, text, 187. He received from Akbar and his *Amirs* contributions to the extent of Rs. 30,000 or Rs. 40,000, the greater part of which sum seems to have found its way to the pockets of the *Khājā-yi-Jahān*. He is said (loc. cit.) to have been well versed in Arabic, and to have written a commentary on the *Sūratu-l-Muḥammad* (*Qur'ān*, c. xlvii) which was a good example of his powers. *Kūmakī* means auxiliary.

⁵ Tashkent in English maps.

receiving many substantial marks of the imperial favour he set out, by way of Gujarāt, on a pilgrimage to the two holy places, Makkah and Madīnah, whence he proceeded to Turkey, where he was presented to the Sulṭān of Turkey, and in that country received ten times more honour and attention than he had received in India, so that even the office of grand *vasīr* of the empire was offered to him. This office he declined, and returned to Transoxiana, where he died. I never had the honour of paying my respects either to Ḥāfiẓ-i-Kūmaki or to Maulānā Saʿīd.

LXII. QĀṢĪ NĪẒĀM OF BADAQKHSHĀN.¹

He received the title of Qāṣī Khān, and was a native of Badakhshān, where his home was situated near a ruby-mine. In such branches of knowledge as are acquired by study he was the pupil of Maulānā ʿIṣām-d-dīn Ibrāhīm, and also studied under Mullā Saʿīd. He had a great taste for and proficiency in Sūfistic studies, and in these, the way of truth, he was the disciple of the greatest of leaders, Shaikh Ḥusain of Kh'ārazm. In consequence of his close adherence to the esoteric school he has also acquired much respect among men of the world, and in Badakhshān was one of the nobles of the State. When he came to India he obtained unbounded honour, receiving first the title of Qāṣī Khān, and afterwards that of Ghāṣī Khān. He was eloquent and his delivery was pleasing. He was the author of some standard works, among which was a treatise on the proof of the word (of God) and an account of the religion of truth and verity. He also wrote marginal notes on the commentary on the dogmas of the faith, and numerous treatises on Sūfī-ism. He passed away to the presence of God's mercy at the age of seventy in the year H. 992 (A.D. 1584) in Awadh. He was the first person to suggest the performance of the ceremony of prostration² before

¹ For a full account of Qāṣī Nīẓām, or Ghāṣī Khān, who was a commander of nine hundred, see *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 440. He first received the title of Qāṣī Khān from Sulaimān, King of Bādakhshān. This title seems to have been confirmed or recognised on, or shortly after, his arrival in India, and he afterwards received the title of Ghāṣī Khān.

² See *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 159. This invention flattered the vanity of Akbar

the emperor. Mullā 'Alim of Kābul used to say regretfully, "Alas, that I was not the inventor of this ordinance!"

LXIII. MAULĀNĀ ILĀHDĀD-I-LANGABKHĀNĪ.

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He comes from a quarter in Lāhōr. He is well versed in all such branches of knowledge as are included in the ordinary curriculum, and is a profound scholar. He rules his life in accordance with the holy law, and is abstinent, and most pious and religious. He employs his time in teaching. He has never visited the houses of worldly and unpolished men, and has never asked assistance from the great ones of the earth, nor accepted the usual subsistence allowance made to religious teachers. He is nearly eighty years of age.

LXIV. MAULĀNĀ MUHAMMAD, THE *Muftī*.¹

He is one of the most respected teachers of Lāhor. He is endowed with many perfect qualities and is employed as *Muftī*. On each occasion on which he completes the perusal of the *Ṣaḥīḥu-l-Bukhārī*² or the *Miḥkāt*³ he gives a great entertainment, regaling his guests with *bughārā khānis*⁴ and sweetmeats. His assembly is the meeting-place of the most learned men. The Maulānā, now that he has reached the age of ninety years, and is bent and feeble, has given up teaching. He has four or five orthodox sons, all of whom are in learning and accomplishments worthy successors of their father.

more, probably, than any innovation introduced in his reign, and the inventor was proportionately rewarded. Hence the regretful ejaculation of Mullā 'Alim.

¹ See *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 541.

² A collection of authentic traditions, in which an account of Imām Bukhārī is given. See vol. i, trans., Ranking, 6 and note 3.

³ *Miḥkāt-u-l-Masābīh*, a celebrated collection of Traditions. See vol. i, trans., Ranking, 58, note 3, *et passim*.

⁴ A dish invented by Bughrī Khān, King of Khwārazm. It consists of quadrangular sections of paste, dressed with gravy or milk.

LXV. MIR FATĦU-'LLĀH OF SHIRĀZ.¹

He was one of the *Sayyids* of Shirāz and the most learned of the learned men of his time. He was for a long time the spiritual guide of the rulers and nobles of Fārs. He was thoroughly versed in all those sciences which demand the exercise of the reasoning faculty, such as philosophy, astronomy, geometry, astrology, geomancy, arithmetic, the preparation of talismans, incantations, and mechanics, and in this department of learning he was such an adept that he was able to draw up an astronomical table as soon as the emperor demanded one from him. He was equally learned in Arabic, traditions, interpretation of the *Qur'ān* and rhetoric, and was the author of some excellent works, which were not, however, equal to those of

155 Maulānā Mirzā Jān of Shirāz, who was a teacher in Transoxiana, an abstemious recluse, and was unique among the learned men of the age. Mir FatĦu-'llāh, although he was polite, courteous, and well-conducted in society, seemed to be unable, as soon as he began to teach, to address his pupils otherwise than with abuse, insinuation, and sarcasm (God save us from the like!). For this reason very few ever became his pupils, and he has not left behind him one worthy disciple. He was for some years in the Dakan, and 'Adil Khān,² the ruler of that country, had a great regard for him. When he entered the imperial service he received the title of 'Aẓdu-l-Mulk.³ He died in Kashmīr in the year H. 997 (A.D. 1588-89) and is buried in the place known as Takht-i-Sulaimān.⁴ The words, "He was an angel,"⁵ were found to give the date of his death.

¹ See vol. ii, text, and *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, *passim*. FatĦu-'llāh was *ḡadr-i-Jahān ḡadr-u-s-ḡudār* for four years, from A.H. 993 (A.D. 1585) to A.H. 997 (A.D. 1588-89), but had very little power with regard to endowments, the chief source of the income brought by the appointment.

² 'Alī 'Adil Shāh I (1557-1590), fifth King of the 'Adil Shāhī dynasty of Bijāpūr.

³ 'Aẓdu-d-Dawlah, vol. ii, text, p. 243, and *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, *passim*.

⁴ The hills above Srinagar.

⁵ *هو فرشته*, giving the date 997.

LXVI. SHAIKH MANṢŪR OF LĀHŌR.

He is one of the disciples of Shaiḫ Ishāq i-Rākū,¹ and acquired most of his learning under Mawlānā Sa'du'llah,² with whom he was connected by marriage. He is a learned and able man and is proficient in all such philosophical learning as is usually studied in India. He has a pleasant disposition and a sound understanding, which enables him reading to grasp a subject. He associates much with the nobles and chief men of the State and is resorted to by them. For some time he held the post of chief Qāḍī of Mālwa, and when the emperor set up his court at Lāhōr, he left Mālwa and paid his respects at Court. He is now employed in the administration of the *pargana* of Bajwāra³ and the submontane districts. His son Mullā 'Alā'u-d-dīn was one of the most famous of the learned men employed in teaching, and was for some time among the companions of the Khān-i-Khānān, by whom he was highly regarded and much honoured. When he entered the imperial service he also received much honour, and though much pressed and urged to enter the 156 military service he declined to do so, and employed himself in teaching, spending whatever he received from his *jāgīr* on the students whom he taught. Of all the *Mullās* in India, after Pir Muhammad Khān, there was nobody so famous as Mullā 'Alā'u-d-dīn and Mullā Nūr Muḥammad Tarkhān for generosity, liberality, and open-handedness. Mullā 'Alā'u-d-dīn has written well-known marginal notes on the Sharḥ 'Aqā'id.⁴ He attained to the honour of performing the pilgrimage of the *Hajj* and is buried in the holy land of pilgrimage. I never met him.

LXVII. MULLĀ PIR MUḤAMMAD OF SHIRVĀN.⁵

He was a *Mullā* of good understanding and great penetration,

¹ See p. 85.

² The grammarian; he also was one of the pupils of Shaiḫ Ishāq.

³ From the mention of the submontane districts it is clear that this *pargana* was the Bajwāra in the Bet Jālandhar Dūb *Sarkār* of the *Shāhs* of Lāhor.

⁴ I have not been able to identify this work.

⁵ For an account of Mullā Pir Muḥammad Khān of Shirvān, see *Āin-i-*

and gathered round him a cheerful company. Notwithstanding this he was hard-hearted man, and took no heed to do that which was lawful or avoid that which was unlawful. He came from Shīrvān and entered the service of the Khān-i-Khānān, Bairam Khān, in Qandahār, and received advancement. After the reconquest of Hindūstān he received the title of *Khān*, and afterwards that of Nāṣir-i-Mulk, and lived for three or four years in the greatest honour and consideration, but since the days of the wicked are few, he was shortly afterwards drowned ¹ in the river Nerbada in Mālwa, and joined Pharaoh in the Nile of hell. His death has been recorded in the history of the reign. I saw him from afar, but, thank God, I never associated with him.

* LXVIII. MIRZĀ MUFLIS THE ŪZBAK.²

He was one of the disciples of Mullā Aḥmad-i-Jand.³ He was an able *Mullā*, and quick and ready in controversy, but was not eloquent, and when engaged in teaching behaved grotesquely. His figure was ungainly. He spent his time in religious retirement. He came from Transoxiana to India, and taught for four 157 years in the *jāmi' masjid* of Kh'āja Mu'īnu-d-dīn-i-Farankhūdi ⁴ in Āgra. By the grace of God he was enabled to perform the pilgrimage to the two holy places, and in Makkah the glorious he departed this life, dying at the age of seventy.

LXIX. MAULĀNĀ NŪRU-D-DĪN MUḤAMMAD TARKHĀN.⁵

He had a comprehensive knowledge of philosophy and rhetoric,

Akbārī, i, 324. He was a man of overbearing and brutal disposition, who delighted in cruelty for its own sake. For his treatment of Burj 'Alī, a messenger from the Khān-i-Zamīn, see vol. ii, text, p. 23; for his treatment of Bairam Khān, his patron, *ibid.* p. 27, for his punishment, *ibid.* pp. 27-29; and for his revenge, *ibid.* p. 39. His brutality in Mālwa is described, *ibid.* pp. 47, 48.

¹ As he was trying to swim the river after his defeat by Bās Bahādur in 1563. See vol. ii, text, pp. 50, 51.

² See vol. ii, text, p. 187, and *Āin-i-Akbārī*, i, 541.

³ *Vide supra*, p. 213, n. 1.

⁴ See *Āin-i-Akbārī*, i, 434.

⁵ According to the *Tabaqāt* he was a good mathematician and astrono-

and was a man of pleasant disposition and a poet. Towards the end of his life he repented of and gave up poetry. He was appointed to the trusteeship of the mausoleum of his late majesty, the emperor Humāyūn, and died in Dihlī.

LXX. MAULĀNĪ ILĀHDĀD OF AMRŌHA.¹

He was an able *Mulla*, of a pleasant disposition, unaffected, a good conversationalist, a charming associate and a boon companion, ever ready with a pleasant jest. He attracted many to his society and delighted all who associated with him. He obtained an appointment in the military service of the empire which enabled him to live contentedly. He was much attached to me throughout his life. In the year H. 990 (A.D. 1582), when the victorious army was marching towards Aṭak on the river in the neighbourhood of Siyālkōṭ, he delivered up² the life which had been entrusted to him,³ and his corpse was taken to a village in the *pargana* of Amrōha, which he had beautified for himself, and was there buried.

mer. According to the *Ma'dgir-ul-Umarā* he was born at Jām in *Khurāsān*, and was educated in Mashhad. He was introduced to Bābar and was a private friend of Humāyūn's, who, like him, was fond of the astrolabe. He went with Humāyūn to 'Irāq, and remained twenty years in his service. As a poet he wrote under the *taḥalluṣ* of *Nāri*. He is also called *Nūri* of Safidūn, because he held Safidūn for some time in *jāgir*. Akbar gave him the title of *Khān* and later that of *Tarkhān*, and appointed him to *Sāmāna*. His title of *Tarkhān* was, however, merely an empty honour, and carried none of the privileges connected with it, for an account of which see *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 864.

¹ Amroha was a *pargana* town in the *Sarkār* of Sambhal of the *Śiba* of Dihlī. See p. 63, note 6. It is now the headquarters of a *taḥsil* of the same name in the Murādābād District of the U.P. See *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, v, 330.

Maulānī Ilāhdād was appointed, in 1581, *Ṣadr* of one of the *Dūābs* in the Panjāb. See vol. ii, text, pp. 295, 296, where he is described as a man well known for his goodness of disposition.

² 'At a distance of three *kurāḥ* Mullā Ilāhdād of Amroha, who had an unhealed wound in his breast, the inflammation of which reached his heart, took a purgative from Ḥakim Hasan and in the course of the day was united to God.' Vol. ii, text, 347.

This concludes the brief account of those *Shaikhs* and learned men of the age whom, for the most part, I have had an opportunity of meeting and waiting upon, and by whose illuminating regard I have been honoured; as for those of them whom I have not seen, be it as God will! Of all those of whom my pen has given an account, but very few remain here and there, like moles on the face of the age, in these days in which there is such a dearth of men worthy to be so called. Those who remain avoid and flee from the world and have been completely forgotten by those of feeble and defective nature, the vulgar, that is to say, who are no better than cattle. These learned men, counting as a
 158 loan the few moments of life which are left to them, await the arrival of the swift-footed messenger of death, and, having fully realized the dignity of old age, now hearken with the ears of the soul for the cry "Prepare to set out!" expectantly waiting to answer obediently to the shout.

Quatrain.

In the history of the world the lives of all, both small and great,

Are written, and accounts of brave men and heroes,

Read, and on each page of it you will see "In such a year

Died such one, the son of such a one, the son of such a one."

And other *Shaikhs* and learned men are and were scattered throughout all parts of India, throughout its length and breadth, in such numbers that the reckoning of them is left to the knowledge of the Knower of Secrets. Likewise the number of those who are famed and known for the natural wickedness of their dispositions and innate baseness, for their hypocrisy, villainess, worthlessness, crooked dealings and injustice is beyond computation, and there is no need for me to soil my pen by recording anything concerning this handful of rubbish, these base fellows, for I have a great task before me and but little hope of long life, and my condition resembles that of the ice merchant of Nishapur who was selling ice in the summer, and when the sun waxed hot cried out, "O, ye Muslims! Have pity upon him whose stock-in-trade is melting away on his hands!"

Couplet.

"Our life is as ice in the heat of summer,
But little of it remains and its owner is still deceived,"

And my recording the dates of the deaths of the men of whom I write resembles the case of that tailor who in a certain city had his shop by the gate of the graveyard, and hung an earthen pot from a nail in his door, his only care being to drop a stone in the pot for every funeral which came from the city. Every month he used to count the stones, saying, "They have carried away so many to burial." Then he would empty the pot and hang it again on the nail, dropping stones into it as before till another month had passed. It so happened that the master tailor died and a man who had not heard of his death came to demand his services. He found the door of his shop shut and asked a neighbour whither the tailor had gone. The neighbour replied, "He too has gone into the pot."

Couplet.

Regard well what happens to others,
For when it has passed by them it will be your lot also.
God be gracious! We have fallen into the mouth of a
dragon where we cannot even struggle or move, and
whence we cannot obtain freedom.
Devour thine own blood like the rosebud; mourn and open
not thy lips,
For the rosebud of this garden, the world, has no hope of
blossoming.
It points out to thee that some form, lofty as the cypress,
has crumbled away to dust
On every spot which is shaded by the box-tree.
Since some rose from the pleasaunce is every moment borne
away on the wind
The solitary lily wears ever the blue raiment of mourning.

I would here request my respected and critical readers and acute appraisers not to be unduly carping and censorious as regards the lack of arrangement in this work, for the famous

names of the members of the two classes which I have mentioned, who have been specially chosen out from among the people for honour, are mentioned in these few pages at haphazard like scattered pearls, and without regard to precedence or place. I would deprecate criticism on this score inasmuch as these historical selections have been written, as it were, by a broken-winged pen in a hasty flight, and I have had no leisure to arrange my composition in a commonplace book. My case much resembles that of the saddler who was constantly losing
 160 his needle and said, "If my time were not mostly wasted in looking for my needle I should be able to get through a good deal of work in the day, notwithstanding that the beggars as one man gather round me like the thong of a whip." This is a well-known saying. Although some of those whom I have mentioned may not perhaps be altogether as I would have them, for many a sincerely pious man wears the appearance of an atheist, yet if there be even one of them who is acceptable to the Lord, that one person will be sufficient for my salvation, to make intercession for me and to gain honour for me. Although all of them in general are entitled to be considered as, in some sort, saints, for "God is near to them who believe," and are thus many degrees better than I, yet some of them have a special and manifest claim, which I fully admit, to be regarded as saints. It is for this reason that I have not included among these biographies those of the irreligious and lewd, taking as my rule of conduct the saying of the sage of Busām, which he spoke to one of his disciples by way of advice, saying, "If in these present times you see anybody who has faith in the sayings of the *Shāikh*s request his prayers both for me and for yourself, for the prayers of such a one will most certainly be answered."

I know no way and I can find no help for myself,
 Except the love of those whose faith is firm.

It so happened that when I reckoned up the number of those of this honoured class whom I have mentioned, most of whom are truly men of God, and generous and enlightened souls, I found that it came to a hundred and eleven, the number which is given

by the word *qatib* and also by the word *alf* ("one thousand"), which latter word was the date of the year¹ in which I wrote this treatise which has given me so much pleasure.

Now that my heart is disgusted with those depraved wretches who have not scrupled unblushingly to cavil at and openly to revile the faith of Islām, convicting themselves of infidelity and shamelessness, and who are the cause of all the ruin which has **161** fallen upon both the state and the people of Islām, and are known as the strife of the latter days, I will proceed to an account of the physicians (of the court) although some of these, too, may be classed in the same category as the infidels just mentioned.

¹ A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-92). The whole work was completed in A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1595).

CHAPTER III.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PHYSICIANS OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR AKBAR.

Some of the physicians in this reign were so learned in the theory and skilled in the practice of medicine that they performed miracles like those of Mūsā,¹ and brought to mind the wonder-working breath of the Lord 'Isā,² while others, for the reason that the healing art is a noble subject of study, but a mean pursuit in its practical application, although they busied themselves in the study of medicine, sought political employment, according to their several degrees.

I. HAKĪMU-L-MULK OF GĪLĀN.³

His name was Shamsu-d-din, and in medicine and the healing art he was the Galen of the age, and was endowed with the healing breath of the Messiah.⁴ In other branches of traditional learning also he was distinguished far above all his fellows. I myself had no dealings with him, for when I first entered the imperial service and presented my preface to the *Nāma-yi-*

¹ Lit. "Had the white hand of Mūsā." The expression refers to the miracle related in the *Qur'ān*, Chap. xvii, 12. "Moreover put thy hand into thy bosom, it shall come forth white, without hurt: this shall be one among the nine signs unto Pharaoh and his people, for they are a wicked people." The account in the *Qur'ān* is taken from the Book of Exodus iv. 6. The expression "the white hand of Moses" is frequently used of a miracle, or of any extraordinary power in a man.

² 'Isā is the name which Musalmāns give to our Lord, instead of Yāsū', which is the correct version of His Name in Arabic. It is their belief that it was the miraculous property of His breath that restored the dead to life and healed the sick.

³ According to the *Akbarnāma* he was one of those who assisted in the capture of the mad Kh'āja Mu'azzam, Akbar's maternal uncle. See vol. ii, text 71.

⁴ See note 2, above.

*Khirad-afsa*¹ to the emperor, the *hakim* served me very ill, replying, when asked by the emperor what he thought of my writing, "His style is polished, but his book is ill to read." Notwithstanding this the *hakim* was, to do him justice, a sincere well-wisher and a practical helper of God's servants, firm and steadfast in the faith, and devoted to the interests of his friends. He was constantly engaged in teaching students, to whom, indeed, he was not only a tutor, but also a generous patron. So devoted was he to them that he never on any occasion willingly took his food apart from them, and on this account he was an infrequent guest at the houses of others. He was seated one day in the assembly of *Shaiikh* Salim-i-Cishti, discoursing on theology and theologians and praising physicians and magnifying and extolling the importance and glory of the science of medicine, and the greatness of *Shaiikh* Abū 'Ali Sinā.² This occurred at 162 the time when the 'Ulamā and the physicians were at feud, and were daily wrangling, disputing, and quarrelling regarding the dignity of their respective orders. As I was unacquainted with these matters and had only recently come from the country and was ignorant of the real grounds of the controversy, I quoted the following verses of *Shaiikh* Shihābū-d-din-i-Sahrawardi³ (may God sanctify his soul!).

Verses.

"How long did I say to this people, "Ye are superfluous?
One cure, the grave, is to be found in books of medicine."
But when they sought satisfaction in threatening us,
We rested in God for the sufficiency of our recompense.
And they died in the faith of Aristotle,
While we live in the faith of God's chosen prophet."

And I also quoted, in support of the position which I had

¹ See vol. i, trans. Ranking, 96, and note 6.

² Called in Europe, Avicenna.

³ A renowned saint descended from Abū Bakr, the first *Khalifah*. He was the author of the '*Awārifu-l-Ma'ārif*' and died at Baghdād in A.H. 632 (A.D. 1234—35).

taken up, those verses of the inspired lord Jāmi¹ (may his tomb be sanctified!) which he has written in his *Tuḥfatu-l-Āḥrār*.

Couplet.

"Seek not enlightenment of the heart from the bosom of Sinā,²

Seek not for light from the eyes of the blind."

This enraged the *ḥakīm*, and the *Shaiḫ* said: "The fire of strife was already blazing between these people. Now you have come and have blown it to a still fiercer blaze."

When the arena of strife was closed to the '*ulamā* and *shaiḫs* this physician disputed with the enemies of the faith whenever he could find an opportunity of doing so, as is briefly related in the account of that party.³ At length Ḥakīm-l-Mulḥ was no longer able to continue the unequal struggle and applied for leave to go to Makkah the glorious, and in the year H. 988 or 989 (A.D. 1580 or 1581)⁴ he departed on the pilgrimage, and died in the land of the pilgrimage. Thanks be to God for his efforts.

II. ḤAKĪM SAIFU-L-MULŪK OF DAMĀWAND.⁵

To great learning and knowledge of medicine he united a taste 163 for writing vilely scurrilous and satirical verse. His *nom-de-plume* was *Shujā'i*.⁶ As ill-luck would have it, whenever this physician undertook the cure of a sick man, the unfortunate patient surrendered his life to the messenger of death, for which

¹ Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Rahmān-i-Jāmi, the famous poet. ² Avicenna.

³ See vol. ii, text, 263, 275. The word *dar* ('in') has been carelessly omitted from the text, though it is in both MSS.

⁴ According to vol. ii, text, p. 275, Ḥakīm-l-Mulḥ was first ordered to go to Makkah in A.D. 1579 owing to his quarrels with Abū-l-Faṣl, whom he called *ḥaṣḥ* (*ḥaṣḥ*), 'redundancy,' 'orts' or 'excrement,' and actually departed (p. 285) in that year, being considered one of the unworthy in faith and religion! He received, however, a sum of five lakhs of rupees, to be distributed in alms at Makkah.

⁵ A town under the mountain of the same name, to the east of Tih-rān. In the *Āin-i-Akbari* (i, 548) he is called Saifu-l-Mulḥ *Lam* ('the lame').

⁶ Vide *infra*, Ch. IV, No. LXXVIII.

reason the wits gave him the nickname of *Saifu-l-Hukamā*.¹ He attended one of the grandsons of the venerable *Shaikh Jāmi*, *Muḥammad-i-Khabūshāni*² by name, better known as *Makhdūm-zāda*,³ and helped him on his journey to the next world. The words "*Saifu-l-Hukamā* killed him"⁴ were found to give the date of his death. These few lines which were written on the physician *Jalāl* may well be applied to *Saifu-l-Mulūk*.

Verses.

"Regarding the physician *Jalāl* the Angel of Death,
Last night made his complaint to God, saying,
'Thy slave is helpless before the physician,
Where I kill one he kills a hundred.
Either depose him I pray Thee, from the position which
he holds,
Or assign to me some other employment.'"⁵

He was held in much honour in India for some years during the time of *Bairam Khān*, and afterwards, but according to his own statement he received neither patronage nor honour, and returned to his country disappointed. Thence he wrote and despatched a satirical poem, which for gracefulness and the laughable nature of its subject has been equalled by the poems of few writers of this age. To whet the taste of my readers I transcribe here a few couplets from that poem, which recall themselves spontaneously to my memory.

"A pious calf, untimely born, hailing from Barbary,
Whom I have sometimes called a cat, sometimes the mouse
of the saints,
A Brahman without caste-mark or thread, that is to say an
Indian *Shaikh*.

¹ *Saifu-l-Mulūk* means 'sword of kings,' *Saifu-l-Hukamā*, 'sword of physicians.'

² *Khabūshān* is near *Maḥād*.

³ 'Son of the master.'

⁴ سیف (سکيا) کشت giving the date A.H. 1970 (A.D. 1562-63).

⁵ The *Urdū* poet *Sandā* has some verses much resembling these in a satire on a physician named *Ghang*.

I should be no Musalman were I to call such a one a Musalman.
 Hold, Shafi'ū-d-din Muḥammad, cease your eternal mumbling of words,
 That mumbling which I have likened to the chewing of a cud by a man.
 Faridūn,¹ in my anger against you, your shameless face
 164 Have I likened to an anvil, not for its smoothness, but for its hardness."

Mir Faridūn replied with the following couplet :—

"Philosopher's tears are the boast of the ass of the angel of Death,
 Of him whom I have called the doorkeeper of the house of misfortune."

When Mir Mu'izzu-l-Mulk² left the army and entered upon a life of religious retirement at Dihli Saifu-l-Mulūk wrote of him :

"The king of the ascetics, Mu'izzu-l-Mulk, is displeased with me.

Why, when have I, his slave, ever said that he repented of his ascetic life ?"

III. HAKIM ZANRIL.³

He was distinguished for his learning, and had a place among those who were admitted to the emperor's company.

¹ Possibly Mirzā Faridūn, son of Muhammad Quli Khān Barlās. See *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 478. The text and both MSS. have, however, 'Mir.'

² For an account of Mu'izzu-l-Mulk, a Mūsawī Sayyid of Mashhad, and a zealous Shī'ah, on which account Badāoni hated him, see *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 381. His 'retirement' probably took place in 1565, when he fell into disgrace and was debarred, for a time, from appearing at court owing to his conduct in the expedition against the Khān-i-Zamān and Bahādur Khān. See vol. ii, text, p. 83. Mu'izzu-l-Mulk was ultimately drowned by Akbar's order, as a punishment for rebelling. This happened in 1579. See vol. ii, text, pp. 276, 277.

³ See *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 442, 542. In the latter passage he is called 'Hakim

IV. HAKIM 'AINU-L-MULK OF SHIRĀZ.¹

He bore the *nom-de-plume* of Davā'i,² and held a very high rank among the learned, besides being of a most noble disposition. He died in the city of Hāndiya, as has been related.³ The following verses were written by him when I was escorting him to the gate of the garden of the late Kh'āja Nizāmu-d-din Ahmad in the suburbs of Lāhōr. He wrote them and gave them to me as a keepsake as he bade me farewell, just before he set out⁴ from Lāhōr for the Dakan, on his mission to Rāja 'Alī Khān of Burhānpūr.⁵ That was the last time I saw him.

Verses.

"So full am I of love that the world will not contain me,
All places are full of my love, and no place will contain
me.

If I care for naught but love it is no wonder,
Regard it rather as an example of my chastity, for wine
does not content me.

Zanbil Beg! He was a commander of nine hundred. Zanbil means 'a basket.' In the text he is called 'Hakim Zinnal Shirāzi.' I have corrected the meaningless name and have omitted 'Shirāzi' which occurs in neither MS., and is an error, for Zanbil was the brother of Mirzā Muḥammad Tabib, of Sabzavār.

¹ He was a learned man and a clever writer. He traced his origin, on his mother's side, to the renowned logician, Muḥaqqiq-i-Davvāni. In 1554 he was sent as an envoy to Cingiz Khān of Gujarāt. In 1575 he was sent as an ambassador to 'Alī 'Adil Shāh I of Bijāpūr and returned to court in 1577, when he was made *saujdar* of Sambhal. In 1581 he defeated 'Arab Bahādur and other rebels of Bengal and was then made *Sadr* of Bengal. In 1585 he was made *divān* of Agra. He was then sent to the Dakan and received Hāndiya in *jāgir*. 'Aziz Kūka cancelled his *jāgir* and he returned to court without leave. He was at first refused an audience but was subsequently reinstated and returned to the Dakan. See *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, 490, and *Bādāonī*, vol. ii, text, *passim*.

² *Vide infra*, Ch. IV, No. XLIX.

³ On Sep. 2, 1595. See vol. ii, text, 403. ⁴ In 1593 or 1594.

⁵ Eleventh king of Khūndesh, of the Fīrūqī dynasty, reigned 1576—1596. See *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, by Major T. W. Haig, p. 235 *et passim*.

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Why do you ask me of that which I myself do not know.
Verily I am the mystery of unity, though even that
mystery cannot contain me."

Other verses by 'Ainu-l-Mulk.

"No desert place has been seen without a sign of some
habitation.

But against the incurable pain of love no plans avail.

I became the prey of one fair as a gazelle, but when I
looked intently

(I saw) that there was nothing in the game-straps but a
pure soul."

V. ḤAKĪM MASĪḤU-L-MULK, OF SHIRĀZ.¹

He had been brought up by the physician Najmu-d-din 'Abdu-
'llāh, the son of Sharafu-d-din Ḥasan. He had the disposition
of a religious and also sound faith. He was exceedingly well
skilled in medicine. He came to Hindūstān from the Dakan
and was sent with Sulṭān Murād² to Gujarāt and the Dakan.
In Mālwa death cut short the (silver) cord of his hope.

VI. ḤAKĪM-I-MIṢRI.³

He was well skilled both in the theory and the practice of
medicine and learned in all traditional learning. He had some
acquaintance with the profane sciences, such as exorcism, etymo-
logy, and the formation of broken plurals. He is a cheerful soul
and a good companion, whose very approach is a blessing. He
put forth his best efforts in treating Shaikh Faiẓi in his last
illness, but all to no avail. What indeed could he do in the face
of the irresistible decree of fate, before which all are helpless and
dumb. If medicine could prolong the life physicians should
never die.

¹ See *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 543.

² The second of Akbar's sons who survived childhood. He was appointed
governor of Gujarāt in 1598.

³ He was a commander of four hundred. See *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 491.

The *hakim* sometimes wrote droll verses in Persian, an example of which is the following couplet which he wrote on **Kh'āja** 166 **Shamsu-d-din** of **Khawāf**,¹ the *Divān*.

Couplet.

“What overbearing conduct is this of **Kh'āja Shamsu-d-din's** ?

He intrudes, God forbid it,² upon the domain of medicine !”

One day, on seeing an oleander, which in Arabic is called *difla*, in bloom, he uttered the following hemistich :—

“The locks leap up like flame from the head of the *difla*.”

When the emperor built a dais in the courtyard of the *masjid* at Lāhōr and issued an order to the effect that anybody who wished to do so might recite their prayers there in his presence, **Hakim-i-Miṣri** wrote the following verses :—

“Our king has founded a *masjid*
O ye faithful, good fortune may it bring !
It is good policy also in this *masjid*
To recite and reckon up our prayers.”

He was very simple-minded and unselfish, and for this reason acquired but little wealth. He produced, however, some practical treatises on medicine. He died in Burhānpūr in **Khāndēsh** and was buried in the neighbourhood of that city.³

¹ See *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 445.

² I follow here the reading of the MSS. viz :—ماشي, which I take to be contraction of ماشا (الله) ('God forbid'). The text has ماشى of which I cannot make sense in this connection. The true reading may be پاشى ('his foot'), in which case the translation of the hemistich would be, 'His intruding foot encroaches upon the domain of medicine.'

³ This history was completed in A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1596) so that according to **Badāoni** **Hakim Miṣri** died before that date, but **Abū-l-Faṭl** in the *Akbar-nāma* mentions his death in A.H. 1009 (A.D. 1600-01) and says that he saw his friend on his death-bed. There is no means of reconciling this discrepancy or of deciding the question. The *Ṭabaqāt* praises him for his practical knowledge of medicine and his good disposition, but his death is not mentioned there.

VII. HAKIM 'ALI.'

He is sister's son to Hakim-i-Mulk and was the pupil of his uncle and of Shāh Faṭḥu-'llāh of Shīrāz, in medicine, and studied traditional learning under Shaikh 'Abdu-n-Nabi. Notwithstanding his great learning in the holy law and in Sunnī theology, his malignancy in adhering to the Zaidī² sect and his obstinacy in the Shi'ah heresy, in which matters he resembles the other physicians of the age, are as great as ever they were.³ His excellence in acquired knowledge, and especially in the science of medicine, is extreme, and he is passionately devoted to the practice of the healing art, but as he is but a youth, self-opinion-
 167 *ated and of limited experience, it sometimes happens that a patient, after taking one of his draughts speedily has a taste of the draught of extinction, and notwithstanding the fact that he was the pupil of Shāh Faṭḥu-'llāh of Shīrāz, he ordered him, when he was in an ardent fever, a diet of thick pottage,⁴ thereby handing him over to death, the executioner.*

"To drink with him is death to the senses."

¹ He came poor and destitute from Gilān to India, but became in course of time a personal attendant on Akbar. In A.H. 988 (A.D. 1580) he was sent as ambassador to 'Alī 'Adil Shāh I of Bijāpūr and was well received, but before he could be sent back with presents for his master 'Alī 'Adil Shāh was slain by a eunuch. In 1593 Hakim 'Alī constructed a wonderful reservoir (ḥauz) at Agra, and in the following year was a commander of 700 and had the title of Jālinūnu-z-Zamān ('the Gulen of the Age'). He treated Akbar immediately before his death. Akbar had dysentery, or acute diarrhoea, which 'Alī checked by a powerful astringent. Costive fever and strangury ensued, and 'Alī then administered an aperient, which brought back the diarrhoea, of which Akbar died. In 1609 Jahāngir visited 'Alī's reservoir and made him a commander of two thousand. 'Alī died on April 10 of that year.

² The followers of Zaid bin 'Alī, who caused a dissension among the Shi'as by refusing to curse the first two Khalīfahs.

³ Jahāngir (Tūruk, p. 74) says of Hakim 'Alī that he was without equal as a physician, was an excellent Arabic scholar, and had written a commentary on the Qānūn, but that he had more application than brains, that his looks were better than his morals, and his behaviour better than his heart, for that he was, on the whole, a bad and unprincipled man.

⁴ Badāoni has, perhaps, let his prejudice against the Shi'ah Hakim run

VIII. HAKIM ABÜ-L-FATH OF GILÂN.¹

He obtained favour in the emperor's service to such a degree that he was admitted to his intimate companionship and acquired such influence over him as to render himself an object of envy to all who concerned themselves in the affairs of state. He was highly distinguished for his acumen and quickness of apprehension, and for his proficiency in all worldly accomplishments, prose and poetry. He was no less a hyword for his infidelity and all other reprehensible qualities.² I heard, when the *hakim* first arrived at Court, that he used to say, "The only things worth considering are *Khusrav* and these twelve couplets." He always spoke of Anwarī as "Anwariak the flatterer," and likened him to Mir Bādanjān, who was the buffoon of his time. Of

away with him here. According to another account Fathu'llah, who thought that he understood medicine better than Hakim 'Alī did, ate the pottage against his doctor's advice, and presently died.

¹ Mas'hu-d-dīn Abū-l-Fath, son of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Razzāq, *qadr* of Gilān, and brother of Hakim Humām and Hakim Nuru-d-dīn. He and his brothers arrived in India in 1576 (vol. ii, text, 211) and were well received. Four years later Abū-l-Fath was made *qadr* and *Amin* of Bengal. He was captured by the rebels, but escaped and returned to court. In 1586 Abū-l-Fath was sent to help Rājā Bir Bar against the Yūsufzais in Sawād and Bajaur, but was reprimanded on his return, as the disastrous result of the campaign was rightly attributed to his and the Rājā's insubordination against Zain Khān Kūkn. In 1588-89 he went with Akbar to Kashmīr and thence to Zābulistān, but on the march he fell sick and died, and was buried at Hasan Abdāl.

² See vol. ii, text, p. 211. Badāoni says, 'The eldest brother (Hakim Abū-l-Fath) by means of his winning address soon obtained great influence with the emperor, and flattered him openly, complying with him in all questions of religion and the faith, and even going in advance of him, so that he was soon admitted as an intimate companion of his majesty. Soon after there came to court from Persia Mullā Muhammad-i-Yasidi, who was nicknamed Yasidi, and joined them, and poured unlimited abuse on the companions of the prophet, relating strange stories of them, and tried hard to make the emperor a *Shi'ah*. He was soon left behind by the bastard Bir Bar, *Shaiikh* Abū-l-Faṣl, and Hakim Abū-l-Fath, who turned the emperor entirely aside from the faith, and led him to reject inspiration, prophecy, the miracles of the prophets and the saints, and the whole law.'

Khāqānī he used to say, "If he were now living he would be much improved, for whenever he came to my house I would box his ears for him, to arouse him from his sleepiness, and when he went hence to Shaikh Abū-l-Faḡl's house he also would box his ears, and between us we should improve his poetry.

IX. ḤAKĪM ḤASAN OF GILĀN.¹

He was noted for his natural quickness of wit, but he had not learning in proportion, though he possessed excellent qualities and praiseworthy attributes.

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X. ḤAKĪM HUMĀM.²

He was the younger brother of Ḥakīm Abū-l-Faṭḥ, and his disposition was better than his brother's. Although it was not naturally good, yet it cannot be said to have been naturally evil. Ḥakīm Ḥasan, Shaikh Faizi, Kamālā the Ṣadr, and Ḥakīm Humām³ all died one after the other within the space of a month, and all the wealth which they had amassed disappeared in a moment, vanishing as completely as though it had been sunk in the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea, and to them nothing remained but the wind of vain regrets. But this indeed is and has been the common fate of all courtiers, both dead and living, namely, that, in spite of the treasures of Qārūn⁴ and Shaddād⁵

¹ In the Lakhnau edition of the *Zubagāt* he is wrongly called 'Ḥakīm Ḥusain of Gilān,' and is described as a man of praiseworthy morals.

² He was the younger brother of Ḥakīm Abū-l-Faṭḥ and came to India with him. His real name was Humāyūn, but when he came to court he discreetly called himself Humāyūn Qulī ('slave of Humāyūn'). Akbar gave him the name of Humām, which means 'hero' or 'magnanimous prince.' (Mr. Blochmann in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 474, note 2, has apparently mistaken it for *Ḥammām* 'a bath' or *Nammām* 'a slanderer'). He held the office of Bakiwal Beg and, though only a commander of 600, was a personal friend of Akbar and had great influence at court. In the 31st year he was sent with Ṣadr-i-Jahān (q. v.) as an envoy to Tūrān, and returned to India about a month after his brother's death. He died November 9, 1595.

³ See vol. ii, text, pp. 205, 206.

⁴ The Korah of the Scriptures.

⁵ Shaddād the son of 'Ād, King of Yaman. See *Qur'ān* lxxix, 5, and vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 261 and note 6.

which they are enabled to amass, they depart hence often without so much as a shroud, and bearing on their broken necks the affliction of their malignity, the load of eternal disappointment and everlasting ignominy—And this, too, is the saying of 'Isā (on whom be peace!), which he spoke to the world, likening it in parable to an old woman, "Woe to thy living husbands, they believe not on the fate of thy husbands who are no more!"

"Surrender thy soul to the Beloved, else shall death snatch it from thee!"

"Judge thou for thyself, my soul, which of the two is the better."

The ḥakīm died in Lāhōr, and his body was carried thence to the camping ground of Ḥasan Abdāl, and interred beside that of his brother.

XI. ḤAKĪM AḤMAD, OF TATTA.¹

He was a good theologian who was impelled by his own shameless assurance to pose as a physician. His learning was extensive, and he had travelled throughout Arabia and Persia. He was a cheerful soul, but somewhat disordered in mind, a prey to vain desires, and a pretender to honours to which he had no claim. I constantly admonished him, reminding him that he had no right to the rank of a *Sayyid*, and that groundless claims of this sort met with scant consideration in India. I told him if he had any regard² for the faith, to profess himself a true Musal-¹⁶⁹ mān, for that in these latter days nothing remained of the true faith but its name. But my admonitions availed nothing, and he met with the just reward of his deeds. I saw him after he had received his death-wound from Mirzā Fūlād,³ and I swear

¹ Ḥakīm Aḥmad was a bigoted *Shāh* who used to curse and revile the companions of Muḥammad and all *Sunnīs*, including his own ancestors, who had been *Sunnīs*. See vol. ii, text, 317.

² در دین. The word *دین* is carelessly omitted from the text, though both manuscripts have it.

³ See vol. ii, text, 319, 364. Mirzā Fūlād Beg Barīs enticed Aḥmad from his house at midnight on the pretext that the emperor had sent for him, and murdered him in the street, in Lāhōr, 'on account of his bigotry in the

by God, the God of whose Godhead there is no doubt, that the *hakim's* face appeared to others, as well as to me, exactly like the head of a hog, and the words "the hellish hog" ¹ were found to give the date of his death. *Shaiikh* Faiẓi found another chronogram in the words, "on the twenty-fifth of the month of *Safar*." ² I found two chronograms for the event in the following couplet slightly altered from the *Hadiqah*,³ which is applicable equally to the slayer and the slain.

"And we adhered to the certain presumptions."

Another person found a chronogram in the words, "Hail, dagger of *Fulād*!" ⁴

(*Shi'ah*) faith, and other annoyances which *Fulād* had experienced at his hands.' This occurred in January, 1588. *Ahmad's* abuse of the orthodox *Khalifahs* is given as the cause of *Fulād's* act, but from the earlier passage it is clear that the murderer had some other motive. Moreover, when *Fulād* was asked by *Hakim* Abū-l-Fath, at the instance of *Akbar*, whether it was religious zeal which had prompted the deed he replied, 'Had it been only religious zeal I should have attacked a greater than *Ahmad*.' Although the ladies of the *haram*, who admired *Fulād's* courage, interceded for him, he was executed by being bound to the foot of an elephant. *Ahmad* lingered for three or four days and then 'went to his own place.' *Badā'uni* says that he saw 'the dog' in his death agony, and noticed the change in his face. This, which is called *markah*, is said by *Sunnis* to happen frequently to *Shi'ahs*, because they revile the companions of the prophet. Compare the account of *Faiẓi's* death-bed, *infra*, Ch. IV, No. CVII. After *Ahmad's* burial *Faiẓi* and Abū-l-Faḡl had a guard set over his tomb, but when the court left *Lāhor* for *Kashmir* 'the people of *Lāhor* one night exhumed his impure corpse and burnt it.'

¹ *خوک مشرقی* giving the date 996 (A.D. 1588).

² *دریست و پنی م'لا صفر*. 'There is something wrong with this chronogram. It gives the date 1153.

³ Probably the *Hadiqatu-l-Haqiqat* or *Shar'atu-l-Tariqah*, otherwise known as the *Faḡhrindma* by *Sann'ī*. See vol. i, trans. Ranking, 35 note 1, 57 note 1. I cannot, however, find a chronogram in the couplet. One hemistich gives 1049, and the other 1132.

⁴ Or 'Hail, dagger of steel!' (*زهی خنجر فولاد*) *Fulād* means 'steel.' The chronogram gives the correct date, 996 (A.D. 1588).

XII. ḤAKĪM LUṬṬU-'LLĀH, OF GILĀN.¹

He was well known as a clever practitioner, and his learning was very great.

XIII. ḤAKĪM MUẒAFFAR, OF ARDASTĀN.²

When a young man he was physician to Shāh Tahmāsb.³ He came to India and was here highly regarded. He is a young man of great piety, and lives cleanly. When he attends the sick his very footstep seems to bring them good luck. Although he has not much learning, his practical experience is very great.

XIV. ḤAKĪM FATḤU-'LLĀH, OF GILĀN.⁴

He has read very many works on medicine, and his knowledge of astronomy also is great. He has written a Persian commentary on the *Qānūn*. He has now gone to Kābul to treat Qilij Khān.

XV. SHAIKH BINĀ.⁵

He is the son of Shaiikh Ḥasan, the quack doctor of Sirhind. His skill in surgery is great, and in the treatment of elephants he 170

¹ Brother of Ḥakīm Abū-l-Faṭḥ and Ḥakīm Humām. He was a commander of two hundred. See *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 518.

² Ardaštān is a town lying between Kāshān and Yazd. In the *Tabaqāt* this physician is called Ḥakīm Jalālu-d-dīn Muẓaffar. Under Akbar he was a commander of two hundred, but Jahāngir in 1606 gave him the rank of a commander of 3,000, with 1,000 horse (*Tūzūk*, 37). Jahāngir heard of his death on Sep. 14, 1607. In the *Tūzūk* (p. 59), where he calls him Jalālu-d-dīn Muẓaffar Ardaštāni, he says that his practice was greater than his learning. He praises him very highly.

³ Who, according to Jahāngir, wrote a verse on Muẓaffar: 'He is a pleasing physician, come, let us all fall sick.'

⁴ In the first year of Jahāngir's reign Faṭḥu-'llāh had the rank of commander of 1,000, with 300 horse (*Tūzūk*, p. 34). According to the *Pādshāhnāma*, i, b, 350, he returned to his native country, where he died. There is no authority for Blochmann's statement (*Āin*, i, 542) that he committed suicide. His grandson, of the same name, was a physician at the court of Shāhjahān.

⁵ See *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 543. Shaiikh Binā had a son, Shaiikh Ḥasan or Ḥassū, who, under Jahāngir, attained great honours. Ḥasan apparently received

is one of the wonders of the age. Latterly, he has become the prey of mischievous hallucinations.

There are also among the physicians others, obscure Musalmans¹ and accursed Hindūs,² from writing of whom my heart revolts.

the title of Muqarrab Khān from Akbar, or from Jahāngīr in Akbar's reign (*Tauk*, p. 12). He rose to be a commander of 5,000, and was successively governor of Gujarāt, Bihār, and Āgra. He was pensioned off at the beginning of Shāhjahān's reign, and died at the age of ninety. In the 41st year of Akbar's reign Shaikh Binā and his son succeeded in curing a bad wound which Akbar had received from a buck at a deer-fight.

¹ In the *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, 542—544, eleven Muḥammadan physicians besides those mentioned by Badāonī are mentioned. Shaikh Aḥmad, of Thatha, is not there mentioned. The *Tabaqāt* mentions all those described here and five others.

² In the *Ain-i-Akbari* (i, 544) four Hindū physicians are mentioned, and in the *Tabaqāt* six.

CHAPTER IV.

An Account of the Poets of the Reign of the Emperor Akbar.

A full account of the poets of the reign of the Emperor Akbar is given in the *Nafā'is-u-l-Ma'āḡir*, well known as the *Tazkirāh* of Mir 'Alā'u-d-daulah,¹ which is the source from which the materials for this brief account are extracted. Some of these poets have composed *divāns*. I have written of those with whom I was acquainted, whom I have even seen, whether near or from afar, or who have acquired fame.

I. GHAZĀLĪ OF MASHHAD.²

When his life was attempted in 'Irāq on account of his infidelity and intemperance, he fled thence to the Dakan, and afterwards came to Hindūstān. The Khān-i-Zamān sent him one thousand rupees for his expenses, and wrote from Jaunpūr a witty epigram, which contained an enigma in the poet's name.

"O Ghazālī, I adjure thee by the claims of the lord of Najaf³
That thou come to the slaves of the peerless one!⁴
Since thou art without honour in that country⁵
Take thy head,⁶ and come out of it."

¹ Mir 'Alā'u-d-daulah was the brother of Mir 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf of Qazvin, see above, c. II, No. XX. His *tazkirah*, here referred to, I have never seen, and do not know where a copy of it is to be found. Mir 'Alā'u-d-daulah wrote under the poetical name of Kāmi, see No. CXIV.

² The *Alaḥkade-yi-Āzari* says that he wrote sixteen books, and that he fled from Persia during the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp. The *Mir'ātu-l-'Ālam* mentions two books written by him, the *Asrār-i-Maknūm*, and the *Raḡḡbatu-l-Hayāt*, to which the *Haft Iqlīm* adds a third, the *Mir'ātu-l-Kā'ināt*.

³ 'Alī, Maḥammad's cousin and son-in-law, the fourth *Khalīfah*. Ghazālī was a Shī'ah, hence the force of the appeal.

⁴ I believe that this refers to Akbar, but it may refer to God. It is not unlikely that the ambiguity is intentional.

⁵ The Dakan.

⁶ I have translated this phrase literally, as it contains the enigma. It

He was for some time with the *Khān-i-Zamān* and afterwards entered the emperor's service and received the title of *Maliku-sh-Shu'arā*.² He compiled several *diwāns* and a book of *masnavis*. It is said that he has written no fewer than forty or fifty thousand couplets.³ Although his compositions do not rank very high, yet his poems, as regards both quality and quantity, are superior to those of any of his contemporaries. He had great facility of expression in the language of the mystics. He died very suddenly in Aḥmadābād on Friday, Rajab 27, A.H. 980 (Dec. 3, A.D. 1572),⁴ and his majesty ordered that he should be buried in 'Sarkhej',⁵ the resting-place of many of the great saints and famous kings of old. Qāsim Arsalān⁶ wrote this chronogram for the date of his death, taking it down from the dictation of Qāsim *Kāhī*.⁷

"Last night *Ghazālī*, that accursed dog,
Went drunk and defiled to hell.
Kāhī wrote the date of his death
'A base infidel departed from this world.'"⁸

means 'take your own way,' just as we say, of a horse, 'give him his head. The 'head' or first letter of *Ghazālī* is گ, which stands for 1000. Thus the expression also means here, 'Take a thousand (rupees).'

¹ According to the *Tubaqāt* *Ghazālī* remained in the service of the *Khān-i-Zamān* until the latter was killed (June, 1567), and then entered the emperor's service.

² 'King of poets,' or, as we say, 'poet laureate.' Faiṣi was his successor in the title.

³ According to the *Tubaqāt* nearly 100,000. The *Mir'ātu-l-'Ālam* agrees with Badošni. The *Ātaṣḥkādā-yi-Āzar* estimates his couplets at 40,000, and the *Haft Iqlim* estimates them at 70,000.

⁴ Faiṣi has a very neat chronogram, هفت نهد و هشتاد ('the year 980'), the numerical values of the letters of which give the sum 980.

⁵ See *Āin-i-Akbari*, ii, 241. Sulṭān Aḥmad (1411—1442), after whom Aḥmadābād is named, and many other princes are buried here. A variant is 'Sarkheç.'

⁶ Vide *infra*, No. IV.

⁷ See the next notice.

⁸ ملحد وني رفت از عالم, giving the date 980.

Another chronogram—

"*Ghazālī* was a treasure-house of hidden meaning,
His resting-place is the pure earth of Sarkhej.
The date of his death, with the difference of one year only,
Is given by the words, 'Aḥmadābād and the dust of
Sarkhej.'"¹

The following is the opening couplet of an ode which I have not been able to discover in any *dirān* written by him:—

"We heard a noise and opened our eyes from the sleep of
nothingness.
We saw that the night of strife had not passed away, and fell
asleep again."²

Couplets by Ghazālī.

"If in the *Ka'bah* thy heart wanders towards any, besides
(the Lord of the *Ka'bah*).
The worship is all wickedness, and the *Ka'bah* is to thee no
more than an idol-temple.
But if thy heart is fixed on God, even though thou dwell in
the wineshop.
Drink wine fearlessly, thine end can be nought but good."

"We fear not death, but this is our misfortune
That we must remain disappointed of regarding the lovely
ones of this world."

"Those who are at rest in the dust were all slain by thy
sword.
The sword of Death has had no opportunity here."

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¹ This chronogram is entirely wrong. Both the text and the MSS. have 'Sarganj' for 'Sarkhej,' and the rhyme necessitates this reading, which, if adopted, gives the date 1021. If the correct name of the place, Sarkhej, be substituted we get the date 986—still six years wrong.

² A description of life.

"We are within the compass of a revolving lantern¹; a whole world remains in astonishment therein,
Man whirls madly therein like the figures on the lantern."

"The zealot's cloak is stretched over his bent form like the string on a bow,
But the debauchees fear not the arrows of his prayers."

A Quatrain.

"My mind is an ocean which contains a gem,
My tongue is a sword which has an edge,
The clarion of my pen has the sound of the last trump,
I am the bird of the angels, my words are winged."

He has introduced into one *qaṣīdah* all the numerals from one to a hundred. This is its opening couplet—

"By *one* word from thy *two* ruby lips Masīḥ² obtained *three* favours;

Eternal life, and graceful speech, and power to give life."

"We are wine, and round our necks is the collar of the wine-jar,

We have a power of intoxication in which the whole world is lost."

II. QĀSIM-I-KĀHĪ.³

He was Miẓān Kāhī of Kābul. Although his verses are crude 178 and his ideas all stolen from others, yet they are written in a con-

¹ A lantern which revolves by the smoke of the candle within, and has on the sides of it figures of men and animals.

² The Messiah.

³ Kāhī ('straw-like') is thus described in the *Āin* (i, 566). 'He is known as Miẓān Kāhī. He knew something of the ordinary sciences, and lived quiet and content. He rarely mixed with people in high position. On account of his generous disposition a few low men gathered around him, for which reason well-meaning people who did not know his circumstances often upbraided him. Partly from his own love of independence, partly from the indulgence of his majesty, he counted himself among the disciples, and often foretold future events.' In the *Tubaqāt* it is said that he had many ac-

nected style, and in this respect *Kāhī* had no equal. He was well versed in astronomy, rhetoric, and the mysticism of the *Saʿfīs*, and wrote a treatise on music. In short, he had no equal in his time in knowledge of the mysticism of the *Saʿfīs*, the art of composing enigmas, history, elocution, and various other arts. Although he had had the advantages of associating with the *shāikh*s of former days, among them that lord of his age Manlavī Jāmi, (may his tomb be hallowed!) and others, yet all his life was spent in heresy and infidelity. But notwithstanding these ill qualities his liberality, generosity, open-handedness and bounty were extreme, and he was always surrounded by a crowd of *qalandars*, lewd fellows, and courtezans, and associated unrestrainedly with dogs. It would seem that such conduct is the invariable attribute of one bearing the title of *Maliku-sh-Shuʿarā*,¹ as has been said in the verses—

“Hearken to this advice from *Saifī*,
That it may suffice thee all thy life,
On good poetry and a handsome boy,
Pin thy faith, no matter whose they be.”

I have no concern with his religion, but I reproduce the following selections from his verses:—

accomplishments and was specially distinguished in the art of music, that he lived a free and unconventional life, and attained the age of 120. *Miyān Kāl* is the name of the hills between Samarqand and Bukhārā. According to the *Atashkade-yi-Āzari* he was born in Turkistān and brought up in Kābul. One of his ancestors paid his respects to Timūr, accompanied the army of that conqueror, and settled at last in Turkistān. *Kāhī* was well received by Hamāyūn. According to the *Haft Iqlim Kāhī*'s name was Sayyid Najmud-dīn Muḥammad, his *kunya* being Abū-l-Qāsim. When fifteen years old he visited Jāmi (died 1493-94) and afterwards Hāshimī of Kirmān. He was a pugilist and a runner, and lived a free life, following no creed or doctrine. He lived long at Basūras, and afterwards at Agra, where he died May 17, 1580. See also vol. i, trans. Baring, p. 584, notes 1 and 3, and p. 601.

¹ I have translated literally, although the passage makes it appear that *Kāhī* held the title of *Maliku-sh-Shuʿarā*, which he never bore. *Badāʾoni* is running abt at *Faīṣī*, who was very fond of dogs, and means to say that *Kāhī* was a regular *Maliku-sh-Shuʿarā* in his conduct.

Couplets.

- "Like thy shadow we are with thee, whithersoever thou
goest,
It may be that in time thou wilt shew us some kindness.
O ancient of love, seek the company of one with Yūsuf's
cheeks.
Small wonder were it if so thou becamest young like
Zulaikhā.
Kāhī, thou art the nightingale which adorns the pleasure
of Kābul,
No crow or kite art thou that thou shouldst come to Hindū-
stān."
174 "Grief for thine absence has reduced my body to the likeness
of a spider's web,
It is for this reason that the corner of a ruin is my dwell-
ing."

He set the two odes of which the opening couplets are given
below to sweet music, so that they have become known through-
out the world and are sung in all assemblies, enlivening alike the
banquets of kings and the gatherings of mystics.

Opening Couplet of the First Ode.

- "The bird which began to flap his wings on the forehead of
Majnūn
Inflamed in his brain the fire of his grief for Lailā."

Opening Couplet of the Second Ode.

- "When the mirror is filled with roses, the reflection of the
loved one's face,
The parrot who looks therein becomes a nightingale."
The following is an enigma¹ on the name of God:—

¹ I have not attempted to solve either this enigma or the next. The
verses run, in the original—

نیست از همنیش کسی آگاه * ایـهـا کـان لا نـهـا—له
نار شـرع را شـتافـه ام * از مـعـمد نـبی شـگـانـه ام

"Nobody has full knowledge of His essence,
From eternity without beginning has He been, He is limitless."

And the following is another enigma on the name of the prophet :—

"Since I journeyed along the road of the holy law,
My path has been divided from that of Muḥammad the prophet."

He was the author of a well-known *dīrān* and has also written a *magṣarī* which he has entitled *Gul Afshān*, a reply¹ to the *Bāstān* of Sa'dī, corresponding with it rhyme for rhyme. Its opening couplet is—

"To the world's Creator he praises from the soul,
To the soul's Creator a hundred worlds of praise."²

The following is another couplet by him—

"My cruel darling has killed thousands with her coqueties,
My spoilt darling still continues her coqueties."

"The rain of misfortune has broken on my grief-stricken body,
What misfortune is there that the heavens have not rained
on my head?"

"No narcissus blooms in the place of my pilgrimage,
My eyes are whitened with watching for thee."

The following couplet was written by him on a Hindū youth, a *lōgī* :—

¹ جواب. A poem written in imitation of another, and intended to compete with the original.

² This couplet runs as follows :—

جهان آنرین را بجان آنرین * بجان آنرین صد جهان آنرین

Sa'dī's *Bāstān* begins—

مقام جهان دار جان آنرین * حکیم سخن بر زبان آنرین

"Thy flame-coloured face shines above the ashes on thy body¹
like the lotus,
Or it may be that thy head-cloth has been reduced to ashes
by thy resplendent face."

- 175 But the idea developed in this couplet very much resembles that which is the motive of the following couplet by Mullā *Vasfi*² of Kābul:—

"It is not the burning fever of separation from thee which
has induced me to choose the dust for a bed,
Rather is it that my bed has been burnt to ashes by the
ardent fever which possesses me, sick with my longing for
thee."

When Mullā Qāsim was told that most of his poetical ideas were stolen from others, he used to reply, "I have never asked you to believe that my poems were wholly my own. If they please you not, take a pen-knife, and erase them from the copies of my *diwān*." He has an excellent *qasīdah* on the astrolabe, which runs on into an encomium on the late emperor, Humāyūn. His copiousness of diction is well exemplified therein. When Khājā Mu'azzam Khān,³ notwithstanding his lameness, came to visit Mullā Qāsim-i-Kāhī in his sickness, the Mullā composed the following extempore ode on the event, setting it to music at the same time:—

"Thou did'st halt in affected disdain one pace from the face
of my longing,
May thy foot never pain thee more, my graceful cypress!
Howmuchsoever I recounted, in the night of separation, the
joys of thy presence,
The tale of my long-drawn-out grief was not lessened."

One day the Mullā was walking in the emperor's garden, on the far side of the Jamna, when the poet *Subhāḥī*⁴ met him, and as

¹ *Sul*, the ashes of cow-dung. سول (*bhabhāt*) with which Hindū ascetics besmear themselves.

² See below, No. CLXII.

³ The brother of Akbar's mother.

⁴ *Vide infra*, No. LXXI

soon as he saw him said, "Sir, have you heard that a man who accepted Islām late in life¹ has died in 'Irāq?" The *Mullā* replied, "May you be spared!"²

When the imperial army marched to Gujarāt Mullā *Ghazālī* accompanied it in the early stages of the journey. It so happened that a false report of the death of Mullā Qāsim-i-*Kāhī* was spread abroad, and when *Ghazālī* heard it, he composed the following chronogram, which is, although far-fetched, and based on a false rumour, not without elegance.

"The wretched *Kāhī* left the world.

Should you wish to know the date of his death,

Know that since he could not help but go he was constrained, 176

And 'Qāsim-i-*Kāhī* went from the world.'"³

But before this lying tale became a fact Mullā Qāsim-i-*Kāhī* was enabled to take his revenge by composing a chronogram on the death of *Ghazālī*, and a second one also, as full retribution. These have already been cited.⁴ But,

"What can a liar tell, but a lie?"

Although the following couplet is true,

"I have seen poets, within my experience,

Without followers, without offspring, and without any successful issue of their labours,"

and all the poets of the present age together, both small and great, are, with the exception of three or four aged men, adherents of the *Jauratī* and *Haidarī*⁵ sects, yet these two whom I have just mentioned were the guides and leaders of all the rest, and left the heritage of their baseness to their followers and dependants, dividing it among them in due proportion to the natural fitness

¹ کهن مومن. I think this is the meaning of the phrase, but cannot be sure.

² i.e., 'to accept Islām'

³ از جهان رفت قاسم کامی giving 'he date 984 (A.D. 1576-77).

⁴ See above, p. 240, note 8.

⁵ The *Haidarīs* are the followers of Qutbu-d-din 'Alī, founder of a mystic sect. I have no information regarding the *Jauratīs*.

and ability of each one to avail himself of it, and with due regard to the claims which each had acquired by former companionship with them.

When I regard this vile gang I am oppressed by the fear that the poets of old ¹ (may God protect us from them!) may perhaps have resembled them. God forbid that it should have been so! Yet the experience of ages tells us that worldly people in each particular period follow closely in one another's footsteps and that there are no radical differences of disposition among them.

III. KH'ĀJA HUSAIN OF MARV.²

He was one of the sons of that saint of the Lord and traveller in the path of the Eternal God, Shaikh Ruknu-d-dīn 'Alā'u-d-daulah of Samanān (may God sanctify his tomb!). In those branches of knowledge which exercise the reasoning faculty, he was the pupil of Maulānā 'Iṣṣānu-d-dīn and Mullā Ḥanafī, and in the study of the holy law he was the disciple of the last and best of the sages and traditionists Shaikhu-bnu-Ḥajar-i-Šāni

¹ Badīonī is possibly referring to those poets who wrote against Muḥammad. See *Qur'ān*, c. xxvi.

² Kh'āja Husain is thus described in the *Āin* (i, 574). 'He possessed many excellent qualities, and sold his encomiums at a high price. He lived at the court of Humāyūn and was also during this reign highly favoured.' In the *Tūbaqāt* he is thus described, 'He is by origin the son of a vazir. He has acquired learning, and was distinguished above his fellows by a high degree of intelligence and the sharpness of his understanding. He was for years in the service of the emperor Humāyūn and was one of his intimates, and a member of his heavenly assembly.' See vol. ii, text, pp. 120, 132. Kh'āja Husain composed a *qasidah* on the birth of Salṭān Salīm (Jahāngīr) containing chronograms for the accession of Akbar and the birth of Salīm. Badīonī says that the first hemistich of each couplet is a chronogram for the former event, and the second hemistich of each couplet a chronogram for the latter, but this is not so. He also composed a *qit'ah* of seven couplets on the birth of Salīm and Murād, the first hemistich of each couplet of which purports to be a chronogram for Salīm's birth, and the second hemistich of each couplet a chronogram for Murād's. There are, however, some errors in the chronograms. For the *qasidah* he received two lakhs of *tankas* and it was, perhaps, this reward to which Abū-l-Faḡl referred when he said that Husain sold his encomiums at a high price.

(may God have mercy on him!). His facility in verse, his elegance in literary style, his rhetorical flourishes, his fine delivery, 177 his polish and copiousness of diction, and his wit, were unrivalled. He composed a *divān*, and his poetry, though not in the first rank, is of respectable quality. The following couplets are by him:—

“O, thou in whose absence the tears drop from my eye-lashes,
While the thought of sleep¹ is banished from my eyes!
Thou didst display thyself to me in such wise as thou wert not,
Alas! that thou wert not such as thou didst seem.”

It seems likely that this couplet is an imitation of the following quatrain:—

“We say that maybe we are of the faithful,—but we are not.
And that we are of the truthful and sincere,—but we are not,
We are adorned outwardly, but inwardly we are otherwise,
Alas! that we are not what we seem to be!”

The following couplets are also by *Marvi*:—

“With me thy brow is wrinkled like the rosebud,
With others thy lips open in smiles, like the pistachio.”

“I wish that the love which I bear to thee,
Should be known to me, and to thee, and to God.”

The following couplets in praise of Muḥammad are from the translation of the *Singhāsan Bātisi*,² of which His Majesty ordered this poet to make a translation, which was never completed:—

¹ The text and the MSS. have خیال و خواب ('ideas and sleeps'): خیال خواب makes better sense.

² This book is not mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* as one of those translated by Akbar's orders; but see vol. ii, text, p. 183. Badi'oni was apparently ordered to complete the translation. He says that the book is a collection of thirty-two stories concerning Rājā Vikramāditya

"The sweet-voiced nightingale of the garden of revelation !
 Whose eyes were anointed with the antimony of us base
 crows,
 Who in his unquestionable abrogation of the Psalms of
 David,
 Has drawn his pen through the copies of the Pentateuch
 and the Gospels,
 To his high court is prophecy entrusted,
 To him, the chief of the prophets and the seal of apostle-
 ship."

A Quatrain.

178 "I am he whose kingdom is the realm of words,
 The money-changer of wisdom is the appraiser of my
 threaded gems.
 The exordium "Be!" is but one leaf of my writings;
 The secrets of the two worlds are on the tip of my pen."

In the year H. 979 (A.D. 1571-72) he obtained permission to depart from Hindūstān and to go to his native land, and Shaiḡh Faizi, who was his pupil, found the date of his departure in the words "may his shadow be extended!"² He went to Kābul and was received with consideration and honour by Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakim, but when he presented his *piṣhtakūḡh*³ of merchandise, goods, valuables, and precious articles from India, he rose from his place and took the list of his presents from the hands of the registrar of complimentary presents and detailed and explained the quantity, quality and name of each description of cloth, even going so far as to give the price of each. The *Mirzā* was much displeased at this breach of decorum, and, rising from an assembly with which he was disgusted, ordered that all who pleased should fall on the spoil and carry off what they could,

of Mālwa (see *Ain-i-Akbari*, ii, 211), and that the book resembles the *Tuḡfinām* ('Tales of a Parrot'). Badā'uni called his translation *Nāma-yi Khirad-afad*.

¹ بِلَاق, literally 'sending' or 'apostleship.'

² دَامَ قَلْبُ, giving 880, one year in excess.

³ Complimentary present.

so that in the space of an hour everything disappeared. The *Kh'āja* shortly after this died in Kābul.

IV. QĀSIM-I-ARSALĀN.¹

He wrote poetry under the *nom-de-plume* of Arsalān on account of his father's claim to descent from Arsalān-i-Jāzib, one of the great nobles of the court of Sulṭān Maḥmūd-i-Ġhaznavi. His native place was Tūs² and he grew to manhood in Transoxiana. He was a poet sweet of song, welcome to all, both great and small, for his personal beauty and graceful wit, adorned with the ornament of an open and cheerful disposition and with the quality of sociability and social amiability. In the composing of chronograms he had no equal. He was the author of a *divān*, and the following few couplets are of his making:—

"I wish to raise my head, at the resurrection, from a spot of earth

On which the foot of a fair one shall be lingering in grace- 179
ful coquetry."

"O, thou who hardly givest up but half thy life, what place hast thou

Where lives are freely given by the hundred for one glance from the beloved?"

I remember something very like this latter couplet in an ode of the author of which I cannot quite recall the name. It is as follows:—

¹ Arsalān is mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (i, 103) under the name of Nūru-'llah Qāsim Arsalān as one of the renowned calligraphists of the age. Abū-l-Faḡl describes him as a poet (*op. cit.*, i, 600) as follows: 'Qāsim Arsalān of Maḡhbad. He possesses some talent. He works hard in order to collect wealth and spends it in a genial way.' In the *Tabaqāt* he is thus described, 'He was a Maḡhbadī and was brought up in Transoxiana. He passed many years in the service of the emperor. He wrote the *Nasid'liq* script well. He held broad views on religion. He composed a *divān*.'

² A city of Khurāsān, the native town of Firdausi and of his master, Ḥakīm Asadi.

"What though I be alone with thee in lovers' meeting?
Thy modesty repels me more than a thousand watchers."

Another couplet by Qāsim-i-Arsalān—

"Both letter and spirit of my reading mourn my lot,
Without thee how can I keep my regard intent on my book?"

"As we passed weeping to the loved one's dwelling,
A hundred times in each step we crossed a river of tears."

He has written the following verse descriptive of the mountain of Ajmir, the holy burial place of the *Kh'āja*, the pole-star of pole-stars, *Kh'āja Mu'īnu-d-dīn-i-Ajmīri-yi-Cīsh̄tī* (may his tomb be hallowed!):—

"Lo! The mountain of Ajmir, a mountain of ambergris,
The lodging of the chief of the leaders of Cīsh̄t.
What hill is this, that when it raises its head to the empyrean,
Has the ocean of the sky no higher than its midst?
The bodies of the sun and moon appear
From that hill no larger than the eagle's eye.¹
Fountains there are therein, like to the sun in brilliancy,
Their sand² is the starry host of heaven,
Heaven's eagle³ winged his flight,
To seek its summit, but his flight fell short.
Should but a stone be loosened from that fort,
It would in its downward course loosen the strongholds of
heaven from their foundations.
That darting brilliance which issues from the clouds is not
lightning,
It is nought but the sword-like summit of that mountain
striking the sky.

¹ i. e., so great a distance are they below it.

² The text has رنگ ('colour'). I follow the MSS., both of which have رگ ('sand').

³ نسر طائر ('the flying eagle'). The constellation Aquila.

Glancing from that mountain foot the beholder sees 180
 The sky as a clear pool, and the moon as the fish's¹ eye.
 The torrents which rush down from that awful stronghold
 would carry away a thousand hills such as Alwand and
 Alburz.²

When the eagle rises from the vase of the fortress' walls,
 His shadow falls on the moon and sun.

Arsalān, behold the loftiness of its mere foundations!

The sun seeks protection beneath their shadow."

The *Mulla* in the year in which the emperor returned from
 Ātak took up his dwelling in Lahōr. He died in the year H. 995
 (A.D. 1587).

I should state here that the three or four poets whose biographies I have already given have been mentioned first on account of the fame which they acquired as poets only, and of the ill-luck which they brought with them to the world, as they occurred in my mind, and in no particular order. Henceforward for ready reference and for the sake of method I shall mention the poets in the alphabetical order of their poetical *cognomina*.

V. ĀTASHI OF QANDAHĀR.³

He came to Hindūstān with the Emperor Bābar, and was at first a *vāq'ah-navis*.⁴ Subsequently, in the service of his late Majesty also he held several high posts, and died in Lāhōr in the year H. 973 (A.D. 1565-66). Some of his verses are the following:—

"In thine absence my tears by degrees became a sea,
 behold!

Come, sit in my eye as in a boat and make a voyage of the
 sea!"

¹ The 'fish' here signifies the constellation Pisces.

² Alwand is a high mountain in Hamadān. Alburz is either mount Alburz in the Caucasus (18,572 feet) or the Alburz mountains between Māzandarān and Tihirān, the highest point in which is mount Damāvand (19,400 feet).

³ Ātashi is not mentioned as a poet in the *Āin* or in the *Tabaqāt*.

⁴ A news-writer.

"Aye, have a dagger at thy waist, a sword in thy hand, a
frown on thy brow,
Thirst for blood and be cruel and still implacable."

- 181 "What can one do with one who knows nought of those who
are faithful?
What can one do with one whose body shines as silver and
who still inclines to wrath?"
-

"The crescent moon shines in the gloaming on the eve of
'Id,¹
Setting us free to haste to seek a cup of rosy wine."

At the time when his late Majesty recovered from his indisposition in the Fort of Victory, this poet composed the following quatrain:—

"A thousand thanks to God, that His Majesty the Emperor is
freed from the sorrow of sickness,
That he has arisen and seated himself once more on the
throne of his glory.
The news of his recovery was conveyed to me by the words,
'Thanks be to God that His Majesty has recovered.'"

VI. ASHRAF KHÂN, MİR MUNSIFI.²

He was a Hussaini Sayyid of the holy city of Mashhad. He was well qualified to instruct the best calligraphists of the world

¹ The appearance of the new moon on the evening of Shawwāl 1, or, as we should say, on the evening of the last day of Ramazān, is the signal for the breaking of the thirty days' fast. The Musalmāns reckon their days as do the Jews, from sunset to sunset. The 'Idu-l-Fitr is the festival at the end of the fast.

² Muḥammad Ashraf, a Hussaini Sayyid of Sabzavār, according to the *Ain* (i, 389), but of Mashhad, according to the *Ma'āṣiru-l-Umarā* and the *Mir'ātu-l-'Alam*. Ashraf was a clever writer, exact in his style, and a renowned calligrapher, who improved the Ta'liq very much. He also understood *jafar*, or witchcraft. He was in Humāyūn's service, and had received

in the seven different styles of penmanship. He was one of the most trusted among the nobles, and it is a pity that he should have merited the name of poet, but since he had natural poetical ability, the following verses of his are quoted :—

“Before I have received a single cup from the hand of the
cup-bearer of fate,
The stone of reproach strikes my wine-jar. What can I
do ?”

“We are those in this world whose hearts are sad,
A heart as sad as our own, we know not of.”

A Quatrain.

“O, Lord ! consume me not in the fire of Thy wrath ! 182
But light the lamp of faith within the house of my heart ;
And as for this robe of life which hangs torn on my body,
Of Thy mercy stitch it again with the thread of forgive-
ness.”

Another Quatrain.

“Free from the alloy and like fine gold came love from the
assay,
Well were it to spend the cash of our lives in the business
of love.
Since the expanse of thy beauty blossomed like the rose,
The thorns of love have pierced my breast as that of the
nightingale is pierced.”

VII. AMIR QIZI, ASIRI.¹

He possessed both learning and accomplishments. For some years he studied under Hakimu-l-Mulk, and was the best of all his from him the post and title of *Mir Munshi*. At Akbar's succession he was in Dihli, and took part in the battle against Hemu. He was imprisoned by Bairam, but escaped and went to Makkah. He returned in A.D. 968 (A.D. 1560-61) when Akbar was in Mächwára on his way to the Siwálík, where Bairam was. He was well received and got a *manqah*. In the following year Akbar bestowed on him the title of *Ashraf Khan*. In 1574 he went with Mun'im to Bengal, and died at Gaur in 1575.

¹ Called in the *Tubaqat Mir Qhāzi*, Asiri. Abu-l-Faḍl in the *Asn* (i, 590)

pupils. He was one of the most entertaining men of his time. As the climate of India did not suit him, and as he obtained no real promotion in the imperial service, in spite of his having been admitted to the circle of His Majesty's intimates, he went at length to his own country, and in the city of Rai, the native place of his ancestors, he obtained rest from the toils of the world and departed this life. The following verses are quoted as an indication of the copiousness of his imagination:—

"The jealous watcher himself has been our intermediary,
while I suspected no fraud,
He has been enabled to interpose between us his own conditions."

"'Twas but yesterday that my loved one derided my piteous lot,
My grief and her derision were plain to see."

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"To-day has my heart's anguish grown more acute,
For to-day it seems that my loved one is more than ever bent on my destruction."

"I am wounded to the heart by the arrow of a fair boy to whose hands time
Has not yet delivered a bow to sport withal."

"The hope of union with thee forbade me to surrender my life,
Else I would gladly have died when I parted from thee."

"I lament the presence of others when that silver-bodied one draws nigh,
It would seem that my tongue breaks into speech from constancy to her."

says that his name was Amīr Qāsi and that he came from Rai, near Thirūn. He adds, 'he is a man of education.'

"The zest of union with her never leaves my heart,
For she spoke with me in graceful coquetry and looked for
my coming."

VIII. MĪR IMĀMĪ, KNOWN AS MUḤḤACA.¹

He was a *Suyyid* of Kābul. In the year H. 981 (A.D. 1573-74) he fell from his horse in Jaunpūr, and died of the injuries which he received. He wrote a *diḥān*, and the following chronogram which he composed on the death of a graceful boy of rare beauty, named Sulṭān Caḡḡatāi, is well known.

"Sulṭān Caḡḡatā was the rose of the garden of beauty,
But death was his guide to the garden of Riẓwān.²
In the season of roses he set forth to journey from this
garden,
Many hearts in mourning for him were drenched with their
blood.
I asked of the mourning nightingale the date of his death,
He broke into lamentations and said, "The rose has left the
garden!"³

"How shall I compare thy stature to the letter *alif*, O palm-¹⁸⁴
tree of life?

For *alif* is quiescent⁴ while thy graceful form is ever in
motion."

¹ Both the text and the MSS. have *ḡamīḡ* (*manaḡca*), which is meaningless and etymologically improbable. I venture to substitute *ḡaḡḡa*, 'the Magian boy.'

² The keeper of the garden of Paradise.

³ This chronogram is an enigma. The numerical value of باغ ('garden') is 1008 and of رُose ('the rose') 50. If 'the rose' be taken from 'the garden' 958 (A.D. 1546-47) remains. This, then, is the date of Sulṭān Caḡḡatāi's death.

⁴ A grammatical conceit. *Alif* is quiescent (i.e. carries no vowel) until it is strengthened by *hamsah*.

"My heart in thinking on that sweet mouth is in the straits
of perturbation,
Perturbation has confronted it from the place in which it is
bred."

"Never do I forget thee, possessor of all sweet attributes.
Though thou forget me, yet do I never forget thee."

A Quatrain.

"For the proof of His existence what need is there of words,
Since He is all in all, both of what is manifest and what is
hidden ?
They tell me to open my mouth in denial of all that is apart
from Him ;
But what shall I deny ? Where is there a trace of ought
that is apart from Him ?" ¹

Another Quatrain.

"The juggler who sits on the prayer-mat of the blue expanse
of sky
Shines in the morning with the mark of piety on his face,
At midday he straightens himself up in prayer,
And when he, the leader of the prayers, made his inclina-
tion, the rest prostrated themselves." ²

IX. MIR SHARIF-I-AMĀNĪ, OF ISFAHĀN.³

He wrote charming verses. He spent twenty years of his life
in India, living in religious retirement. The following verses are
from his pen:—

"The flood of my tears rushed towards her dwelling,
To wash the dust of strangers' feet from her threshold."

¹ This quatrain sets forth the pantheism of the *Sūfis*.

² The sun's daily course is likened to the ritual prayers.

³ Amānī is not mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akhbari* as a poet. In the *Zubda* he is called Mir Amānī, and one of his couplets is quoted, but no other account of him is given.

The water of life is but a type of thy ruby lips,
Where is a *Khizir*¹ to give his life in keen desire for them ?" 185

"Like *Amāni*, in the desire of losing my head by a stroke of
thy sword
I have entered the ranks of the army (of thy lovers) with
nought but my life for my shield."

"It is not the presence of the stranger in thine assemblies to
which I object,
But thy friendly glances for the stranger which I cannot
endure."

X. QĀZĪ AḤMAD-I-ḠHAFFĀRĪ OF QAZVĪN.²

He was a son of Imām Najm-d-dīn 'Abdu-l-Ḡhaffār, who was the author of a compendium of the Shāfi'i³ doctrines. In learning, in elegance of literary style, in knowledge of history, and in geniality of disposition he was unrivalled. He wrote the *Nigāristān*,⁴ a compendium the like of which has not been produced by the wit of anybody in this age, and wherein are related wondrous circumstances and strange occurrences. He also wrote the book *Nasakh-i-Jahān-Arā*,⁵ the date of the composition of which is given by the title. It is a cursory history of the world from the time of Adam to the days of his holiness the seal of prophecy (may God bless and save him!). The Qāzī towards the end of his life gave up the office of *vazīr*, which he held under the princes of 'Irāq, and after his resignation proceeded on a pilgrimage to the

¹ The guardian of the water of life.

² Qāzī Ahmad is not mentioned as a poet either in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, or in the *Tabaqāt*.

³ The school of jurisprudence founded by Imām Shāfi'i, one of the four great Sunni doctors of the law.

⁴ 'The Picture-Gallery.' There is a MS. of a *Nigāristān* by Ibn-i-Muhammad Ahmad (No. $\frac{m}{114}$) in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

⁵ I have not been able to find any other mention of this work. The title gives the date 971 (A.D. 1563-64).

holy place (Makkah). After attaining the felicity of performing this pilgrimage he came to Hindūstān by way of the port of Dābul,¹ when the hand of fate, suddenly loosing the cord of the existence of that incomparable man, led him to the world of immortality. This occurred in the year H. 975 (A.D. 1567-68).

The following couplet is by him :—

186 "If that fair tyrant sit by me, after a lifetime of expectancy,
My heart will flutter in my breast, lest she should rise too soon."

XI. MİR AṢḤKĪ OF QUM.²

In his poetry he displayed a pleasing fertility of imagination, and he was an imitator of *Āṣāfī*. In Agra he placed the baggage for his journey to the next world on the back of Death's swift steed. I append some of his verses.

"He whose bosom is rent with grief in thine absence beat his head with a stone so violently
That the stone became nought but a handful of dust in his grasp."

¹ Both the text and the MSS. have دابل. The port was Dābul or Dābhol, a famous port on the west coast of India in Muḥammadan times. See *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, vi, 100.

² In the *Ain-i-Akbari* (i, 598) Abū-l-Faḍl says, 'Aṣḥkī of Qum is a Ṭabāṭabā'ī Sayyid, and is a poet of some talent.' The Ṭabāṭabā'ī Sayyids are the descendants of the great-great-grandson of 'Alī, Ismā'il bin Ibrāhīm, called Ṭabāṭabā from a defect in his speech which caused him to pronounce the letter ق like ط.

From the *Haft Iqlim* we learn that Mir Aṣḥkī was the son of Mir Sayyid 'Alī, Muḥtasib (public censor) of Qum in Persia. Aṣḥkī's elder brother, Huḡūrī, was also known as a poet. Aṣḥkī was attracted to India by the fame and success of Ghazālī, but he did not meet Ghazālī. The number of his verses exceeded 10,000; and when on his death-bed he gave his several *diwāns* to Mir Judā'ī to arrange. Mir Judā'ī, however, published whatever he thought good in his own name, and threw the remainder into water. *Vide infra* No. XXXII. Dāghistānī says that Aṣḥkī died in Mir Judā'ī's house, and he ascribes the epigram to Ghazālī; but as he only quotes a hemistich the statement of the contemporary *Haft Iqlim* is preferable.

"In grief at thine absence I will smite my head, wretched
being that I am, with a stone.

Should my hand fail of its office I will strike my head upon
the stone."

"I, thy candle, O my King, am a slave like Nuşair,
Though decapitated a hundred times I yet live."

"Those slain by thy cruelty lie scattered here and there like
drunken men.

It would seem that thy sword was tempered with wine in-
stead of water."

"So much has my body melted away in grief at thine absence,
That if thou castest a chain on my neck it falls about my
feet."

It is said that when he recited this last opening couplet before
Maulānā Şādiq in Qandahār, and sought his approbation, the
Maulānā said, "You have stolen this iden from Amīr Khusrav of
Dihli, who says—

'So much has my mournful body melted in thine absence
That if thou placest a collar about my neck it falls to my
feet.'"

Another Couplet by Ashki.

"If I would fall in following thee smitten with the stone
of calamity,
Stones rain upon me from every hair on my head prevent- 187
ing me from falling."

Ashki seems to have used the metaphor of the stone so much as
to leave nothing else for others to say upon the subject.

"See my feeble body among the dogs of thy street.
This one drags it one way, that one another"

"My hair hangs dishevelled from my head down to my feet,
My body appears in the midst of it like a single white hair."

XII. YOL QULI ANISĪ.¹

He is a Shāmlū Turkmān in the service of the Khān-i-Khānān. He writes pleasing poetry and has composed a *magnavi*. The following verses are his work:—

“My heart is a fire-temple when I think of thee, and on it
Is thy brand, like a black Hindū who tends the fire.”

“When you see a tongue of flame deem it to be a tormented
fire-worshipper

Whose soul has departed, while his body still dances in the
fire-temple.” [heart,

“Love is like the loadstone, for when its arrow enters the
It cannot be removed till love itself in kindness draws it
forth.”

XIII. MULLA GHANI, AMANĪ.²

He is a young man in the flower of manhood. He was for a long time in Gujarāt with Khājā Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, and at first assumed the *nom de plume* of Khauḥ, which the Khājā changed, giving him his present *takhalluṣ*. He is now in the service of His Majesty's eldest son. His disposition is pleasing. The following quatrain is his:—

“I am one who can treasure up nought but grief;

Though I am all jealousy I cannot renounce the loved one,

¹ Anisī is thus described in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* (i, 578), ‘Anisī Shāmlū. His real name is Yol Qulī. He is a man of a happy heart and of pure manners. He is brave and sincere.’ The *Ma’āqir-i-Raḥīmī* says that he was a good soldier and served as librarian to ‘Alī Qulī Khān Shāmlū, the Persian Governor of Hirāt, when he made the acquaintance of Shikibī and Mahwī. He wrote at first under the *takhalluṣ* of Jātū, but the Persian prince, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, gave him the name of Anisī, under which he is known in literature. When Hirāt was conquered by ‘Abdu-’llāh Khān, Anisī was captured by an Uzbek soldier and carried off to Transoxiana. He then went to India and entered the service of Mīrzā ‘Abdur-i-Raḥīm, Khān-i-Khānān. He died at Burhānpūr in A.H. 1014 (A.D. 1605-06). He left a *magnavi*, a *dirāḡ*, and several *qasidas* in praise of the Khān-i-Khānān.

² According to the *Tabaqāt* Amanī came from Bukhārā, and was for a long time in the emperor's service, and was for some time a news-writer. He wrote good prose and compiled a *dirāḡ*. He also wrote a *magnavi*, a *shahr-aghāḡ*.

Although through my enlightenment of soul I am as
conspicuous as the sun,
Still I know not how to light the lamp of my own lot."

XIV. ABTARI OF BADAKHSHÂN.

His assumed name accords well with his nature.¹ He has committed to memory, parrot-like, some phrases from the *Futūḥāt* and the *Fuṣṣu-l-Hikam*,² and has striven hard, in a polemical treatise, to establish the good faith of Pharaoh,³ for which reason he has been nicknamed "Pharaoh's Advocate." The following is the opening couplet of a *qaṣīdah* by him:—

"Thou saidest, 'Shall I deal with my lovers faithfully or
cruelly?'

O, impudent one, know that we choose the former!"

XV. ULFATĪ, QILĪ KHĀN.⁴

He is of the Jān Qurbānī tribe.⁵ He is accomplished in learning and the sciences, and is one of the commanders of five thou-

¹ *Abtar* means 'worthless.'

² See p. 17, note 3, for an account of the *Fuṣṣu-l-Hikam*. There are several works having the word *Futūḥ* or *Futūḥāt* as part of their titles, and I cannot say to which of them Bada'oni here refers.

³ Probably referring to the passage in Chapter X of the *Qur'ān*, in which Pharaoh is said to have said, when drowning in the Red Sea, 'I believe that there is no God but He on whom the children of Israel believe; and I am one of the resigned.'

⁴ Qilij Khān was a pious man, and a staunch *Sunni*. He is first mentioned in connection with the siege of Ruhtās in Bihār, in 1565. In 1573 he was appointed commandant of Sūrat, which Akbar had just conquered, with his son as his deputy. In 1576-77 he was sent to Sūrat to negotiate with the Portuguese. In 1588 he received Saunbhal in *Jāgir*. In 1593-94 he was made Governor of Kābul, where he was not successful. He was removed, and in 1596-97 accompanied his son-in-law, Sulṭān Dāniyāl, to the Dakan, as *alāliq*, but soon returned to court. During Akbar's absence in Khāndesh in 1598-99 he was Governor of Agra, in 1600-01 he was promoted to the governorship of the Panjāb and Kābul. At the accession of Jahāngir he was sent to Gujārat, but returned the next year to the Panjāb. He died in 1612. Before he was tutor to Sulṭān Dāniyāl he was a commander of 4000 but he was then promoted to the command of 4500. See *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, 34, 354, *Tisuk-i-Jahāngiri*, 123, and *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*.

⁵ The MSS. have *Jānī Qurbānī*. The readings are not satisfactory. I have

sand. His faith is orthodox. For some time he held the title of *Jumlatu-l-Mulk*,¹ and is now Governor of the *Ṣūba* of Kābul. He has poetical genius and facility in writing verse. The following few couplets are by him:—

“No sooner had my sun cast the veil from off her face
Than the sun appeared no more than a mote in a sunbeam
in motion,
I am slain by that languid narcissus-like eye, which, in its
heaviness,
Has slain a whole world and composed itself to sleep.”

189 “Thy two dark languid eyes² play havoc with my wit and
my faith,
With drawn bows they lie in wait for me in every corner.”

“It is not the rosebud-like arrow of my slayer that rankles
in my heart,
But my own blood which, while apart from her lips, I have
swallowed, that is clotted in my heart.”

XVI. ULFATH OF YAZID.

He was well skilled in the exact sciences. He was a companion of the *Khān-i-Zamān*, and was captured in his rebellion.³ The emperor spared his life, but death, less merciful, took it from him. The following opening couplets of *qasīdahs* are his:—

“Until like dust I settled on the skirts of the robe of my
beloved,
I had no rest from my wanderings nor ease at my heart.”

not been able to discover a tribe with any such name. Perhaps, *Badāoni* means to say that he was of those who would not hesitate to sacrifice their lives for the emperor.

¹ Qiliġ *Khān* was twice *divān*.

² Literally ‘Turks,’ a favourite simile.

³ In 1567, see vol. ii, text, 100.

"We are but a handful of ashes, but we carry fire in us,
It would be no wonder if we were consumed by the sparks
of our own sighs."

The Khān-i-Zamān gave him a thousand rupees as a reward
for composing this latter couplet.

XVII. ULFATI OF 'IRĀQ.

He was for some time in Kashmir with Mirzā Yūsuf Khān,¹
and there he composed a poem on the people of the city in which
he dwelt.² The following couplet occurs in it:—

"Sarmadī³ is the squirrel of the tree of the poets,
He loves the stature of Orion and the feelers of the Crab."

On a youth who was beloved by Mirzā Yūsuf Khān he wrote
the following couplet:—

"Mirzā Yūsuf, the prince of the age, is in love.
He loves thy pure love, but he loves the beauty of others."

XVIII. BAIRAM KHĀN, THE KHĀN-I-KHĀNĀN.⁴

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He was one of the offspring of Mirzā Jahān Shāh. In wisdom,
generosity, sincerity, goodness of disposition, submissiveness, and
humility he surpassed all. In early life he was in the service of
the emperor Bābar, and in middle age he obtained advancement
in the service of emperor Humāyūn, and received the honourable
title of Khān-i-Khānān, and his present Majesty added *Babā-am*⁵
to his titles. He was a great friend to religious, was subject to fits
of religious ecstasy, and was a benevolent man. The second

¹ See *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, 345, Mirzā Yūsuf Khān was appointed to Kashmir
in 1587, but resigned four years later. He was subsequently reinstated
at the request of Sulṭān Salīm.

² شهر آشوب literally 'city disturbing.' A poem in praise or disparage-
ment of the people of a city.

³ Vide *infra* No. lxii.

⁴ See *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, 315, and *Badāoni*, vol. ii, text, *passim*. *Badāoni* had
a great admiration for Bairam Khān, although he was a Shi'ah.

⁵ 'My father.'

conquest of Hindūstān,¹ and the building up of the empire were due to his strenuous efforts, his valour, and his wise policy. Learned men came from all parts of the world to visit him and departed happy in the possession of gifts bestowed by his hand, as open as ocean itself, and his high court, lofty as the sky, was the resort of the lords of learning and all perfect qualities. His existence was, indeed, an honour to the age in which he lived. At last vile hypocrites poisoned the mind of His Majesty against him, until his affairs fell at length into the condition of which a brief description has been given in the chronicle of the reign.² He has composed a *divān* in Persian and Turki which is in every hand, as his verses are on every tongue. This quatrain is his:—

“The masters of self-effacement are both high and low,
It is they who are ever drunken with draughts from the cup
of immortality.
Whatever there may be in the plane of non-existence,
Know for certain that it is they alone who truly exist.”

191

“Oh! Thou whose street is the *Ka'bah*³ of our happiness,
Whose Face is the point towards which we turn in prayer!
Blest will be the time when thou graciously drawest us to
Thyself,
Freeing us from the bonds of ceremonialism and conventional-
ity!”

He wrote an ode in praise of his holiness ‘Ali, the commander of the faithful (may God be gracious unto his countenance!) of which the following are the opening couplets:—

“Though a king be so great that his crown towers over the
nine heavens,
If he be not the slave of ‘Ali let dust be cast upon his head.
Hope not for love for the king of men from one who knows
not his own father,
Cujus matris ignominiam discooperiunt alienus.”

¹ i.e., on Humāyūn's return from Persia. Bābar's was the ‘first’ conquest.

² Vol. ii.

³ The temple of Makkah; here used by a trope for any object of desire.

The following is the commencement of a *qaṣidah* which he wrote on the astrolabe:—

“What globe is this whose axis rests on the centre (of the universe),

This full moon across whose midst the meteors dart?

Though it vaunts itself the equal of both sun and moon

It gladly enrolls itself among the emperor's slaves.

The sun's resplendent orb looms not so largely in our eyes

As the crescents which surmount the banners of the world-famed king of kings—

Both sky and earth are ever subject to his authority,

Like the seal of a ring on the hand of a monarch as powerful as Jamshīd.

This globe brings with it a golden tray full of *aḥraṣṭis*

To scatter before the feet of great kings,

The feet of the emperor of exalted dignity, Humāyūn, 192
before whom, in order to obtain honour,

The sky itself places the head of humility on the threshold of the Court.”

They relate that the emperor Humāyūn was one night in conversation with Bairam Khān, who was overcome by drowsiness. His Majesty reprovingly said, “Ha, Bairam Khān! It is to you that I am speaking.” He replied, “Yes, sire, I am attentive, but since I have heard that in the service of kings a watch should be kept over the eyes, and among *darvīshes* a watch should be kept over the heart, and among learned men a watch should be kept over the tongue. I was just pondering over which I should keep a watch, for Your Majesty is a King, a *darvīsh*, and a learned man.” His late Majesty was much pleased with this seemly reply, and expressed his approval of it.

Bairam Khān obtained the blessing of martyrdom¹ at Paṭṭan in Gujarāt in the year H. 968 (A.D. 1561) and his bones were, in accordance with his will, taken to Mashhad.

¹ He was murdered by Mubārak Khān, an Afghān: see vol. II, text, 45. He is accounted a martyr, because he was on his way to Makkah when he was killed.

XIX. *BİKASĪ OF GHAZNĪN.*

He was known for his varied attainments and numerous accomplishments. He had performed the pilgrimage to the two holy places, Makkah and Madinah, and afterwards came to India. In Arabia he had studied some of the books of traditions such as the *Mishkāt*,¹ and the *Shamā'ilu-n-Nabī*² (may God bless and preserve the prophet!) under Mir Murtazā-yi-Sharifi³ and others. Being overcome by the weakness of old age he set out for his beloved native land, his original home, and while halting at Peshāwar on his way thither he heard the cry, "Return to Me!" from the lips of the Angel of Death, and in A.H. 973 (A.D. 1565-66) he withdrew to the Presence of the Merciful God.

The following verses are some of the relics of his copious imagination.

193 "Whether in the idol-temple or in the *Ka'bah* I have looked
to none but Thee,
Wherever I have been I have never been forgetful of
Thee."

— — —
"It is not in our age alone that the sky (fate) has been
pitiless,
Since its revolutions first began it has been both pitiless
and faithless."

— — —
"Though *Bikāsī* should hear the reproaches of his enemies
a hundred times,
It were fitting that he should not allow them to vex or
disturb him,
For the following perfect couplet is well known throughout
the world:
And why, indeed, should not such a couplet have world-
wide fame?"

¹ The *Mishkātu-l-Maṣābiḥ*. See vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 58, note 3, *et passim*.

² Apparently the same as the *Shamā'ilu-l-Muḥammadiyyah*. See vol. i, 625, note 6.

³ See below, No. cxxij.

'Though the worthless stone crush the golden vase
The worth of the stone is not increased nor is that of the
gold diminished.'

Quatrain.

"Oh heart, give not the rein to thine anguish and grief!
Forgo not one moment of true delight for all the dominion
of Jamshid;
Should a loved one fall to thy lot, see well
That thou exchange not the dust of her footsteps for all
that both worlds can give."

Maulānā *Bikāsi* writes that one day the late emperor Humāyūn wrote in his own graceful handwriting over the arch of the porch of his palace in the royal residence of Dihli the following couplet by *Shaiikh Āzari*:—

"I have heard that on this gilded dome
Is written 'At last the actions of all become praiseworthy.'"

The emperor was fated shortly afterwards to leave this narrow dwelling of deception for the sweet abode of bliss,¹ and owing to the exigencies of the time that very palace was utilized as his tomb, and since this action of that enlightened king was attributed to miraculous provision the chronogram for that event, contained in the following verses, was widely quoted at the time:—

"When the Emperor Humāyūn shortly before he died
Wrote on the door of the dwelling in which he lived,
'It is written that at the last the actions of all become praiseworthy,'
He referred prophetically to his own righteous end;
And when that dwelling by the decree of fate became his tomb
It became the point towards which all turn in prayer, and
the *Ka'bah* of their desires.

¹ On *Rabi'u-l-awwal* 15, A. H. 963 (Jan. 29, 1556). See vol. i, trans. Ranking, pp. 600-602. Firishṭa places his death four days earlier, but *Badā'uni* is the better authority.

For this reason I give the following chronogram for his death,

'The foundation of the dwelling¹ of the Sultān whose end was praiseworthy.'

XX. BĪQI OF KOLĀB.²

He had a natural talent for poetry. The following verses are his:—

"In thine absence I am the slave of a hundred griefs,
Do thou rejoice since I am overwhelmed with anguish."

—————
"Although the fair to-day do not know my worth,
They will know it to-morrow when I shall be no more."

—————
"My eyes are suffused sometimes with my heart's blood,
sometimes with blood from my liver,
To me, the wretched one far from her face, even the way
of sight is closed."

—————
"He never becomes liberal like the cypress in the garden of
the world,
Who, like the narcissus, fixes his eyes always in covetous-
ness on silver and gold."

195

BĪqī was a long time in Hindūstān and was killed during the rebellion of Ma'şūm the Kābuli.³

XXI. BAYĀṢĪ.

He lived in Agra after the fashion of humble men and the style of bygone days. This opening couplet of a *qasidah* is his:—

بنای منزل سلطان وادی مسعود¹. The chronogram is not quite clear. As it stands it gives the total 1002. If we remove م which is the first letter of منزل, and therefore 'the foundation of the dwelling' which is, perhaps, what the poet intended, we get 962—one year short.

¹ Kolāb (now more correctly Kālāb) is the name of a town and district in Badakhshān. ² At Jaunpūr in 1579. See vol. ii, text, p. 276.

"Whoever enjoys the fruits of union with that jasmine-bodied cypress
Owes it to his good fortune. It is his good fortune that enjoys the fruit."

On the discussion raised by Kāhī and Ghazālī¹ he wrote the following quatrain :—

"Kāhī and Ghazālī, those two drunken fools,
Have put hand to pen to belittle Jāmi² and Navā'i.³
There has been nobody like them in the world,
For Kāhī⁴ is nought but straw and Ghazālī⁵ is nought but a dog."

XXII. PAIRAVI,⁶

He is for the most part an imitator⁷ of Kh'āja Āṣafi. He is a skilful painter and has attained by means of studying the outward form to hidden truths, and has written on outward form and hidden essence a poetical treatise which begins as follows :—

"O Lord, I am unable to grasp hidden truth !
Forgive me, for I am too much a worshipper of the outward form
Of thy grace, O most Pure God !
Thou hast so fashioned the outward form of our earthly tabernacles
That every (fair) form which I see
Points out to me the way to the hidden truths of Thine **196**
Essence."

¹ See above, Nos. II and I.

² The great Persian poet, Mullā 'Abdu-r-Rahmān-i-Jāmi.

³ See below, No. CLVI.

⁴ Kāhī signifies 'strawy.'

⁵ Ghazālī signifies a 'gazelle' or 'antelope,' and ghazālī, the adjective derived from it, might be applied to a hound used for hunting that animal.

⁶ He is thus described in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* (I, 600) 'Pairavi of Sūwa.' His name is Amir Beg. He was a good painter.

⁷ This is a pun on his *tāhallas*. *پایه* (pairav) means 'a follower,' 'an imitator.'

Other Verses.

"When is the wine of love given to him who suffers no
pain ?

Love for the beautiful is a state of exhilaration. To whose
lot does it fall ?"

"In my dream I saw her sitting with the jealous watcher,
and my heart was perturbed.

Had I at that moment awoken from my dream I should
have died, but died too late."

"When I cast a glance at her moonlike face, even while I
am looking,

She glowers at me angrily, to bid me not to gaze at her."

"I steal a glance at that graceful one,

And when she looks towards me, I look downwards to the
ground in shame."

"The child of my tears took his way in the road of my
beloved,

Like a sweet orphan he put his foot forward in this path ;
But the delicate child was unable to endure love's tyranny,
And called my beloved cruel and faithless."

"I am perturbed when she is away from me,

Lest my moon-faced darling should fall in love with
another."

Fairafi wrote a complete *divān* of *ghazals*. He died in Hindū-
stān.

XXIII. Baqī'ī.¹

On first leaving his native land he went to the Dakan, where he was with Malik Qumī, the poet. Thence he went to Gujarāt and was there with Mirzā Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad,² adopting the *nom-de-plume* of *Mashghūlī*. The Mirzā changed it, giving him ¹⁹⁷ his present *nom-de-plume*. His poetry is good, and since it is easy and flowing I quote the following excerpts:—

“When love made the eyelashes of the fair ones a lancet,
It caused the blood to flow from my arteries and veins,
Alas, that before I could close my eyes the arrow of
thought of the loved one
Penetrated my eye and thence pierced my heart.”

“In place of tears my wounded heart itself drops piecemeal
from my eyes,
From this fiery cloud all the blood of my liver rains down.”

“So long as the bird of my heart was the ~~bird~~ that
hunter,
Each separate hair of my head rose up as a bird rising to
fight.”

Baqī'ī has now left the service of the Khān-i-Khānān,³ and they say that he has come to Āgra and intends to go to Lāhōr.

XXIV. MULLĀ NŪRU-D-DĪN MUḤAMMAD-I-TĀRKHĀN.⁴

He was called Safidoni, and assumed the name of *Nūrī* as his *nom-de-plume*. Since he held the *pargana* of Safidon in the

¹ Baqī'ī was evidently alive when Radḥoni completed this history in A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1596). He must not, therefore, be confounded with the Baqī'ī mentioned in the *Tabaqāt* and below, under Hālati (Yādgar), No. XLII, who was executed for murdering his father.

² Author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

³ Mirzā 'Abdu-r-Rahīm.

⁴ See No. LXIX, chapter II.

sarkar of Sirhind¹ as a *jāgīr* for some years, he was spoken of as though he had been a native of that place. He was distinguished for his attainments in geometry, the exact sciences, and astrology, and was one of the intimate companions of the late emperor, obtaining the title of Tarkhān in the course of his confidential association with him. He was unequalled in liberality, generosity, munificence and conviviality, for which qualities he was proverbial. He had poetic talent too, and composed a *divān*. One day on the polo-ground at Fathpūr he was injured by an elephant, and was in great pain. While in this condition he continued to repeat, "Be my witnesses, all of you, that in my present uneasiness I repent of some of my former acts and am resolved to amend my ways." However much he was pressed on the subject he would not say what those particular acts were of which he repented. I said, "The first thing of which you will have repented will surely be the writing of poetry." I do not know whether he was pleased with my suggestion, or annoyed, but the others who were present were much pleased. In the days of his authority he dug a canal from the Jamna, fifty *kurāh* in length, in the direction of Karnāl, and beyond that town. This was the cause of large additions to the cultivated area, and a great increase in the prosperity of the people. As it was dug in the name of the prince Sulṭān Salīm, it was called *Shaiikhānui*,² which word gives a chronogram for the date of its completion. *Nai* in Hindi means "a stream." At length cruel fate brought utter ruin upon him so that he endured many hardships and privations. When His Majesty in A.H. 994 (A.D. 1586) departed for Āṭak he appointed Mullā Nāru-d-din to

¹ No *pargana* of this name is mentioned in the account of the *sarkār* of Sirhind on pp. 295, 296 of vol. ii of the *Ain-i-Akbari*. Safidon is now a town in the Jind State and *taḥṣīl* in the Panjāb. See *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xxi, 349.

² The text and the MSS. have *Shiikhānui*, which is wrong, for the numerical values of its letters give the total 967, ten years before the birth of Salīm (Jahāngir), who was born in A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569); we must, therefore, read *Shaiikhānui*, which not only gives the correct date, but also contains the name of Salīm, whose father called him by the pet name of *Shaiikhū*, deeming him to have been granted to the prayers of *Shaiikh* Salīm-i-Ciṣṭī.

the trusteeship of the tomb of the late Emperor in the imperial city of Dihli, and there the *Mullā* died. The following verses are excerpts from his poems:—

“Sad at heart am I sitting, far from those smiling lips,
Like the rose-bud am I sitting, with my head cast down to
my collar.”

“In his kindness and generosity
The most just King conferred on *Tarkhān*¹ the title *Khān*.
Of this *Khān*-ate he possesses the name alone.
From this name, however full of dignity, what does he gain?
Nay more, he makes this complaint of the *tarkhān*-ate also
Before the king's perfect wisdom, 199
That besides the “*khān*” nothing but desert lands seems to
remain to him,
While with his *tarkhān*-ate moisture² seems to disappear
from them altogether.”

The *Khān*, when the Emperor was marching against Ḥakīm Mirzā in A.H. 989 (A.D. 1581), remained behind and returned from the Panjāb to his own *jāgīr*, a line of conduct which excited suspicion against him, so that after the Emperor's return from this expedition he was summoned to Faṭhpūr, there to be called to account for his monetary transactions and his writings, to be reprimanded, and deprived of his title. In this manner, he was persecuted for some years. Those who are qualified to dis-

¹ *Tarkhān* was a Mughal title which was hereditary for nine generations and carried with it extraordinary privileges (vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 364). From these verses it would appear that Nūru-d-dīn claimed to be a *Tarkhān* by hereditary right, whereas Akbar bestowed on him first the title of *Khān* and then that of *Tarkhān*, the latter, however, merely as an honorary title, without any of the substantial privileges formerly attached to it. The same was evidently the case with his earlier title of *Khān*.

² This is a clever poem. *تر* (*tar*) means ‘moist.’ The poet says that he had nothing but waste lands with his title of *Khān*, but that when he was made *tar-Khān* what little moisture there was in these lands seemed to evaporate.

criminate attribute his ruin to the impropriety of which he was guilty in lampooning the officials in the imperial city of Dihli, wherein he was actuated solely by the enmity which he bore to Tātār Khān.¹ The satire which he wrote he chose to attribute to Qāsim-i-Kāhī, publishing it as the work of that poet. The grounds upon which his satire was based will be best defined by quoting from the effusion.

“Miyān Jamāl Khān² is the *mufti* of Dihli,
But he never yet delivered one of his foolish judgments
gratis;³
He is the Governor of the city under Tātār Khān,
And has just such another little donkey's face as his master's.
Shaiikh Hasan the little decree-writer with his poisoned pen
Spreads on all sides false news and slanderous whispers.
At the very time of prayer he performs, in a perfunctory
manner, his ceremonial ablutions
When the reader has already ascended the pulpit,
It is he, it is he, it is he that oppresses the city,
A vain babbler, with his harlots”⁴

The opening couplet of that effusion, which even to quote is scurrility, is as follows:

“Alas, for Dihli and its holy shrines,
Alas, for the ruin of its palaces!”

This satire extends to nearly two hundred and fifty couplets. One of the learned men of that city, Shaiikh Muḥammad Kambū⁵

¹ Kh'āja Tāhīr Muḥammad, a Khnrāsānī. He was a commander of a thousand. He was made Governor of Dihli in 1563-64, and died there in 1578.

² See Chapter II, No. VI.

³ This is another pun. The word for *gratis* is مفت (*muft*).

⁴ The second hemistichs of all these couplets, and the first hemistich of one of them, end in words to which absurd terminations, imitating the Arabic possessive pronouns, have been appended. The same remark applies to the opening couplet which follows.

⁵ A fellow clansman of the *mufti* who had been satirized.

by name, wrote an answer to the whole of it in the following two couplets :—

“Nūru-d-dīn is such a blockhead

That it must have been in folly that his father begat the fool. 200

The babbling dolt has been struck on the head with a mallet,

There is no (need to) answer his foolish chatter.”

Praise be to God! These verses are equal to¹ that world-famed fragment of the lord Maulavi Nūru-d dīn ‘Abdu-l-Raḥmān-i-Jāmī (may his tomb be hallowed!), the opening verses of which are given below :—

“Alas for the Love of God, and its ecstasy,

It has consumed my heart with its scorching heat!

Mine eye never glanced towards aught but God.

My lot is cast with God and with His revelations!”

The worthy Maulānā Nūru-d-dīn fancied himself a second Jāmī, both as a story-teller and as a stylist. But how can there be any comparison between the two?

“If in your actions you resemble not the virtuous, of what use is it to resemble them in name?

“One who bore the title of Masīḥ restored sight to him who was blind from his mother’s womb, but another Masīḥ had himself but one eye.”

It is to be hoped, however, that as he was not without natural goodness of disposition, he repented of his evil deeds, and that God in His gracious mercy allowed his tribulation and suffering in this world to be an expiation of his sins. May God forgive him. When the Maulānā, after being put down from his high place, came to Agra, I was walking in the public market one day, and met him. One of my friends, the genial and witty Miṣṣan Kamālud-dīn Ḥusain of Shirāz,² who was one of the leading men in Agra, said to him, “Well, my lord Nawwāb, you have written something regarding the officials in Dihli, and now why should you not

¹ The text and the MSS. have ‘One couplet,’ though two are given.

² Badāʾunī seems to mean that their form was copied from Jāmī’s *qirʿah*.

³ See Chapter II, No. XLII.

bestow the same favour on the officials in Agra, who expect it of you!" I said, "Evidently he has seen nothing in the leading men of Agra which renders them worthy of this honour." Miẓān Kamālu-u-din laughed and said, "This is a false charge which you have brought against us."

XXV. TARDI, *Rada*.

He is a native of Transoxiana and is a witty man. He was with Mirzāyān Ulugh Mirzā¹ at the time when the Mirzās captured the fort of Bahroc, and wrote the following quatrain on the event:—

- 201 "The Timurides are unequalled in valour,
Victory smiles on them whithersoever they turn,
When they took Bahroc by storm
This chronogram was found for the event, 'They captured
Bahroc.'"²

XXVI. TAUSANĪ.

His name is Manohar and he is the son of Lon Karan, Rājā of Sāmbhar,³ a famous salt tract. It may be that the "Attic salt" of his verses is the effect of his native land. He possesses wonderful personal beauty and extraordinary intellectual power. He was called at first "Muḥammad Manohar," and afterwards received the title of Mirzā Manohar. His father, in spite of his infidelity, used, by way of honouring and distinguishing him, to glory in calling him Muḥammad Manohar. Although he was not acceptable to the emperor he has poetic genius. These verses are his:—

"The Shaikh is boastful of his religion, the Brahman brags of his idolatry:

He who is intoxicated with the beauty of the Friend has naught to do with idolatry or religion."

¹ Akbar's distant cousin. He is distinguished by the honorific plural Mirzāyān, probably because he was the head of the House of Timūr.

² The chronogram (کړوډ جړوډ) gives the date A.H. 980 = A.D. 72-73.

³ Sāmbhar, a famous salt lake in Rājputāna, in the borders of the Jodhpūr and Jaipūr States, lying between 26° 58' and 27° 1' N. and 74° 54' E.

Quatrain.

"Without the love of Thee the liver is filled to the brim with
 fire,
 Without the pain of longing for Thee the thorn is sunk deep
 in my brain;
 The idol-temple and the *Ka'bah*¹ alike mean naught to me
 but infidelity.
 My concern is only with the One-ness of God."

When they gave him his *takhalluṣ* (poetical name) he recited
 these few couplets:—

"O thou who sippest *sharbat*, visit the assembly of us who
 drink the lees!
 For our livers supply us with roast-meat, and the wine-
 cup is filled with our heart's blood.
 It is shameful for men to make mention of soul or heart in 202
 the case of love,
 But our hearts are like congealed blood and our souls are
 like the bitter blast.
 Tausani,² give rein to the steed of desire in the field of love.
 Thou shalt safely attain thy desire with Akbar for thy
 guide."

Since a Hindū³ had so much poetic genius and ecstatic feel-
 ing⁴ I have recorded these verses.

XXVII. TAZARVI OF ABHAR.

He was sister's son to Maulānā Nargisi, and, in accordance with
 the saying, "the true son resembles his maternal uncle," he was
 distinguished by his wit and the strength of his intellect. He

¹ The temple of Makkah.

² Tausani signifies a fiery steed. The appositeness of the metaphor in this
 verse is apparent.

³ The author's bigotry would not allow him to regard a Hindū who dis-
 played poetic or religious fervour otherwise than as a freak of nature.

⁴ محبت. Both MSS. have *محبت* which is meaningless. The reading in
 the text is undoubtedly correct.

came from Turkey to India in the days of Bairam Khān's supremacy, and profited much by his generosity. He was captured in the battle fought beneath the mountains¹ by Ataga Khān, and was by him paraded before the emperor, as the chief of his gifts, with the banner of the eighth Imām, 'Ali-ur-Riṣā² (may God accept him). He was very favourably received by the emperor. He composed his treatise on *Beauty and Yūsuf* for Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān,³ the son of Ataga Khān. The opening couplet of the poem is as follows:—

"In the name of Him to whom the face of foe and friend
Is turned, in which direction soever He may be."

He composed some verses descriptive of the members of the beloved, among which are the following couplets:—

"Her face is a mirror, her neck is a shaft of ivory,
Those who are in face like the fairies desire that mirror;
The palm of her hand is, like the sun, a mirror of light,
The fingers of that houri are the rays of the sun
To the eye of understanding the parting of the hair of that
sweet-lipped maid
Is a meteor resplendent in the heart of the night.⁴
Nay, I erred in describing it as a meteor.
Rather is it a stream of fair water traversing a garden of
hyacinths.

¹ This was the battle fought in A.D. 1560 in the Jalandhar Dūb between the imperial troops under the command of Shams-ud-din Muḥammad, Ataga Khān, and Bairam Khān, in which the latter was defeated. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 40.

² Bairam Khān, a Shi'ah, displayed the banners of the Imāms of the Shi'ahs before his troops.

³ Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān, the eldest son of Ataga Khān (Shams-ud-din Muḥammad), was the foster-brother of Akbar. He was only twelve years of age when he distinguished himself in this battle against Bairam Khān. *Vide Ain-i-Akbari*, trans. Blochmann, vol. i, p. 323. He died of excessive drinking in A.D. 1566, at the age of eighteen. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 84.

⁴ In this simile the poet compares the white parting with a meteor and the hair with the blackness of night, and in the simile in the following couplet he compares the former with a sparkling stream and the latter with a garden of dark hyacinths.

Desire fails ¹ in its hope of reaching her navel,
 Remaining for ever in the pit of despair.
 Desire ever hovers round about her,
 Like the thirsty quarry round about the well.
 Above her nose is the palm-tree of our desire.
 Her arched eyebrows stained with dye:
 There grow, in spite of nature's rule,
 Two lily petals from a wild rose sprig.
 In the eye of that light of my eyes
 There appears, as it were, a drop of dew on a rose.
*Circumdat pulendum margaritae illius intemeratae,
 Lunae velut crescentes duae.*
 In grace she excels the lily bud,
 Tongue placed in palate and lip on lip."

He has written in reply to the *Dihnāma* of 'Imād a maghavi in which the following couplets occur:--

"From regret for thy moist ² ruby lip
 And from separation from thy curled looks
 His (the lover's) weak body has dwindled to a hair,
 In his body there remains no place for his soul.
 From vexation and grief his heart is melted to blood,
 He drinks his own blood and draws no breath."

In a description of the morning he has written:—

"The ashes of the morning have gone on the breeze,
 Fire has caught the cotton of the morning."³

Couplets.

"When my head droops on my knees in separation from that faithless one,

¹ The words are *بجريدته أهد* "hope is severed," and there is a reference, which cannot be well reproduced in translation, to the cutting of the umbilical cord.

² Or "resplendent," "of fine water." The epithet is applicable alike to a jewel or to a moist lip.

³ That is to say, the cool whiteness of the morning has been dispersed by the fierce rays of the sun.

My body is reduced to a heap of ashes by my burning heart."

"When her cruel sword is raised like a banner to slay me,
I make my complaint of her cruelty, my excuse for falling
at her feet;
For her sake I cheerfully endured the cruelty of the world,
not knowing
How little trust could be placed in her tenderness and
faith."

"In truth the quiltings of the patched woollen robe of
poverty
Bind upon the hands and feet of avarice the chains of con-
tentment."

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"Love's mendicant laughs at the ermine of royalty,
As he comes forth from love's furnace smeared with ashes."

"The dust of existence has gone on the breeze, but still from
moisture of tears
The feet of Thy humble lovers remain in the mire."

"The sword of thine eyelashes came as a boon to me when
I was beside myself,
When I came to myself I had a hundred wounds on my
soul."

By the emperor's order he wrote the following verses, descrip-
tive of an elephant:—

"From the dust of the road of the emperor whose throne is
the sky,
He scatters ambergris on himself by way of perfume.
The constellation of the Eagle appears on his head, without
exaggeration,
Like a ridge on the summit of the mountains of Caucasus:
When his body is encircled with its golden chain
The milky way and the heavens come into view.

When he is distressed by the heat of the sun
 He pours water over himself like a fountain.
 Damsels of fairy form and moon-like countenance
 Sit, by the emperor's command, on the throne which he
 bears.
 They sit there ever in their entrancing beauty
 For verily the mountains of Caucasus are a meet resting-
 place for fairies."

One night in the year H. 975¹ robbers put him to death with
 cruel sword, and he was buried in the building which he had
 erected for himself in Agra.

XXVIII. TASHBIH² OF KASHAN.³

He came two or three times to India and left the country again,
 and now in these days he has returned and attempts to seduce
 men to heresy, and invites them to join the sect of the Basākḥ-
 wānis.⁴ He has persuaded Shaikh Abū-'l-Faẓl that he is an 201

¹ A.D. 1567-68.

² Vide *Āin-i-Akbari*, trans. Blochmann, vol. i, pp. 596—598.

³ A city of 'Irāq-i-Ajam.

⁴ The followers of Maḥmūd of Basākḥwān, a village in Gilān. The sect
 was also styled Maḥmūdiyyah, Wāḥidiyyah, Nuḡlawiyyah, or Umanā. Maḥ-
 mūd styled himself *Shah-i-Ifāhid*, or "the individual," and professed to
 be the Imām Maḥdi, whose appearance on earth ushers in the end of
 the world. He lived in A.H. 800 (A.D. 1397-98) in the days of the Amir
 Taimūr, and had many followers in Persia, but the sect was there extin-
 guished by Shāh 'Abbās I.

Maḥmūd pressed into his service a verse of the Qur'ān, Sur. xvii, 81.

عَسَىٰ أَنْ يَبْعَثَكَ رَبِّي مُقَامًا مَّحْمُودًا

'Peradventure thy Lord will raise thee to an honourable station.'

He maintained that the human body had, since its creation, been advanc-
 ing in purity, and that, on its reaching a higher degree of perfection,
 'Maḥmūd' would arise, as indicated in the passage from the Qur'ān, and
 with his appearance the dispensation of Muḥammad would come to an end.
 He taught the transmigration of souls, and said that the beginning of every-
 thing was the *nuḡḡah-i-ḥāk*, or 'earth atom' from which the vegetables,
 and from these the animals, arose. The term *nuḡḡah-i-ḥāk* gave rise to the

infallible spiritual guide and by his means has been enabled to present to the *Khalifah* of the age an ode, the object of which was to ask the emperor why he did not devote himself to the overthrowing of the self-styled orthodox, so that truth might be confirmed in its central position and pure monotheism might be established. He also dedicated to *Shaikh* Abū-'l-Faḥl a treatise after manner of the Nuṣṭawī sect, and their manner¹ of writing the letters, all of which is hypocrisy and dissimulation² and comparison of the numbers of the letters, and *Hakim* 'Ain-ul-Mulk discovered that the sum of the letters in the word *Taṣḥbihi* was the same as in the word *Tazriqī*,³ "the hypocrite"; and the rest of his revelations may be estimated in the same manner. *Taṣḥbihi* wrote a *diwān*, and the following few verses are among his ravings:—

"For once, O dust of the graveyard, plume thyself on thy fertility,
For thou bearest in the tomb a corpse like me killed by that hand and dagger."

"Wear those garments of whatever colour plenseth thee,
For I recognize the majesty of that graceful form."

"The two hands of this world and of that world are naught,
The ring is in thy hand,⁴ both the ring and the hand are naught."

name *Nuṣṭawī*. Vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans. Blochmann, i, pp. 177, 452, 453. and *Badā'uni*, text, vol. ii, pp. 245—248.

¹ That is to say singly, and not in words, as afterwards appears.

² *زري* a word coined by *Badā'uni*, who forms an Arabic verbal noun from the Persian word *زرق*. He also uses this word in vol. ii, p. 247.

³ The numerical values of the letters in the two words are—

400 + 300 + 2 + 10 + 5 + 10 = 727; and

400 + 7 + 300 + 10 + 100 + 10 = 727.

⁴ Possibly a reference to the game of *kaca-bāsi*, in which one player has to guess in which of the other's hands a ring is hidden.

At the time when I was writing this hasty compilation he gave into my hand, in the presence of Shāikh Abū-'l-Faḡl, a treatise on Maḥmūd of Basākhwān, the preface of which was as follows:—

"O God! who art praiseworthy (*Maḥmūd*) in all Thy doings, I call upon Thee for help, on Thee of whom it is said, 'There is no God but He.' Praise be to God whose mercies are visible in all His works, who has shown the existence of all His works. From Him are their * *.¹ He knows Himself, but we do not know ourselves, nor Him. He is an existence not existing except through Himself, and a place of existence independent of others; and He is the most merciful. *Question*:—What is that which is called 'Nature'? *Answer*:—"That which is called 'Nature' is God."

Dirt in his mouth, for daring to write such stuff! The point of all this lying is 'the four *nuḡahs*.' At the end of the treatise I saw, in his own writing, "This has been frequently written with reference to the Persian, the infallible religious guide, T, b, ā, r, 'a, li, a, k, r, b, lt, aḡh, b, i, h, i, *Anavī*, *Ukhravī*, *Sāhib Maqām* (the representative).² And the rest was after the same fashion. We flee to God for refuge from such unbelief!

XXIX. TAQI-UD-DIN³ OF SHUSHTAR.

He has recently entered the imperial service and is well versed both in those sciences which call for the exercise of the reasoning faculty and in traditional knowledge. He is well acquainted with poetry and has poetic genius. The following couplets are his:—

¹ One word is unintelligible in the text. The word is given as *موجود* with a variant *موجود*.

² The text seems to be corrupt. I have transliterated the letters and words appearing in the text and in MSS. (A) and (B). Mr. Blochmann (trans. *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, 547 n.) makes the letters read "Mir 'Alī Akbar Tashbihī, the Amīnī, the last, the representative," and his reading appears to be a good one, though it is not that of the text.

³ Otherwise known as Mullā Taqiyyā. In the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari* he is styled Taqī Muḥammad. He is represented as a disciple of Akbar's "Divine Faith." Vide *Ain-i-Akbari* trans. Blochmann, I, 518.

"If I be not enabled to steal a glance at Thy face,
I can at least fill my mouth with sweetness by thinking on
Thy lip:

If Thou hast planted me like a herb on the earth,
Where shall I find the hand and the heart that will enable
me to end my earthly pilgrimage?"

He is at present employed, by the emperor's command, in turning the *Shāhnāma* into prose, or in other words in converting fine linen into sackcloth, or in unravelling a rope to make oakum.

XXX. ŠĀNĪ KHĀN¹ OF HERĀT.

He is one of the *amīrs* who have been long in the imperial service, and is well known for his ability, scientific knowledge, and wit. If anybody were praised to him for his learning and accomplishments he would at once say to him, "My love and friendship are conditional on this, that you pay no heed to what the base and vulgar say of me, for such people are a hindrance to
207 friendship and a cause of strife." His verses are, as it were, disconnected fragments of chaff, but he has nevertheless completed a *divān*.

"O thou whose practice is to vex me, and whose rule of
conduct is injustice!
I cry out against this injustice and against this rule."

Pass by this bitterness, for in this tardy world no one who
ill-treats the poor prospers."

"A rival is on the road to salute thee,
O God! Grant that he leave not the road with his life."

¹ He was born at Herāt and belonged to the Arlāt clan. According to the *Albār-nāma* (i. 379) Maulānā Šānī, 'who is now called Šānī Khān,' was in the service of Mirzā Hindūl; but after the Mirzā's death (Nov. 30, 1551) he was received by Humāyūn into his service. He served in the wars with Khān Zamān. Vide *Āin-i-Ābbāri*, trans. Blochmann, i. 476. According to the *Tabaqāt-i-Ābbāri* Šānī Khān was a low fellow who was originally a calendar and eventually rose to be an *amīr*.

Quatrain.

"I have suffered from separation as even Jacob¹ never suffered,

I have suffered for love what even Majnūn never suffered,
This calamity which thine absence has brought upon me
Was never dreamt of by Farhād nor heard of by Vāmiq."

His name is 'Alī Akbar and he has made the fact that he bears the same name as the emperor, an excuse for addressing to him treatises on heresy, in which, agreeably to the system of the *Nuqtawis*,² he sets forth both the emperor and himself as that promised person who was to appear, in accordance with the numerical values of the letters composing the word *ḥakīm*,³ in the year H. 990,⁴ and he quotes the words of Maḥmūd in support of this view:—the curse of God be upon them all! He has versified the *Kāfiyyah*⁵ and a treatise on Ṣūfī-ism, in which occurs the following ridiculous couplet⁶ which is made to scan merely by filling in vowels:—

ا ح ر ن ج م ب ع ر ن ج م ا ح ر ن ج م م ص د ر

He has apparently, at the latter end of his life, repented of poetry.

XXXI. ŠANĀ'Ī OF MAŠHAD.

His name is Khwāja Ḥusain. Before he came to India the 208 great men of his country used secretly to assemble at social

¹ Scil. in his separation from Joseph. Majnūn, Farhād and Vāmiq were famous lovers.

² See the note on page—.

³ "A person." The numerical values of the letters are 300 + 600 + 90 = 990.

⁴ A.D. 1583.

⁵ *Al kāfiyyat fi-n-naḥw* (liber sufficiens) by Shaikh Jamāl-ud-din Abi 'Umar 'Uthmān bin 'Umar, commonly known as Ibn-ul-Ḥājib. A famous work on Arabic Grammar, a full account of which, and its various commentaries, is given in Ḥāji Khalifah, 9707. The author died in A.H. 646 = A.D. 1248-49. Vide Badā'uni, vol. i. trans. Ranking, pp. 428 and 466 and notes.

⁶ Sic, but a hemistich only is quoted.

⁷ Šanā'ī was the son of Ghiyās-ud-din Muḥammad of Maḥhad. The

gatherings to consider and discuss even one couplet by him, and in each gathering his verses were read by way of good augury, and all agreed, both with tongue and pen, in his pre-eminence in poesy, and recorded their opinions. Since his arrival in India all his poetic fancy has been frozen by envy, and he is fallen into the corner of neglect and become the target for a hundred shafts of criticism, and wanders distracted in the way of the vulgar. His *divān* is well known and contains a good *maṣnavī*, although it is for the most part pointless, and its style is not comparable with that of his loftier odes. He has, however, a poetic nature, and in all subjects save unity, preaching, advice, and direction he has wonderful aptitude. I quote these few couplets as a memorial of him:—

“Such grace rains down from her from head to foot,
That one could sweep grace out of her bed.”

The idea expressed in this couplet, however, very closely resembles that in the couplet of the master-poet:

“She causes blandishments to spring from the ground, she
scatters grace in the air
By means of her graceful gait and her sweet foot on the
earth.”

“If, for example, thou sittest¹ behind a mirror, a person
Standing before it sees his own image with the face
reversed.”² -

author of the *Atashkade-i-Azar* says of his poems, “either no one understands the meaning of his verses, or his verses have no meaning.” This criticism appears to be just. Šanāʿī, having offended Shāh Ismāʿīl Šafavi II by presenting to him an ode on his accession which contained no mention of his name, fled to India and was well received at court. He died at Lāhor in A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-92), Abū-l-Faiḡ Faiḡi, Akbar's post-laureate, and brother of Abū-l-Faḡl, was Šanāʿī's pupil. Vide *Āin-i-Akbari* i. trans. Blochmann, p. 569, n. 6, and p. 563.

¹ چاکنی MS. (A) has چاکنی, a meaningless word which has apparently helped to puzzle the editor of the text.

² Mr. Blochmann (*Āin-i-Akbari* trans. i. 564) says of this passage, ‘This

' I shed so much grief abroad from my house
That the difficulties of my house are from without the
door."

In describing an ambassador he says :—

" Like the sun in the sky thou hast traversed the world,
Like sleep thou art welcome to all eyes. 209
The sun, perchance, is but a distillation from thy hand,
Which washes the whole world with one drop of water,
Such blackness has overspread that tribe whose fate is
dominated by Saturn that if, for example,
Each hair on their bodies became a candle,
The sight of man would not be able to distinguish their
faces.¹

The sound of their shoes would snatch Venus away from
life,

Their hideous voices reach not the understanding,
Their gait is like fire, their speech is like war,
The sight of them is punishment and their voice is a
brazen trumpet.

If a thought of them passes through the mind of the
wet-nurse

The child from fear desists from sucking."²

" O thou ! from the splendour of the fair candle of whose
face the mirror is illumined,
From whose reflection the mirror seems to cherish a soul,
Place not the mirror before thee for the sake of seeing
thyself,
Reflect rather on my condition and look not in the glass.
Fire has burst into flame in my heart, like its reflection in
a mirror,

verse is unintelligible to me.' I have translated it as it stands, but it seems
to have no meaning. .

¹ The meaning of these verses is obscure.

² The author has, unfortunately, not said to whom these descriptive
verses apply.

Since the sunlight of thy face has been reflected in every mirror.

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*If the burning blast of thy wrath should break into flame,
It will see its reflection in every mirror."*

THE SONG OF THE CUPBEARER.

"Come, my heart, to the wine-shop of the people of the Secret,

Drink of the cup of truth which melts outward semblance;
So free thyself from the outward form

That thou mayst, like the fairy, become invisible to vulgar eyes.

Perchance the desire of that guide shall seize thee

So that thou mayst obtain a place in the street of the wine-shops.

Bring me,¹ cupbearer, that candle which lies in privacy,
Which is hidden, like the hand of Moses,² in his sleeve:

Give it into my hand and thus make my hand resplendent
That in its light I may stretch forth my hand to perform miracles.

Come, O cupbearer, and for the sake of the drunken debauchees

Stretch forth thy hand to shed the blood of the bottle.

Look to the circulation of the bottle and reckon³ not of punishment.

¹ Literally 'come.' See the author's criticism below.

² The reference is to Exodus iv, 6, 7, and to the *Qur'an*, *Sarah* xxvii 13.

وَادْخُلْ بِدَاكِ فِي جَيْبِكَ تَخْرُجْ بَيْضًا مِمَّنْ قَبْرُ مَرْءٍ فِي نَيْعِ آيَاتِ إِلَى
فَرَقَمَ وَ قَوْمِهِ

"Moreover, put thy hand into thy bosom; it shall come forth white without hurt: this shall be one among the nine signs unto Pharaoh and his people."

³ The text and MS. (B) have *مَهْرَسِي*, i.e. "inquire not," "have no anxiety for." MS. (A) has *مَهْرَسِي* "fear not."

For in times of famine it becomes lawful to drink blood.
 Give me, O cupbearer, that amber of existence
 That by means of its attraction I may ascend
 And may pitch my tent above this lowly place,
 And, like ambition, may set my foot on whatever is !
 Bring me, O cupbearer, that warm-blooded wine
 Which increases love in my heart."

This "Song of the Cupbearer" clearly contains many vulgarisms, for everywhere he has used "come" in the sense of "bring," and he has reproduced the expressions used by masters of poetry on the same subject, forgetting that their expressions are used in brief fragments, of which the second couplet is dependent¹ on the first.

In his ode on the sun the following couplet occurs :—

"The sun's reflection makes manifest in water the properties
 of oil
 When he makes of the dust of his worth a crown."²

He has written odes on sublime subjects, but in a mean style, and to him the proverb applies :—

"Their houses are lofty, their spirit is low,
 O Lord ! make these two things equal."³

XXXII. JUDĀ'Ī.⁴

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He is Mir Sayyid 'Alī, the painter, a versatile man, each page of whose paintings is a masterpiece, and who may be described

¹ موقوف. The word is in neither MS., but has been correctly supplied in the text.

² This is a literal translation of the couplet, to which the criticism in the *Atashkade-i-Azar* applies. The "crown of dust" is probably a reference to the sunbeam.

³ i.e., "either bring down their houses or raise their spirit."

⁴ Mir Sayyid 'Alī of Tabriz, whose poetical name was Judā'ī, was more famous as a painter than as a poet. He is mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* (trans. Blochmann, I, 107), as the first of the court painters. Of him Abū-l-Faḍl says, "Among the forerunners on the high road of art I may mention first Mir Sayyid 'Alī of Tabriz. He learned the art from his father. From

as a second Mānī¹ in India. The story of Amir Ḥamzah in sixteen² volumes was illuminated and completed under his supervision. Each volume of it fills a box, and each page of it measures a yard wide by a yard long, and on each page is a picture.

He has completed a *divān*, in which the following verses occur:—

“As the morning broke the thorn boasted of its fellowship
with the rose
And thus pierced with its nail the broken heart of the
nightingale.”

“The beauty of idols is the Ka'bah to which I journey;
love is the desert by the way,
The railing of rivals³ is the acacia thorn of that desert.”

“From head to foot we are covered with swellings from the
wounds of love for thee,

the time of his introduction at court the ray of royal favour has shone upon him. He has made himself famous in his art and has met with much success.”

¹ Judā'i's father was Mir Maṣṣūr, and Judā'i himself had the title of Nādir-ul-Mulk. Badā'oni does not mention the accusation of theft which has been brought against the poet. He is said to have stolen the poems of Mir Aḥḥki of Qum (vide *supra* no. XI). The number of his verses exceeded 10,000, and when on his death-bed he handed them over to Judā'i to arrange. Judā'i is said to have published in his own name whatever he thought good and to have thrown the remainder into water. Mullā Tāriqī of Sāva (vide *infra* no. LXXIX) has written an epigram on this subject:—

اشکبې نا م—واد را کشت—ي عتل جېوان خون خفید اوست
بئروا مان—د چ—ار دې—وانش شعرا وا ماند! تر کفله اوست

“Thou hast slain the disappointed Aḥḥki, my mind is lost in wonderment at the concealment of thy crime. With thee remained four *divāns* of his and what remains of thy poems is his.” Vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans., Blochmann, i, 598, n. 3.

² Twelve, according to the *Ain-i-Akbari*. (Trans. Blochmann, i, 106).

³ The *Āidāḥkādā-i-Aḡari* and Taqī's *Taḡkirah* mention another Judā'i, of Sāva.

We are the merchants of love and these wounds are our
merchandise."

"I am a quarry half-slaughtered, fallen far from the street
of the Friend,
I stumble along on my way striving to see the face of the
Friend."

"I wished to describe my circumstances to that ill-natured
one,
She is ever in company with others, what shall I say to
her?"

XXXIII. Jazbi.¹

His name is Pādshāh Qulī, and he is the son of Shāh Qulī
Khān Nāranjī.² He has a poetic³ turn of mind. The following
verses are excerpts from his works:—

"Such sweetness has the Beauty which knows no beginning
conferred on the lovely,
That love reaches a stage at which it gladly relinquishes 212
life."

"See the extent of my jealousy. From love's madness I
come to myself
If any one perceives that my speech is of the beloved."

"Thou art the unrestrained hunter and I am the (wounded)
quarry
Which the hunter, from excess of cruelty, neglects to kill."

¹ Vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans. Blochmann, i, 480, 596.

² Abū-l-Faṣl says that Shāh Qulī was a Kurd from near Baghdād. He was
an old servant of Humāyūn. In the first year of Akbar's reign he served
under Khizr Khān in the Panjāb. He was much attached to Bairām. In
the eleventh year he was sent to Garha when Mahdī Qāsim Khān had,
without permission, left that province for Makkah. In the *Tabaqat-i-*
Akbari he is described as a commander of 1,000. Vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans.
Blochmann, i, 480.

³ The text has, incorrectly, بشر. Both MSS. have شعر which is correct.

"Thou art one who hast not experienced the delicious
 torment of the night of separation,
 Nor seen thyself shrinking from (the fierce delight of) the
 day of reunion.
 The thorn of reproach has not detained thy skirt,
 Thou hast not seen thyself with thy head drooping on thy
 breast like a bud.
 Never has thy love been constant,
 Thou hast not felt the sweet anguish of the beloved's
 neglect;
 With no one hast thou held discourse of love,
 Thou hast a heart which has nothing to regret."

"My heart, at the sight of another in the arms of the be-
 loved, is like the bird
 Which the school-boy, from fear of the master, suddenly
 releases."
 "Now that, after an age, my eye falls on the ravisher of my
 heart
 The veil of shame falls between us, so that I cannot see
 her face."

"I am not one to tell my tale to a messenger,
 Or to base pretensions on what a messenger may say."

"From one glance of thine in the assembly of me and my
 friends
 213 What quarrels had we not among ourselves?"

His father, *Shāh Qulī Khān*, composed ¹ the following quat-
 rain:—

¹ In the *Āin-i-Akbari* (trans. Blochmann, i, 596) this quatrain is ascribed
 to Jaybī himself.

" Sometimes I break my vow of repentance and sometimes
the wine-bottle,
Once, twice, incessantly I break my flute.
O Lord, deliver me from the evil promptings of my spirit !
How often shall I repent and again break my vow of
repentance ? "

Praised be God ! Even a clod has broken into flame.

One day after the return from the journey to Paṭṇa¹ Jazbi, Qāzī Shams-ud-din Qazvini, and some other poets, began to argue about a couplet of Ḥusain Ṣanā'ī's, viz. :—

" If, for example, thou sittest behind a mirror, a person
Standing before it sees his own image with the face
reversed." ²

When I drew near to them they asked me the meaning of the couplet which formed the subject of discussion. I replied, " Such is the state of things nowadays that it is impossible to draw any distinction between the poetry of one's friends and (the actions of) Tītāl." ³ Now this Tītāl, who lived in the days of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mirzā Darbari,⁴ was a wag⁵ and a linguist, a man of disguises,⁶ who used to go into social assemblies and into colleges clad in the turban, the clothes, and the trappings of a learned man and accompanied by a body of pupils. He would first introduce his theses and discuss them in a very orderly manner, thus making himself attractive to all present. He would next introduce sophistries confused with meaningless arguments, until even the most learned doctors were thrown into perplexity.

¹ In October, 1574. *Vide* vol. ii, text, pp. 179—184.

² *Vide* p. 288 and note (2). Contemporary poets seem to have been as much puzzled over this verse as I am.

³ تیتال usually signifies "deceit" or "flattery," but it is clear, from what follows, that the author is referring to a man so named, or nicknamed.

⁴ I do not understand this epithet. Sulṭān Ḥusain Mirzā was the king of Khurāsān, of the house of Tīmūr.

⁵ مردی مضحک. The text wrongly omits the word مردی, which appears in both MSS.

⁶ قالب "who or what turns, changes, or reverses."

XXXIV. JAMILI OF KĀLPĪ.

He is the son of Shaikh Jalāl, Wāsil, who was the deputy of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ,¹ and took great delight in the ecstatic songs and dances of *darvīshes*. Jamili, though he has very little of the ecstatic piety of his father, is yet not without a love of learning and poetic taste, although he has written some ridiculous² verses.

The following verses are extracted from his works:—

"Whenever I think on the rose of thy face,
Like the broken-hearted nightingale I utter lamentations.
If the joy of union with thee has never been my lot,
I can, at least, indulge my heart with grief for the want of
thee."

"Since her ringlets have led me into love's madness,
My distracted heart is bound in the bonds of that madness."

He has written an ode in praise of Qāsim 'Alī Khān, the corn-chandler, governor of Kālpī, in the course of which this couplet occurs:—

"To connect thee with the race of Khāns (nobles)
Is most revolting and most unfit."

This couplet also is attributed to him, but God knows whether correctly or not:—

"The mouse of my heart, which I nourished with blood
drawn from my liver,
Has been suddenly seized by the cat of love,
Pierced by her teeth, and carried off."³

His elder brother, Shaikh Faṣil, was a wonderful Arabic scholar, and has written some fine poetry in Arabic. The follow-

¹ Vide pp. 6—10.

² Or, perhaps, in a good sense, "comic" or "humorous."

³ This couplet, and that which precedes it, raise a doubt as to what the author meant by attributing بشعار مضحك to the poet. One of the couplets is witty and the other is ridiculous.

ing is the opening couplet of an ode which he wrote in answer to an ode by Mu'in-ud-din Tanjarāni :—

O beautiful of face, my face, from days of old, has declined,
My soul has descended to the pit and tears have followed
like running water.

One day he recited this couplet, and as both he and his respected brother have very sallow complexions I said, "In this opening couplet you have evidently addressed your younger brother." This quip was very well received. The opening couplet of the original ode, which was answered, is :—

"O thou of easy circumstances, sure thou hast thrown my
affairs into confusion,
Thou hast disturbed my heart by thine absence and it is
in a decline owing to its palpitation." ¹

And Shaikh Faḡl has written on Faḡl's commentary ² an 215 essay in Arabic, in prose and verse, which furnishes sufficient proof of his great learning. At the present time both brothers have set out from Lāhor for their native place. If, in the course of following the object which they have in view, which is a review of all the Imāms of India, they do not slay one another utterly, it will be a wonder.

XXXV. CISHTI.³

He is Shaikh Ḥusain the Ṣūfī, whose native place is Dihli, and as he is a disciple of Shaikh Salīm Cishti ⁴ he has chosen

¹ This is the opening couplet of a *qasidah* by Tanjarāni.

² Probably the *Sawd'ī'ul-ilhām* ('rays of inspiration'). As Faḡl has been careful, in this book, to use no words containing a dotted letter the work is probably more of interest as a feat of intellectual gymnastics than of value as a theological treatise. Vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans. Blochmann, i, 549.

³ The *Zubaght-i-Akbari* contains the following notice of Cishti :—
"Shaikh Cishti of Dihli, whose name was Ḥasan (probably a misreading for Ḥusain) was one of the disciples of Shaikh Salīm Cishti. He used to wear the garb of a Ṣūfī and passed his days in religious ecstasy.

⁴ Vide pp. 18—27. The text has "Shaikh Isām," but "Salīm" is correct.

this poetical name. He was one of the Šāfi members of the monastery at Fathpūr, otherwise known as Sikri. He has composed a *diwān* and is the author of several works, one of which is "The Book of the Heart and the Soul" written in verse, but in an Indian style, and since its purport is the same as that of the book "Beauty and the Heart," in which the master Mir 'Alī Shīr¹ has displayed his verbosity, it would be a pity to soil one's tongue with the mention of it.

Perhaps this opening couplet is the only one of several thousands of couplets written by Cighī which is worthy of mention :—

"Such love has Qais² for the peacock's feather
That it would seem that he believes its eye to be the foot-
print of Lailā's camel."

XXXVI. JA'FAR.³

He is a Sayyid of Hirāt and has good taste in poetry and in the composition of enigmas. He was the chief paymaster of Ataga Khān⁴ and has written an ode and composed an enigma dedicated to Mirza 'Aziz Kāka,⁵ containing a list of his titles and prayers for his long life and prosperity. The following few couplets are selected from his poems :—

¹ Amir 'Alī Shīr was the *vazīr* of Sultān Husain Mirzā, king of Khurāsān, of the house of Timūr (A.D. 1470—1505) and was the patron of the poet Jāmi. I have not seen a copy of his book, or of Cighī's, but from the way in which the author speaks of them they were probably books on Šāfi-ism.

² Qais, usually known by his epithet of Majnūn, "the distracted by love," was the lover of Lailā.

³ This poet is not mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* nor in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*.

⁴ Shams-ud-din Muḥammad Ataga ('foster-father') Khān was the foster-father of Akbar and was a commander of five thousand. He was murdered by Adham Khān, May 16, 1563. *Vide Ain-i-Akbari*, trans. Blochmann, i, 331.

⁵ Mirzā 'Aziz Kāka, Khān-i-A'zam, was the son of Ataga Khān and a commander of five thousand. *Vide Ain-i-Akbari*, trans. Blochmann, i, 335—338.

"Now that the comb has disturbed those musky locks¹
Ah, that the wind would bear this message to thine ear!"

"I would not that the dust, even of musk, should settle on 216
that cheek,
God forbid that dust should have a place near thy heart."

"The place of herbage in the garden is beneath the foot of
the rose,
In the garden of thy beauty² herbage has settled on the
rose."

XXXVII. JA'FAR BEG.³

He is well known as Āṣaf Khān the Qazvini, and is brother's son to Mīrzā Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn 'Alī 'Āṣaf Khān, the late paymaster-in-chief. He is himself now one of the chief paymasters. So

¹ Literally "that musky chain." The reference is to the chain hung in the court of an oriental sovereign which petitioners for justice could shake and thus arouse the king and bring their grievances to his notice.

² *حسنت*, as in both MSS. The text has *جنت* "paradise" which does not suit the meaning of the verse. The reference is to the down on the cheek of the beloved.

³ Ja'far Beg was Mīrzā Qivām-ud-dīn, son of Badi'-uz-Zamān of Qasvin, who had been *vazīr* of Kāshān during the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp and had presented his son at the Persian Court. He came to India in 1577 and was presented to Akbar by his uncle, Mīrzā Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn 'Alī Āṣaf Khān. After his uncle's death he was appointed commander of two thousand, and received the title of Āṣaf Khān. He was appointed successively Thānadār of Sawād (Swāt), governor of Kāghmir, *divān-i-kul*, *Subadār* of Bihār and commander of three thousand. On Jahāngir's accession he was appointed *atāliq* to Sulṭān Parvīs and, later, *Vakil* and commander of five thousand. He accompanied Parvīs to the Dekan as his *atāliq* and died there in A.H. 1021 (A.D. 1612) at the age of 68. He was a man of great genius, an able financier, a good accountant, a great horticulturist, and one of the best poets of his time. He was a free-thinker, and was one of the members of Akbar's "divine faith." *Vide Āin-i-Akbari*, trans. Blochmann, I, 209, 411—412, *et passim*, *Tisuk-i-Jahāngiri*, 108, 109 *et passim*, and the *Tuḥfat-i-Akbari*.

bitter is his resentment at having received no honour in the days in which his uncle was influential at court, that he continues to show it, and to attack his uncle even now that he is dead.¹ His poetic genius is greater than that of all his contemporaries, but is restricted by not being exercised, owing to his love of pleasure and ease and the great demands made upon his time by official business. He is also moderately fond of learning. Had he been a man of one occupation he would have enchanted the hearts of many of the poverty-stricken people of this time, which would probably have been worth to him forty *tūmāns* in cash.² (Whenever he made any considerable sum of money by his poetry he would squander it.)³

The following few couplets are some of his :—

"My lives are cast to-day in the ways of injustice
For wherever the beloved sets her footheads full."

"If, like the moth, I fly distractedly around thy candle,
O obstinate one!
My presumptuous flight will at length land me in death."

"The roses of all are despoiled by the autumn,
But in my case both the rose-tree and the rose-garden are
gone."

217 "Thine affair, O Ja'far! is fallen into the fire,
Two hundred songsters are here not worth one sala-
mander."

"At length the day of resurrection has come for the
reckoning of my sin.
O, tear up the record of the sins of the people."

¹ Lit. "He fights and quarrels even with his spirit."

² Then equivalent to £120.

³ The passage in brackets is not in the text, but has been supplied from the MSS.

"What plain was this and what hunter that always brought
down the game?
No quarry appeared in view, but received an arrow from
him."

"I must write a letter concerning my grief to her who
possesses my heart;
The grief of my heart is great, I must write to my love
concerning it."

"If Thou art pleased with Ja'far, with the faith which he
holds and his heart,
I am deputed by him to say that he freely gives Thee this
faith and heart."

"Behold my magnanimity! A hundred leaves of the book
of hope
Have I torn into a hundred pieces and washed them with
tears of blood!"

"A rose has now bloomed in the garden afresh,
For last night the nightingale slept not till the morning."

"Since the city was too small to contain the griefs of my
heart
The open plain was created for my heart."

"All thy complaints are over, as mine begin.
For the whole of my complaint is that I do not hear the
voice of thy complaint."

"Come into her heart, O pity, and let not my grief be in
vain!
For I am deeply afflicted while she is occupied with
cruelty."

"Ja'far found the way to the street of his love,
Now he will hardly rise to his feet again."

"She came and distracted me, and remained not for so long
That I could make my heart acquainted with consolation."

XXXVIII. HĀIDARĪ OF TABRIZ.¹

He has performed the pilgrimage to Makkah. He was the pupil of Lisāni, and has written, in reply to the book *Sahw-ul-*

¹ In the *Tubaqāt-i-Akbari* it is said that Haidari came three times from 'Irāq to India and, having profited much by the generosity of Akbar's Court, finally returned to 'Irāq. The following is the substance of Mr. Blochmann's note regarding him, on p. 603, of his translation of vol. i, of the *Āin-i-Akbari* :—

Haidari was three times in India. The first time he came he was young, and found a patron in Muhammad Qāsim Khān of Nishāpūr. His company was more agreeable than his poems. The *Magnavī* which he wrote in imitation of Sa'di's *Būstān* is insipid, and remained unknown. Though he made money in India he wrote a satirical quatrain on the country, the purport of which is that in a country in which two men can feast for a rupee the worth of the men is not difficult to guess. On his second return to India he found a patron in Mirzā 'Aziz Kūka, Khān-i-A'zam, who gave him two thousand rupees for an ode. Shams-ud-din Muhammad, Ataga Khān, introduced him at Court. For an ode on the elephant Akbar presented him with two thousand rupees and a horse. The third time he came to India he attached himself to Mirzā 'Abdur-Rahīm, Khānkhānān, whom he accompanied on his expedition to Gujarāt, and received liberal presents for an ode on the victory of Sarkic. He returned to Kāshān, the governor of which town, Agha Khizr Nahāvandi, befriended him. As Tabriz had just been destroyed by the Turks of Rum he settled in 'Irāq, at a place called in the MSS. نهر which for its excellent climate and fruits had no equal in 'Irāq or Khurāsān. At about that time Shāh 'Abbās came to that place on a hawking expedition and, having been treated with discourtesy by a *darrīsh*, ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants, which was happily prevented by Haidari's influence. Haidari died at this place, beloved by all, in A.H. 1002 (A.D. 1593-94). His son Sāmīrī came to India after his father's death, and was made by the Khānkhānān Mir Sāmān of his household. He was also a good officer, and was killed during the wars in the Dakan, when with Shāhnavāz Khān, the son of his patron.

Lisān ('a slip of the tongue') by his fellow-pupil *Sharif* of Tabriz, the *Lisān-ul-Ghaib* ('a voice from heaven') in praise of *Lisāni*. He was for some time in India and then left and returned, and again went away in such sort that he cannot return again. I have seen his *dirān*, containing about 14,000 couplets, but with very little good stuff¹ among all these. In an ode describing the imperial elephants he has written:—

"They were not mounds of driven sand—
His elephants, for they are in battle array;
And, for the purpose of engulfing his foes
They are, on every side, the billows of the ocean of calamity."

As meed for this ode the emperor ordered that a horse and a money reward should be given to him, but the treasurer delayed in carrying out the order, and Haidari wrote this fragment:—

"I have a difficulty, O King! I wish to present to thee a petition.
My difficulty imprints on my heart a hundred brands of regret.
Thou didst command silver and gold to be given to me,
but from thy treasurer
It is hard to get, and yet harder not to get."²

Some of his verses:—

"No trust is to be placed in the love³ of the moon-faced beauties of this world
A ray of the sun settles not long on one place."

"I burn ever with an inward fire, such it is.
I am contemned everywhere, such is my miserable lot."

¹ تمایش I have translated literally.

² From the note on the preceding page it would seem that Haidari at last received his reward.

³ This is a play upon words. The word مهر here used, means also "sun."

A fragment.

"Haidari! Strive, like the virtuous, to the utmost
To attain to some perfection in this world of sorrow;
For to go from this world deficient in anything
Is as though one were to leave the bath unclean."

XXXIX. HUZNI.¹

He was one of the learned men of 'Irāq. During the disturbances at Hirāt he left that perilous place to journey towards India, but before he reached his goal he set forth for the desert of non-existence. The following verses are his:—

"Laughter comes upon me when I think on the simplicity
of Huzni,
For he loves, and expects fidelity from his beloved.
The loved one, in her ignorance, rendered fruitless my
efforts on his behalf;
And the strange thing is that he is all the more indebted
to me."

"I throw my *darrigh*'s robe on the fire that thou mayest
smell the odour of faith
From the patched garment, every thread of which is a
fire-worshipper's sacred thread."

XL. HAYĀT OF GILĀN.²

He was a sympathetic friend, and excelled in all descriptions of poetry. He entered the imperial service on the recommenda-

¹ Thus described in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*—"Mir Huzni was one of the learned men of his time. He was travelling from 'Irāq to pay his respects to the emperor, when he died." In the *Am-i-Akbari* (trans. Blochmann, i, 565) he is thus described, "He was an inquiring man of a philosophical turn of mind, and well acquainted with ancient poetry and chronology. He was free and easy and good hearted. Friendliness was stamped on his forehead. He is said to have been born in Junābud, and to have been a merchant. He was the pupil of Qāsim-i-Kābi. (See no. II.)

² ز نادانی بر او کرد همدم کار من ضایع. The line as it stands does not scan. We should probably read *کرد* for *کردست*.

³ Thus described in the *Am-i-Akbari* (i, 571). "A stream from the ocean

tion of Ḥakim Abū-'l-Faṭḥ and grew up in that service. He has written a *dirāʾ* and is well acquainted with the poetry of the ancients. Although he is entirely destitute of actual learning he is strenuous and has a sound understanding and a well-balanced mind.

The following verses are his :—

“ Watch thyself well in every word that thou utterest, 220
Repent of a speech which gladdens no heart.
What need hast thou of the wing of a bird ? If the men
of this age are employed in light talk
Borrow the foot of the ant, and flee.”

“ God doth not accustom my tongue to the uttering of complaints.
May He not associate me with complaints, especially of thee.”

Quatrain.

“ Ever hast thou treated me with harshness,—thou art excused.
Thou hast heard but the name of faithfulness,—thou art excused :
Thou sayest, ‘ I am falsely accused of harshness ’.
Thou hast not tried thyself,—thou art excused.”

Quatrain

“ So long as thou art employed in the nurture of vain desires
Thine axe shall strike no stump but thine own foot.

of thought passes by his house, correctness and equity are visible on his forehead. Serenity and truth are in him united; he is free from the bad qualities of poets.” He is said to have been born at Rasht in Gilan and to have belonged to the common people of that place. To better his circumstances he went to India, was introduced by Ḥakim Abū-'l-Faṭḥ Gilānī (see c iii, no. VIII) at court, got a *jāgīr*, and was liked by Akbar. He joined the *Khānkhānān* in the wars in the Dakan and lived chiefly at Burhānpūr, where he built a villa and a *mausol* called after him. He was alive in A.D. 1615.

No enemy works thee such mischief as thou workest thyself,
Thy blood is on the head of thine own imagining."

"We have associated with unbelievers
But found among them no waist worthy of the sacred thread." ¹

An ode.

221 "I desire a house of mourning that I may shut its door on myself
But my resolution has peopled it, and now I desire some desert spot.
The world is disturbed by stories of "to-morrow" and "yesterday,"
I desire some tale of the speech of my own grief.
From the fields of this world, the harvest of ox and ass.
I desire no harvest nor ear of corn nor even a grain.
I am content whether I be killed by the sword of the warrior of Islām or the arrow of the unbeliever,
I thirst for my own blood and all I require is a cup.
Ḥayātī, sit not before me, prevent not my ravings,
I am a lover and thou art wise, a demented companion is what I require."

XLI. ḤAYĀ'Ī.

He was in Gujarāt with Mirzā Nizām-ud-din Aḥmad.² The following verses are by him :—

"The message of the loved one re-opens the wound in my liver,
And renews the grief of farewells and the pain of the journey."

¹ ذُرِّيَّةُ; the sacred thread worn by Hindūs of the higher castes and by fire-worshippers.

² The author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Aḥbari*, in which work Ḥayā'ī is not mentioned.

Quatrain.

"The lover pressed his cheek against thy door and went,
He displayed that love which he had for thee and went
One night, having obtained admission to the assembly
and union with thee by a thousand stratagems,
The moth opened his eyes to the candle, and went."

XLII. HĀLATĪ.¹

His name was Yādgār, and he claimed descent from the late Sulṭān Sanjar,² though in the *Tārīkh-i-Nizāmī* ³ Mirzā Aḥmad says that he was a Caḡatāi. He was known for his sincerity and orthodoxy. He wrote a *divān*. The following verses are his:—

"From weeping there remains not in my liver so much **222**
moisture

That the bird of thine arrow could wet his bill therein."

—
"Would that I could be the string of thy shift
So that thou and I might be enclosed in one garment." ⁴

—
"That line of dark musk on the page of thy cheek
Is a new revelation from on high."

—
"I constantly come behind the rival and cover his eyes in
sport,
That he may have no share in the joy of beholding my
beloved."

—
"The dark mole is placed by the corner of thine eye
Like a hunter sitting in ambush for his prey."

¹ Hālatī is thus briefly described in the *Āin-i-Akbari* (trans. Blochmann, i. 595), "His name is Yādgār. He is a selfish man." In the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari* he is described as a soldier by profession.

² The fifth son of Fir Muḥammad Mirzā, grandson of Amir Timūr.

³ This is the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari* by Mirzā Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad.

⁴ Cf. Tennyson's "The Miller's Daughter."

*"Again am I weeping for the beauty of that rose,
To-day have I seen the rose, for I have again become the
nightingale."*

*"Thy ravishing lip has suffered much from fever spots,
Alas that thy rose-petal has been damaged by hail."*

Bālātī's father had the poetical name of Wālihi. This opening couplet is by him:—

*"The moon of the 'Id has shown her eyebrow, and gladden-
ed my heart,
Thanks be to God, who has freed me from this thirty
days' grief."*¹

His son, although he had the poetical name of Baqā'i, changed it to Rusvā'i ('the blackguard') on account of his unprofitableness. He met an early death, for having, by instructions from his mother, given his unfortunate father poison, for some fault that he had committed. He was sent, by the emperor's order, from Kaṣhmīr to Lāhor, where the *Kotwāl* executed him. He had some poetic genius, and wrote the following couplet:—

223 *"While thy death-dealing glance is the despoiler of life
Death looks on from afar with regret."*

XLIII. THE KHĀN-I-A'ẒAM.²

He is Ataga Khān who, when the imperial army was defeated at Jausā,³ at the time when the king who had obtained forgive-

¹ The thirty days' fast of Ramazān, which comes to an end on the appearance of the new moon of Shawwāl, which ushers in the 'Id-ul-Fitr.

² Shams-ud-din Muḥammad Khān entered the service of Kāmrūn Mīrā as a common soldier. For the service rendered in saving his life Humāyūn attached him to his service and subsequently, at Amarkot, appointed his wife wet-nurse (*anaga*) to the child Akbar, conferring on her the title of *Ji Ji anaga*. Shams-ud-din remained with the young prince while Humāyūn was in Persia, and received, after the emperor's restoration, the title of Ataga ('foster-father') Khān. After Akbar's accession Ataga Khān was sent to Kābul to bring to India the empress-mother and the other *Begams*.

³ A village on the banks of the Ganges, where Humāyūn was defeated

ness,¹ the emperor Humāyūn, fell, like a crocodile, into the river Ganges, and the sun of dignity² nearly disappeared for ever in that boundless waste of waters, seized his hand and brought him from that whirlpool of calamity and from the deep waters of destruction to the shore of safety and security. This service led to his very great advancement.

Although his dignity is too great for him to be described as a poet or one given to poetry, still, as he had poetic genius the following verses by him are quoted :—

“My little tear, set not thy foot forth from the house of my eye.

For well-born children³ leave the house but seldom.”

“If the full moon in her glory should boast o’er the sun of thy face

She will at last sink down from the turquoise sky inverted.”

by Shēr Shāh. Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, pp. 459 and n. 4 and 462 and n. 3. Badi’i is, however, mistaken here in saying that Ataga Khān’s service was rendered at the battle of Jausā. Humāyūn was saved after that battle by a water-carrier named, according to Firāhī, Nizām, who is said by the same authority to have been allowed, as a reward, to occupy the throne for half a day. Ataga Khān saved Humāyūn after the battle of Qanauj. “The King rode off with the intention of going to the high ground. This action of his in itself afforded an excuse to his men to flee, and a serious defeat ensued. Moreover, the king, while crossing the river Ganges, became separated from his horse, and, by the help of Shams-ud-din Muḥammad of Ghazni (who eventually became the foster-father of the prince’s most excellent majesty, and was honoured in Hindustān with the title of A’zam Khān), escaped from the water and returned to Agra.” Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 464. Nizām-ud-din Ahmad, in the *Tabaqāt* says, “He had the title of Khān-i-A’zam, and was the foster-father of his majesty. He attained to the grade of an *Amīn* and *Fakīl* of the empire and tasted the cup of martyrdom at the hands of Adham Khān.” (May 16 1562.)

¹ That is to say, deceased.

² سان MS. (B) has شان and if this reading be accepted the translation will be, “his sun nearly disappeared,” etc.

³ مردم زادها an obvious reference to مردمک چشم ‘the pupil of the eye’

The following quatrain is by his son, Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān¹:—

“Those who walk self-satisfied in the street of desire are of
one sort,
The paupers of the valley of love of another.
Those who seek aught but the pleasure of the beloved
Differ widely from those who grieve with love.”

XLIV. KHANJAR BEG.²

He is one of the Caghatāi nobles and is related to Tardi Beg Khān,³ who has been already mentioned. He has written a
224 *magnavi* of three hundred couplets on his own condition and containing also the praise of the emperor. He is a versatile man, unequalled in the art of war, in calligraphy, in poetry, in the composition of enigmas, in general knowledge, in the use of the astrolabe, in astronomy, and in handling figures. He is also the author of several works, and he has enumerated his own excellences in the *magnavi* already mentioned. In the art of music he collected information regarding the systems of the Persians and

¹ MS. (A) styles him, wrongly, Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān. He was the eldest son of Ataqi Khān and distinguished himself, when twelve years old, in the fight with Bairām Khān, and was made a Khān. When his father had been killed by Adham Khān Akbar took care of him and his younger brother, ‘Aziz Kūka. He distinguished himself during the several rebellions of the Khān Zamān. He died, of excessive drinking, in 1565-66, at the age of eighteen.

² Thus described in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*:—“He is one of the old Caghatāi amirs of this dynasty. He was an accomplished man and excelled specially in music. He had poetic genius and wrote a well-known *magnavi* on dancing girls.

³ A noble of Humāyūn's court, who was faithless to his master but was forgiven after Humāyūn's return from Persia. During the conquest of India Tardi Beg Khān distinguished himself and received Mewāt in *jāgir*. On Humāyūn's death he read the *Khutbah* in Akbar's name and sent the crown jewels to him in the Panjāb. He was appointed by Akbar a commander of five thousand and governor of Dihli. On Hemū's approach he evacuated Dihli after some unsuccessful fighting and on this account was put to death by Bairām Khān in 1556.

the Indians and particularly regarding the six modes¹ of Hindū music, an undertaking which is impossible except to wealthy men of high rank and exalted position; and, indeed, there is now no trace of that information left in the land.

He had no equal in his time. These few couplets, written for the edification and instruction of the emperor, are excerpted from the *magnavī* already mentioned:—

“O King! The world is a wonderful place,
 Every moment it presents some fresh spectacle.
 The revolving sky, like a deceitful juggler,
 Begins every moment some new prank.
 From times of old there have been in the world
 Crowned kings, with armies and suites.
 Of those old heroes, with all their desires and ambitions,
 There remain time-worn histories, naught else.
 Had the prophets seen any hope of permanence in the world
 Why should they have fled from it?
 O King! the works of this world are all envy,
 Thus is it now, and was in the past, and ever will be:
 Among all these complicated affairs
 One's first object should be to acquire a good name, the rest
 is naught.
 The object of this long harangue of mine is to say
 What thou should'st do now that thy turn for sovereignty
 has arrived.
 In this age, in which the world is adorned by thy presence,
 May God be thy protector from harm!
 If the *humā*² has flown from this rose-garden
 Cast thou thy shadow on our heads.
 Since my words are without guile
 It is meet that I should offer thee counsel.

¹ رجا. The modes are *Bhairav*, *Mālav*, *Sārang*, *Hindol*, *Vasant*, *Dīpak*, and *Megh*.

² هُمَا. A fabulous bird, supposed to fly constantly in the air without touching the ground, and looked upon as a bird of happy omen, prognosticating a crown to every one whom it overshadows.

Since I strive only for thy welfare,
 Why should I conceal from thee the words of truth ?
 To all words, whether uttered by this one or that one,¹
 Give ear, if they touch the root of the matter.
 It behoves a king, both in season and out of season,
 To take heed to himself and to consider both the people
 and God.

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The poor man's error leads only to the loss of his bread,
 The king's error is a calamity to the world.
 The beggar takes heed only for his gullet and his patched
 robe.

In the king's heart there must be thought for the people.
 Kingship is best exercised according to law,
 As the king's order is authenticated by his great seal.
 Since it is thy turn to exercise sovereignty,
 It is necessary for thee to exercise caution and prudence.
 Thou art as the candle, thy kingdom as the house,
 And thy people are around thee like moths.
 The mote in the sunbeam is not seen if the sun shines not,
 And where there is no candle there is no moth.
 That is to say, the livelihood of all is from thee,
 Thou art the shepherd, and thy people are the flock.
 The flock has come to thy pasture ;
 How canst thou leave the flock to wander unrestrained ?
 God has appointed thee their guardian,
 The shepherd's dignity belongs to His prophets ;
 Neglect not then the practice of the prophets.
 But take heed to thyself and also to mankind.
 A happy life is a jewel. See that thou value it properly,
 And count as gain both wealth and dominion.
 Thou art a king with a prophet's attributes,
 Thou art in the world for a great work.
 Justice and equity, generosity, knowledge, liberality,
 Favour and grace, humanity kindness, and faithfulness.

¹ زید یا امر 'Zaid' or 'Amr,' proper names used by way of generalization.

All these thou hast by the grace of God,
 What shall I do if thou ignore thine own worth?
 Thou ridest, laughing light-heartedly, on thy fierce elephant,
 But the people lining the walls to see thee pass are weeping.
 Thou layest thy hand on the tusk of the elephant,
 But thy people take the finger of anxiety between their teeth:
 Thou layest thy hand on the elephant's trunk,
 But our sleeves are shaken free of the world.
 Thou boldly facest the raging tiger,
 While men flee on every side in terror:
 Take thou thy pleasure in the fighting of leopards
 While we in fear tear our faces with our hands and our nails:
 Thou withstandest unmoved the attack of the wolf,
 While all, both great and small, wonder at thee from afar:
 Thou seizest by its neck the snake that has, like the dragon, an arrow for its tongue,
 While the people of the world are writhing in dread:
 Thou art swimming in a boundless ocean,
 While we, washing our hands of life, stand trembling on its brink.
 Thou enterest the forest intent on the chase, 226
 The people stand at its margin in fear and anxiety.
 In one dark night thou travellest a month's journey,
 While men struggle after thee sighing for the light of a torch:
 Thou wanderest almost naked in the cold,
 While the people are shivering under their wrappings:
 Thou runnest, heavily clad, in the heat,
 While the people bathed in sweat, take shelter under a tree:
 Thou pressest onward in every direction on foot,
 While we on our horses are fainting with weariness:
 Thou facest the warlike foe on the field of battle,
 While the army looks on from every side.

What favour is this, and what sympathy,
 That thou hast towards us and towards thyself ?
 This valour of thine is beyond conception,
 This bravery is ever fresh in thee.
 Although these things are doubtless a merit,
 They are, nevertheless, a defect in a king
 While the king remains far removed from hurt,
 The people of his land are in safety :
 If a king never spares himself,
 The whole world is thrown into confusion. [presence ;
 We desire the world and our lives to be blessed with thy
 Without thee what are the world and our lives to us ?
Khaujar, beware of prolixity,
 And weary not the king's heart :
 This speech of thine has wandered from the point,
 And the king has no need of it :
 Since he is accepted before God
 His wealth consists in devotion to business.
 His very sleep is perfect wakefulness
 Even when he wanders, it is perfect wisdom.
 The right is with him who does his duty
 And thus becomes independent of all labour."

When he recited this *magna* he was honoured with various favours. He has also composed a *divān*, which is well known. The following verses are by him :—

"How often in her street shall my heart secretly heave sighs,
 And afterwards how often shall I lament that my life is
 leaving me ?"

"The waters have passed over my head, and my life has gone
 on the breeze ;

227 My body has become dust ; yet still the fire of my heart
 breaks into flame."

At the time when the Khānzamān and Bahādur raised their
 heads as high as the star Capella in turbulence and rebellion¹

¹ 'Ali Quli Khān received the title of Khānsamān after defeating and

Khanjar Beg was confederate with them, and fled into Bengal, and he has probably disappeared in consequence of those disorders.

XLV. KHUSRAVI.¹

He is sister's son to Mirzā Qāsim of Junābid.² He came to India after performing the pilgrimage to the Hijāz, and he is in the service of the emperor's eldest son.³ He is worthy of mention. The following verses are by him:—

“The heart of Khusravi is so inflamed with the light of love
That candles to light his tomb may be made of his bones.”

capturing Hemū at Pānīpat. Bahādur was his younger brother. The Khān-i-Zamān rendered most important services by clearing the eastern districts of Afghāna, and amassed great wealth from his spoils. He was constantly in rebellion. He first fell into disgrace owing to a scandalous affair with Shāham Beg, who had been page to Humāyūn, and was deprived of his *maḥalls*. He then rebelled, and having defeated the Afghāns under Shēr Khān, the son of ‘Adli, in Jaunpūr, retained the spoil for himself. At the end of the sixth year of his reign Akbar moved against him in person, but the Khānzamān submitted, and was pardoned, and his *maḥalls* in Jaunpūr were restored to him. In the tenth year he again rebelled, but was induced by Mun‘im Khān to submit. Late in the year 1566, when Akbar marched against Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, the Khānzamān rebelled again, read the Kuṭbah at Jaunpūr in the name of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, and marched against Qannauj.⁴ In 1567 Akbar resolved no longer to pardon the Khānzamān, left the Panjāb, returned to Agra, and marched thence against the rebel. The Khānzamān fled from Qannauj to Mānikpur where his brother Bahādur was. The rebels were finally defeated by Akbar at Fatlpūr about 10 or 12 miles S.E. of Kara, on the Ganges, on June 9, 1567. Bahādur was captured and executed and the Khānzamān was decapitated by a soldier, his head being brought to Akbar. It was probably after this battle that Khanjar Beg fled to Bengal.

¹ Called in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (trans. Blochmann, i, 591) Khusravi of Qāin, a town between Yazd and Hirāt. Dāghistāni calls him Sayyid Amir Khusravi and says that he excelled in music. According to the *Tahqiq-i Akbari* he was sister's son to Mirzā Qāsim of *Ruknābid* (probably a misreading) and entered the emperor's service, in which he was honoured by the imperial bounty.

² Otherwise Junābud and Gunābid.

³ Sultan Salīm, afterwards the emperor Jahāngir.

"The lions of the temple of Makkah will not pollute their
claws with my blood,
Do thou, my companion, regale with this morsel the dogs
of the monastery."¹

XLVI. MİR DAURİ.²

His name is Sultān Bāyazid, and his title *Kātib-ul-Mulk* ('scribe of the kingdom'). It is probable that nobody in Hindūstān has written the *nasta'liq* hand better than he, and he has reasonably good taste in poetry. At the end of his life he obtained grace to perform the pilgrimage of Islām. The following verses are by him:—

"At times thou art in my very soul, and at times in my
afflicted heart,
Such is thy levity that thou canst not remain in one
place."

An ode.

228 "Had I not been pampered by union with thee,
I had never suffered so much now from parting with thee.³
The bird of my heart is burnt like a moth. Ah me!
Would that I had never fluttered around that candle which
illuminates the night.
Had I not brought blood to my eyes with the arrow of her
eyelashes,
I had never become a mark for her heart-piercing arrow."

A quatrain.

"Since my love has departed from my sight,
My heart's blood flows from my afflicted eyes.

¹ i.e. "Since Islām will have none of me hand me over to the Christians or the Zoroastrians."

² Called in the *Āin-i-Akbari* (trans. Blochmann, i, 103), where he is mentioned only as a calligraphist, Maulānā Dauri. In the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari* he is thus described, "Mīr Dauri, a calligraphist to whom the emperor gave the title of *Kātib-ul-Mulk*. He is the author of a *divān*." He was born at Hīrāt.

³ Cf. 'As fond Kiss' by Burns.

She has gone from my sight but not gone from my heart.
 Nay, surely this cannot be,
 For that which goes from the sight goes from the heart."

One of the Mir's pupils in calligraphy, who was also one of the writer's companions, was Khwāja Ibrāhīm Ḥusain the *Āḥadī*¹ (may God have mercy on him!), who was a well-born man of the city of Balūt,² and closely related to Shaikh 'Abd-ur Raḥmān the Balūṭī of Lāhor, who was, in his time, famed throughout the world as a religious leader and a follower of the saints. Khwāja Ibrāhīm Ḥusain in the flower of his youth left this world of deceit for the abode of joy, to the infinite regret of his friends; and the writer suffered in one year, and within the space of a few days, the grief of losing him and the grief of losing Mirzā Nizām-nd-dīf Aḥmad,³ and these griefs renewed my regret for the loss of my old friends—a regret which grows stronger every day.

¹ The *Āḥadis* were a corps of picked men corresponding to the 'Gentlemen of the Lifeguards' in the days of Charles II and James VII. Most of the clerks in the imperial offices and the foremen in Akbar's workshops belonged to this corps. According to Abū-l-Faṣl they were called *Āḥadis* because they were fit 'for a harmonious unity,' whatever meaning was attached by Akbar's phrase-maker to that cryptic utterance. They provided their own horses and were thus what we call *silahdārs*, and men were frequently selected for command from this corps *d'élite*. Vide *Āḥad-i-Akbari*, trans. Blochmann, i, *passim*. Akbar was so prejudiced against the Arabic language, as being the sacred tongue of Islām, that he condescended to tamper with the spelling of words, excluding letters that were peculiar to Arabic. اهدى thus became اهدى in official records.

² In north-western Afghānistān.

³ The author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari* and intimate friend of the author. Badāonī (vol. ii, text 397) says, "He passed away from this faithless world at the age of 45 of a hectic fever, and carried nothing with him but a good name. Many of his friends and companions who had had experience of his courtesy, entertained great hopes of him, but none more than this worthless one, closely bound to him by a community of faith and friendship, entirely disinterested so far as worldly matters were concerned. We shed tears of grief and beat our breasts with the stone of despair, but saw at length no remedy but patience and resignation, which are the quality of the holy and the practice of the pious. Regarding this calamity as the greatest of misfortunes and disasters, I took it greatly to heart, and henceforth let my heart

Alas, I see no remedy for my pain!

I had some hope of union:—that is gone

All my concerns are languishing, because

I see that the promise of my friends is unfulfilled.

Alas! Misfortunes have crowded so thickly upon me that I have scarcely the strength left to bewail them. But what cause is there for bewailing, since we are all beneath one dome and have but to pass behind the veil to meet once more?

The following chronogram was composed on Khwāja Ibrāhīm Husain's death:—

229 "In accordance with the command of the Ruler of the universe,

In the month of Šafar, Khwāja Ibrāhīm Husain

Journeyed from this world of wickedness and dishonour,

And the date of his death was found in the words,

'Khwāja Ibrāhīm Husain.'"¹

XLVII. DAKHLI.²

He has recently come from 'Irāq and has been appointed an go out no more in friendship to any person, resigning myself to the corner of obscurity."

¹ The sum of the letters is:—600+6+1+3+5+1+2+200+1+5+10+40+8+60+10+50=897 (A. D. 1589).

² In the *Āin-i-Akbari* (trans. Blochmann, i, 608) Dakhlī 'of Iṣfahān' is thus described, "He is a man without selfishness and of a reserved character. Though he says but little he is a man of worth." Mr. Blochmann discovered the following facts about Dakhlī. His name was Malik Ahmad, and he was the son of Malik-ul-Mulūk Maṣūd 'Alī, proprietor of Verkopāi, twelve *farsakhs* from Iṣfahān. His mother's father was the great Shaikh Abū-l-Qāsim, who had such influence with Ṭahmāsp that several legacies in Persia belonging to Makkah were transferred to him, and of other foundations he was appointed *Mutawallī*. He thus grew rich, and obtained so great a following that people persuaded Ṭahmāsp that he was bent on rebellion or heresy. He was therefore blinded, and afterwards lived a retired life. He addressed to Ṭahmāsp a poem which procured him a pension. In his retirement Dakhlī was employed to arrange his poems and thus acquired a taste for poetry, and received from his grandfather the *taḥḍīs* of Dakhlī. After attending on his maternal uncle for some time Dakhlī went to Iṣfahān, where

Aḥadī,¹ and before he attained this dignity he wrote the following quatrain on *Sharif-i-Sarmadī*? the roster-keeper, inspector of the *Aḥads*, who has an enormous moustache:—

“This simpleton will at length become an *Aḥadī*,
And will be asking for the felt cap²
In the depth of his perplexity he will, a hundred times a
day,
Become a sacrifice for Sarmadī's moustache.”

XLVIII. DĀNIH.³

Dānih is a village in the district of Nishāpūr,⁴ where he passed a life of humble contentment in tilling the soil. Suddenly the seed of wandering was sown in his heart and he conceived a desire to visit India and gained no advantage from his husbandry. He has written most of his poetry in his own rustic dialect, but has also composed many odes in more polished language. He gave up the use of his own rustic dialect when he found that it could not be understood by the generality of people. One day a poet with the *takhalluṣ* of Ulfatī was playing polo, when his stick flew from his hand and struck him on the nose. Dānihi wrote the following epigram on the circumstance:—

“So much bad verse did Ulfatī recite
That all the libertines were delighted with him.
His polo stick by ill chance broke
The bridge of his nose instead of his teeth.”⁵

They say that Qilij Khān⁷ was the subject of this epigram. 230

he acquired some reputation as a poet. He came to India in A.D. 1689 and was for five years in Akbar's service. In 1694-95 he went to the Dakan and found a patron in the Khān Khānān, in whose service he was in 1616. He was a good soldier.

¹ Vide p. 317, n. 1.

² Vide no. LXII.

³ Worn by the *Aḥadis*.

⁴ Dānihi is not mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbarī* nor in the *Tabaqat-i-Akbarī*.

⁵ Or Nishābūr, the well-known town in Khurāsān.

⁶ i.e., that he might recite no more poetry.

⁷ Vide no. XV.

XLIX. DAVĀ'Ī.

He is Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk.¹ He traces his descent on the mother's side to that most learned man Maulānā Jalāl-ud-dīn Davvānī.² He is distinguished by his gracious manners and excellent qualities, and in the treatment of ophthalmia his equal has not been seen. Occasionally he occupies himself by writing poetry, and the following are some of his verses :—

An ode.

"It is not only hail that rains down from the cloud of grief
on me in my misery.
But stones that rain down upon me in the form of calamities.
So violent towards lovers is that capricious and cruel
charmer,
That even in the course of familiarity warfare gleams in
her eye.
Davā'ī, it is infidelity to despair at the door of her favour,
For rain from the cloud of her generosity covers leagues."

"Each night my lamentations, sighs, and weeping reach the
sky.
O Lord! What shall one whose days are as dark as mine
do with such nights as these?"

An ode.

"No waste spot is to be seen which cannot be peopled.
The incurable pain of love is that here no plans avail.
In the night of her dark locks the sleep of death fell upon
me,
A wonderful and confused dream not to be interpreted.
Ah, what a glance was that to slay a lover, and where is
the stage on the journey of love
In which is to be found a breast unpierced by an arrow?"

¹ Vide c. iii, no. IV.

² A renowned logician, known as Muḥaqqiq-i-Davvānī.

"Each one who has tasted a drop of the wine of love
Has become more wearied than before, and broken both **231**
cup and wine-jar." ———

"Awake, my heart, for the beloved is enraged,
And life has become hard for lovers.
For lovers, on the way of devotion,
Every step is a hundred thousand leagues.
The spacious arsenal of love
Is all too narrow for the army of my affection.
The arm of my ambition is long enough,
But what shall I do? For my good fortune is lame.
Davā'i beware, for in the street of the beloved
Strife is hot and love is in disguise." ———

"Bright are those eyes which know how to see,
Happy is that heart which knows how to palpitate.
How shall the torment of this narrow cage
Be endured by the bird of my soul, which has learnt how
to soar?
Never remains in the corner of my eye
That little tear which has learnt how to run down my
cheek.
There is not to be found elsewhere in a house
A wild creature which has learnt how to flee.
Davā'i no longer has any desire for heaven,
Since he has learnt how to pluck the rose of thy garden." ———

"On the day of separation, which is the moment when (the
heart) burns,
The soul's employ is to fan the flame.
In the night of separation, when hope of life must be **232**
foregone,
The heart's employ is to heap up pain and grief.
Ah separation, such a calamity art thou that ever
Hell is in flames for fear of thee!

From the two magicians, coquetry and blandishment,
The drunkard may learn quarrelsomeness.
Davā'i, the longing for association with the fair,
Is an attempt to unite flame and cotton."

L. RAFI'I.¹

He is Mir Haidar of Kāshān, the composer of enigmas. His understanding is excellent and he has correct taste. He is unrivalled in the art of composing enigmas and chronograms,²—

¹ Mr. Blochmann in note 3 on p. 593 of his translation of the *Āin-i-Akbari* says, "His full name, according to Taqi-i-Anḥadī is Amir Rafi'-ud-din Haidar. He was a Ṭabāṭabā Sayyid of Kāshān. The *Ma'āḡir-i-Rāḥimī* states that he left Persia in 999 (A.D. 1590-91) on account of some wrong which he had suffered from the King of Persia, went from Gujarāt in company with Khwāja Habibullāh to Lāhōr, and was well received by Akbar." After a stay of a few years in India he returned to his country and in the shipwreck mentioned below lost property to the value of two lakhs of rupees. Rafi'i was saved and returned to India, where his losses created much sympathy, and he received, at Akbar's wish, valuable presents from the Amirs. After some time he again returned to his country, his two sojourns in India having lasted about eight lunar years. He went to Makkah and Madinah, where he stayed four years. In A.D. 1604 he returned to Kāshān, found favour with Shāh 'Abbās, and received some rent-free lands in his native town. According to the *Atashkade-i-Azari* he died in A.H. 1082 (A.D. 1622-23). He had a son, Mir Hishām-i-Sanjār, mentioned as a poet in the *Āin* (trans. i, 595).

Rafi'i is thus described in the *Āin*, "His name is Haidar. He is well acquainted with the art of poetry, and is distinguished as a writer of riddles and chronograms." The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari* contains the following notice of him, "Mir Haidar, the writer of enigmas, had the poetical name of Rafi'i. His understanding is excellent and he has correct taste, and is unrivalled in the art of composing enigmas and chronograms. He spent his time in the emperor's service."

² One of Rafi'i's feats in this way was the discovery that the numerical values of the letters of the *Sūrat-ul-Ikhlāṣ*, the 112th chapter of the *Qur'ān*, gave the date of the completion of Faiṣi's *Sawāfi'-ul-Ilhām*, the commentary on the *Qur'ān* composed entirely of letters without dots. The chapter, which is also called *Sūrat-ul-Tauḥid*, runs as follows:—

قل هو الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفوا احد

indeed, he does not even know that there are any arts but these two. One day Shaiikh Faiẓi told him that the art of composing enigmas had gone out of fashion in Hindūstān and that the practice of it was considered unworthy. He replied, "I have toiled for years in my own country in the study of enigmas, and now that I have grown old in this pursuit, how can I give it up?" He came with Khwāja Ḥabibullāh from Gujarāt to Lāhor and received a fixed allowance from the emperor's privy purse and from courtiers. He embarked in a ship and set sail for his native land, but, when he had passed Hurmuz and was nearing Kij and Makrān,¹ his ship was wrecked and all that he had was lost, among the rest several parts of Shaiikh Faiẓi's pointless commentary² on the *Qur'ān*, letters of introduction from learned men, and Faiẓi's *diwān*, a copy of which he was sending abroad **233** in order to increase his reputation.

The following verses are by Rafi'i:—

"I have a tender heart, my sprightly love, what remedy
is there for me?"

I am a lover with the nature of one beloved, what can
I do?"

— — —

"I was jealous of Rafi'i's coffin, for thou
Didst accompany it weeping more bitterly than the
mourners."

A quatrain.

"The devotee sins not, for Thou art the Avenger,
We are steeped in sin, for Thou art the Pardoner;

and the sum of the letters gives the date A.H. 972 (= A.D. 1564-65). Mr. Blochmann in note 2 on p. 549 of his translation of vol. i of the *Am-i-Akbari* makes the date A.H. 1002 (= A.D. 1593-94) but this is an error. For this fortunate discovery Rafi'i received 10,000 rupees from Faiẓi.

¹ Badāoni's geography is here at fault. Rafi'i could not have reached Hurmuz (Ormuz) which is an Island in the Persian Gulf opposite to Gombroon or Bandar-i-'Abbās, until he had passed beyond the coast of Makrān. Kij is an inland town of Makrān.

² That is to say the commentary composed of nudotted letters. See note (1) above.

He calls Thee the Avenger, and we the Pardoners,
O Lord ! say which name 'Thou preferrest."

And he has a quatrain which contains twenty-six chronograms.¹

L.I. RAHĀ'I.²

He is descended from Shaiikh Zain-ud-din of Khavāf,³ and he has composed a famous *dirān*. The following verses are his :—

" O love, thou didst encourage me to hope for thy favour,
And didst then repulse my hope on every side."

" I travelled in order to ease my heart of its grief,
How was I to know that a hundred mountains of grief
would confront me on my way ? "

" The secrets which I have with that rose are as buds formed
of my heart's blood ;
To tell the heart's secrets to all is hard indeed."

¹ This quatrain has not been quoted, and is not mentioned either in the *Ain* or in the *Tabaqāt*.

² Vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans. Blochmann, i, 592, and note 1. It is there said of Rahāi that " he pretended to be a Šūfi." His name was Maulānā Sa'd-ud-din of Khavāf or Khāf.

³ Zain-ud-din Khāfi or Khavāfi, from whom Rahā'i traced his descent, was a famous saint who died in the beginning of Shawwāl, A.H. 838 (May A.D. 1435). He was buried first at Mālin (or Bālin), then at Darvishābād, then at Hirāt. His biography is given in Jāmi's *Nafhat-ul-Uns*, and he is not to be confounded with the saint Zain-ud-din Tāibādī.

Khāf or Khavāf is a district and town in Khurāsān, which belonged to the revenue district of Nishābūr, and was famous for the kings, ministers, and learned men which it produced. The town was also famous for the fact that its inhabitants were bigoted Sunnis, and were persecuted by Shāh 'Abbās of Persia. Its inhabitants are now Shī'ahs. The number of Khavāfis in the service of the Mughal emperors was considerable. The one whose name is best known is Muḥammad Hāsham, known as Khāfi or Khavāfi Khān, author of the *Muntahab-ul-Lubāb*, a valuable historical work in three volumes.

"Pass not from my eyes like tears, my dear,
Be more humane and pass not thus by men." ¹

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"In the heat of thy wrath thou throwest me into the fire,
And then coquettishly warmest thy hands at the fire."

"I have so devoted myself to thankfulness for that small
mouth and that eyebrow like the new moon
That nobody now calls me to mind."

"I have suffered cruelty not only at the hands of that
faithless and capricious girl
But at the hands of all from whom I hoped for faithfulness."

"Thou, my friend, dost not know all the grief of my heart,
Nor all that I have suffered at the hands of that cruel
moon-faced beauty."

LII. RAUGHANI.²

He was an impudent jack-padding whose jesting passed all bounds. He was for many years in the service of the emperor. He has written a *diwān* containing nearly three thousand couplets. This is one of his couplets:—

"The martyr who suffers death by the sword of his injustice
enjoys life eternal:

Perhaps the master-armourer who tempered the sword
used the water of life."

The idea contained in this couplet closely resembles that in the couplet of Mir *Ashki*,³ already quoted, namely:—

¹ It is difficult in translation to preserve the pun on *مردمی* ('humanity,' 'urbanity') and *مردم* ('a human being').

² Raughani is not mentioned in the *Ain*. In the *Tabaqāt* he is thus described, "He was for many years in the emperor's service. He had a bitter tongue as a lampooner."

³ *Vide supra* no. XI.

"Those slain by thy cruelty lie scattered here and there
like drunken men ;
It would seem that thy sword was tempered with wine
instead of water."

The following verses are also by Raughani :—

235 "I weep not for her cruelty, for I fear that my rival
Might guess from my weeping whose cruelty was its
cause."

"My burning heart in her hands and beneath her feet is
like a live coal,
Which a boy in sport takes up and quickly flings away."

"Thy dignity so plants upon the mountains the foot of
clemency
That fountains of water flow from each vein of it."

"O messenger! Give her by word of mouth an account of
my condition,¹ for in my letter
There are many words which have flowed from my pen
while I was beside myself."

"The messenger gives me news of her coming
In order that the force of my desire for her may draw me
to the road by which she is to pass."

In the year H. 980 (A.D. 1572), when the imperial army was
marching towards Gujarāt,² Raughani died beneath the fort of
Ābūgarh³ and was buried there. Qāsim Arsalān⁴ made the
following chronogram on his death :—

¹ Or, 'my desire' if the variant شوقم be accepted.

² When Akbar was marching to the conquest of Gujarāt, which was
annexed to the empire at the end of 1572. Vide vol. ii, text, pp. 139—
149

³ Mount Abū in Rājputāna, now a well-known sanatorium.

⁴ Vide supra, p. 251.

"Like a dog he delivered up his soul to the abode of infidelity."¹

LIII. ZAIN KHÂN KŪKA.²

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In playing Hindū music, beating the drum, and other accomplishments of that sort he is unrivalled in this age. Although he cannot be said to have any other accomplishments, save calligraphy and transcription, yet he sometimes composes a couplet. The following is one of his couplets:—

"This world, which moves crookedly, gives me no rest,
Until I have threaded my needle with the thread of my desire."

LIV. SULTĀN OF SAPLAK.³

Saplak is a village in the Qandahār district. The vulgar in India call him Siplakī (Sipkali) with a *kasr* to the *bā*, which

¹ The numerical values of the letters, added together, give 981, or one year in excess of the correct date.

² Zain Khān was the son of Khwāja Maṣūd 'Alī, a servant of Akbar's mother and Pica Jan Anaga, one of Akbar's nurses. As he was thus Akbar's foster-brother, he was called Kūka. The daughter of Khwāja Ḥasan (Zain Khān's paternal uncle) married Sultān Salīm (Jahāngir) and was the mother of Sultān Parviz. In A.D. 1595-96 Sultān Salīm married Zain Khān's daughter. Zain Khān was employed against the Afghāns in the campaign in which Bir Bar fell. In 1586 he operated successfully against the Mahmands and Ghoris near Peshāwar, and in 1587 was appointed governor of Zābulistān. In 1588 he moved against the Yūsufzais, and, after eight months' fighting, subdued them. In 1589 he was employed against rebellious *Zamīndārs* in the Himālayas, and subdued them. In 1590 he was made a commander of four thousand and in 1595-96 a commander of five thousand. He died in 1601-02, partly from excessive drinking. *Vide Ain-i-Akbari* trans. Blochmann, i, 344. In the *Tabaqāt* he is given a title, apparently a *taḥalluṣ*, which I cannot understand. It reads *Al-Faṭḥābā*. The text of the Lakhnau edition of the *Tabaqāt* is very corrupt.

³ I have not been able to find the village 'Saplak' and therefore cannot be sure that the vowels in this are correct. MSS. (A) and (B) read سیکلی 'Sipkali' or Siplakī, and this reading agrees better than that in the text with the Indian nickname given to the poet. *Vide infra*.

means 'a lizard,'¹ and this greatly offended him, and he used to say, "What can I do, though they call me by the name of such a dirty carrion creature?" He was a devotee girt as to the loins and unfettered by conventions. On the day on which he saw Mullā Qāsim Kāhī² he asked him his age. Qāsim replied, "I am two years younger than God." Sultān said, "My dear sir, I took you to be two years older. I fear you are deducting from your years." Mullā Qāsim laughed and said, "You are worthy to associate with us." It may be noted that as Mullā Qāsim Kāhī was a great plagiarist he probably borrowed this speech from Shaiḫ Bāyazīd of Bustām³ who said, "I am younger than my Lord by two years." This is one of the ravings of the *Ṣūfis*, and some men of God have interpreted it to mean, "I am younger than God (may He be honoured and glorified!) by two years, i.e. in two qualities, that is to say self-existence and omnipotence"; for a creature may display all divine attributes and qualities except these two; for the brand of accidental existence and dependence can never be removed from the forehead of a created being. I ask forgiveness of God for this nonsense and these ravings!

Sultān had a disposition well attuned to poetry. When he saw the Khānzamān,⁴ who also used Sultān as a poetical name, and presented to him an ode in his praise, the Khānzamān sent him, as a reward for it, a thousand rupees and a robe of honour, **237** together with a request that he would, for his sake, change his poetical name. He sent back the gift and said, "Sultān Muḥammad is my name, which was given to me by my father. How can I give it up? Moreover, I wrote poetry under this

¹ کبلی I cannot discover this word, but its meaning is clear. *Kasr* is the short vowel *i*, but Badkōni is wrong in attaching it to the *bā* or *pā*. He should have attached it to the *sin*. The vulgar apparently called the poet either *Siphali* or *Siplaki*. چپکلی (*Chipkali*) is the Hindūstāni word for the common house-lizard, which lives on flies and insects. سبک (*Siplak*) is a Dakani corruption of the same word.

² Vide no. II.

³ Vide p. 7 and note 1.

⁴ Vide the next biography.

name many years before you did, and obtained much fame by it." The *Khānzamān* said, "If you do not give up the name I will throw you under the feet of an elephant," and being enraged, he had an elephant brought to the spot. Sultān said "Ah, what good fortune is mine, that I shall attain martyrdom!" After the *Khānzamān* had threatened and intimidated him for a long time, Maulānā 'Alā-ud-dīn Lāri,¹ the *Khānzamān*'s tutor, suggested that an ode should be selected from the *divān* of the reverend Maulavi Jāmi,² (may God hallow his tomb!) which was at hand, and that if Sultān could answer it extemporaneously he should be pardoned, but if not the *Khānzamān* should do with him as he had proposed. From the *divān* of the reverend master (may his tomb be hallowed!) this ode was selected :—

The writing of God's creation knew the writing on thy heart,
And knew the invisible proofs of kingship on the heads
of beardless boys.

Sultān Muḥammad recited an extemporary ode, the opening couplet of which is :—

"Whoever has regarded his heart as the shell containing
the pearl of God's secret
Has rightly appraised his own jewel."

Although this ode was no great matter the *Khānzamān* was exceedingly pleased and praised it, and, having given the poet twice the reward which he had given before, dismissed him with honour. But Sultān could no longer stay in that place, and without the *Khānzamān*'s leave he came thence to Badāon, and afterwards travelled through the country, and went to the

¹ Vide *Ain-i-Akbari* trans. Blochmann, i, 540. According to the *Ain* he was learned in philosophy and theology. He came from Lāristān, and is hence called *Lāri*. He was the son of Maulānā Kamāl-ud-dīn Husain, and studied under Maulānā Jalāl Dawwānī Shāfirī. He was for some time Akbar's teacher. Once at a *darbār* he placed himself before the *Khānzamān*, when the Mir Tūzak told him to go back. "Why should not a learned man stand in front of fools," said he, and left the hall, and never came again. He got 4000 *bighas* as *su-yurghāl* in Sambhal, where he died.

² The celebrated Persian poet, who died in A.D. 1493-94.

Dakan. In the year in which the four kings of the Dakan formed a confederacy and after a great battle in a stricken field **238** conquered Vijayanagar,¹ and destroyed that famous idol-temple, which was a veritable mine of misbelief, Sultān Muḥammad was with their army and acquired great store of plunder, and returned, but no further information regarding him is to be had. It was, indeed, the height of discourtesy on his part to enter into a dispute with his betters and to refuse the request, so courteously made by a man like the *Khānzamān*, that he would change his poetical name.

In reply to the following opening couplet by *Ghazālī*,² viz.—

“Devotee, true knowledge of God lies not in the patched robe, the rosary, and the tooth-stick,³

Acquire mystical love, for these other things have nothing to do with the comprehension of God,”

he wrote,

“Though the dust of envy has settled on my rival’s heart I have no fear,

This is clear to me, that the mirror of his heart is not clean.”

¹ The great Hindu empire of the Carnatic. The four Kings were ‘Ali ‘Adil Shāh I of Bijāpūr, Husain Niẓām Shāh I of Ahmadnagar, Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh of Gulkanda, and ‘Ali Barid Shāh of Bidar. The allied armies of these kings met Sadāshivarāya, Rājā of Vijayanagar, and his brothers Timma and Venkatādri, on the field of Talikota on January 23, 1565, and, in one of the most decisive battles ever fought in India, utterly overthrew the Hindu empire of the south which had for two centuries withstood the attacks of the independent Muḥammadan Kings of the Dakan, first the Bahmanis and afterwards the lesser dynasties of Bijāpūr, Gulkanda, Ahmadnagar, Bidar, and Berār. Vide ‘Historic Landmarks of the Deccan,’ by Major T. W. Haig, pp 129—132. Badāoni, like all Muḥammadan writers, styles Vijayanagar ‘Bijānagar.’

² Vide p. 239, no. I.

³ A twig of a tree used as a substitute for a tooth-brush. It is about a span long, split at one end and chewed to render it softer. The twig is used only once and is then thrown away. The European manner of using one tooth-brush repeatedly until it is worn out is regarded with disgust in the east.

The following are other verses by him:—

"My love sits sometimes in my eyes and sometimes in my
heart,
She rests nowhere, she must be bewitched."

"How can I liken thy eyebrow to the new moon, for I
Have seen the new moon in every hair of thy eyebrow?"

LV. SULTÂN.¹

This is the poetical name of the Khānzamān. As the events of his life are well known, not only from this selection, but from every history of Hindūstān, any further account of him would be merely a repetition. He wrote these verses:—

"Slender as a hair is thy waist,
No wider than the end of that hair is thy mouth."

When he published abroad the ode which begins thus, many of 239
the poets of that province² wrote odes to compete with it. One began as follows:—

"I said, 'Thy mouth is no more substantial than an idea,'
She said, 'The idea that thou hast formed is correct.'

I composed the following:—

"Thy mouth is the fountain of Khizr,³
Thy tongue is a fish in that fountain."

In these days I prefer to repent sincerely of such poetry and versification, which I published freely in the days of my ignorance, but which now appear to me to be a vain accomplishment.

¹ Vide p. 182, n. 2, where a brief account of the career of 'Alī Qulī Khān, Khānzamān, is given. He rendered most important services in the early years of Akbar's reign and Mr. Blochmann justly says, "Next to Bairām the restoration of the Mughal dynasty may be justly ascribed to him." The disaffection displayed by him in his later days may perhaps be ascribed to mental derangement. His infatuation for Ghānam Beg and its consequences seem to have been the beginning of this derangement, and his successes in the field seem to have converted it into what may be called *megalomania*.

² Jaunpūr.

³ The guardian of the water of life.

The following verses are by the *Khānzamān* :—

"Cease, my heart, from weeping and wailing continually
like a bell,
Make, my heart, to none complaint of the cruelty of thy
love."

"O breeze, in the court of my love, in that language which
thou knowest
Make my supplication before her, as thou canst."

"I have a charmer whose face is like the rose, and like
hyacinths her hair,
Her rippling locks of hyacinth fall over rose-petals."

"My love, the darling of no other is like thee,
No other lover is distracted like me."

"O infidel boy,¹ we drink no cup at thy hands
We are drunk from another cup, with the wine of
'Am I not your Lord ?'²"

¹ منجه 'the magian boy,' a favourite simile for a handsome cupbearer.

² أَلَسْتُ. The reference is to the *Qur'ān*, *Sūrah vii*, 168.

وَإِذَا أَخَذَ رَبُّكَ مِنْ بَنِي آدَمَ مِنْ ظُهُورِهِمْ ذُرِّيَّتَهُمْ وَأَشْهَدَهُمْ عَلَى أَنْفُسِهِمْ
أَلَسْتُ بِرَبِّكُمْ قَالُوا لَئِنْ شَهِدْنَا

"And when thy Lord drew forth their posterity from the loins of the sons of Adam, and took them to witness against themselves, saying, 'Am I not your Lord ?' They answered, 'Yea: we do bear witness.' The commentators tell us that God stroked Adam's back, and extracted from his loins his whole posterity, which should come into the world until the resurrection, one generation after another; that those men were actually assembled all together in the shape of small ants, which were endued with understanding; and that after they had, in the presence of the angels, confessed their dependence on God, they were again caused to return into the loins of their great ancestor

The Khānzamān's brother, Bahādur Khān,¹ also had some poetic genius, and wrote an ode, which is reproduced below on 240 the theme of that ode of Mullā Āsifi's which begins:—

“The night of grief has much embittered my lot
Where is the morning? For rust has settled on my
mirror.”

Bahādur Khān's ode.²

“The wanton, cruel charmer has taken a stone in his hand,
As though he would attack me, the weary one.
My moon-faced darling sits on the throne of beauty,
He is a king, seated on his throne.
Without thee, Bahādur, they will not cease from their
wailing and their wine-bibbing
For they have taken from thee the flute of grief.”

In accordance with the saying, “the words of kings are the kings of words” this appears to be a sufficiency of the poetry of these two³

¹ Muhammad Sa'id Shāibānī, Bahādur Khān, younger brother of 'Alī Qulī Khān, Khānzamān. After Humāvūn's return from Persia he planned a rebellion, which failed. He was pardoned by Akbar and received Multān as *jāgīr*. He assisted in the conquest of Mīlwa, and was subsequently governor of Itāwa. He took an active part in the several rebellions of his elder brother. After his capture Shāhbāz Khān Kambū killed him by Akbar's order.

² The text here has, wrongly, مطلع (‘opening couplet’). The whole ode is quoted. The MSS wrongly divide the couplets of the ode, as though they were isolated couplets from odes.

³ It is not easy to decide here whether Badāonī is serious or ironical in his quotation of the proverb. It is evident that he had some admiration for the Khānzamān, as he has blamed Salīm of Surlak for not acceding to the Khānzamān's most unreasonable request. On the other hand Bahādur Khān's ode appears to refer to Shāham Beg,—my King' as the Khānzamān used to call him,—and it is possible that the proverb is a sly reference to the title given by the Khānzamān to Shāham Beg in his infatuation. Badāonī repented of his own serious lapse from morality, and became one of the uxor'gnid,' and it is, perhaps, in virtuous indignation that he says that he has had enough of the poetry of “these two” *scil.* the Khānzamān and his brother.

LVI. SAIRI.¹

He was a *qāṣī*² and a theologian of cheerful disposition. He came to India and died, having acquired honour by performing the pilgrimage of Islām. In prosody, and rhyming, and the composition of enigmas he was unrivalled. The following quatrain is by him:—

“Sairi, take up thy abode in the sanctuary of the soul and
the heart,
Withdraw thy sight from this form compounded of water
and earth;
Everything, save the knowledge of God, is naught,
Forsake everything, and acquire this knowledge.”

These verses also are by him:—

“She does not close that narcissus-like eye on account of
ophthalmia,
241 She shuts the door of mercy on grief-stricken lovers.”

“Preacher, miscall me not for my devotion to my idol,
For God's sake torment me no more.”

LVII. SIPHRĪ.³

He is Mirzā Beg, brother's son to Khwāja Amīn,⁴ who was known as Khwāja Jahān. He has written a *diwān*. The following verses are the fruit of his brilliant intellect:—

¹ Sairi is mentioned neither in the *Āin* nor in the *Tabaqat*.

² A judge, civil, criminal and ecclesiastic.

³ He is not mentioned in the *Tabaqat*. Mr Blochmann says (trans *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 424) that his *taḥalluṣ* was *Shahri*. This is a mistake, as the third couplet given below shows.

⁴ Khwāja Amīn-ud-dīn Maḥmūd of Hirāt, Khwāja Jahān, an excellent accountant and a distinguished calligraphist. He accompanied Humāyūn in his flight to Persia and, on Humāyūn's return, was made *bakhshi* to Akbar. He received his title, and the rank of commander of one thousand, on Akbar's accession. He was accused of want of loyalty during the rebellion of the Khānzamān, and was dismissed to Makkah. On his return he was pardoned. He died near Lakhnau in Nov. 1574 from the result of an accident which occurred to him when he was convalescent from sickness.

"Soften with a smile the poison of thy angry eye.
As bitter almonds are made sweet by the addition of salt."

"My wandering heart passed by the street of calamity,
It is strange that my heart wandered without thee.¹ Its
action was strange."

"Sipihri, take, like the tulip, a cup in the king's round,²
Now that the heart has blossomed and the rose-garden
smells sweet."

"The king of exalted rank, Humāyūn, the dust of whose door
In dignity far excels the heavens."

LVIII. SAYYĀFI.³

He was a servant of Bairam Khān.⁴ and the Khān sent by his hand a sum of seven thousand rupees as an offering to the shrine of his holiness the Imām Rīzā⁵ (on whom be blessings and praise!'. Having spent all this money he was there called to account by Shāh Tāhmāsp and in the year H. 974 (A.D. 1566-67) was released from torture (by death). These couplets are by him:—

"When my fallow countenance appeared in the mirror,
The mirror, from the reflection of my face, became an
autumn leaf."

"My narrow breast, in which lodges grief for the absence of
my love,
May yet be so situated that joy will leave in it no room for
my soul."

¹ بي تو as in MS. (A). The text has مي تو which does not make sense. This couplet and the one preceding it are transposed in both MSS.

² دور 'a round of the wine-cup.'

³ He is mentioned neither in the *Ain* nor in the *Tabaqāt*. MSS. (A) and (B) give his *takhalluṣ* as Siyāqī.

⁴ Khān Khānān. Tutor to Akbar and regent of the empire during his minority. He was a Shī'ah.

⁵ The eighth imām of the Shī'ahs, whose shrine is at Maḥbad.

LIX. SAHMI.¹

He chose his poetical name from the profession of his father, who was an arrow-maker. He grew up in the service of Mirzā Aziz Kāka² and, since he has been addicted to poetry from the age of ten, he has become thoroughly versed in it, and is famous throughout the world. In reply to that ode by Ummidi the mystic,³ which begins,

"Thou art the king of the kingdom of beauty,
We are beggars enjoying the spectacle,"

he was one day reciting an ode of his own before the court. When he came to the hemistich,

"I am a pure *Sunni* and come from Bukhārā,"

Lashkar Khān,⁴ the paymaster in chief, who was a *Khurāsāni* suspected of heresy, though he did not openly profess it,⁵ said, "Then, Mullā, there is also such a thing as an impure *Sunni*?" Mirzā 'Aziz Kāka said on the spur of the moment, "You, for example."

Qāsim Arsalān has the following quatrain referring to Sahmi.

¹ Sahmi is not mentioned in the *Āin* nor in the *Tabaqāt*.

² Khān-i-A'zam, son of Ataga Khān and Jī Jī Anaga, and foster-brother of Akbar.

³ Or, 'of Rai.'

⁴ Muḥammad Ḥusain of *Khurāsān*. He was for some time Mir Bakhshī and Mir 'Arz but was dismissed. One day he came drunk to court and challenged the courtiers to fight him. Akbar punished him by tying him to the tail of a horse and imprisoned him. He was subsequently released and attached to the Mun'im Khān's corps in Bengal. In the battle of Takaroi (March 3, 1575) he was severely wounded. His wounds began to heal but he did not take sufficient care of his health and died, a few days after the battle in Ufisa. Vide *Āin-i-Akbari*, trans. Blochmann, i, 407.

⁵ Wherever Shī'ahs are in the minority they practise, if necessary, *taqiyyah*, (تقية 'fear,' 'caution,' or 'pious subterfuge'), i.e. they act as though they were Sunnis. A Shī'ah may even vilify his own sect, if his personal safety require it. Vide *Āin-i-Akbari*, trans. Blochmann, i, 338, n. 2. Badā'uni relates with evident glee this snub administered to a suspected Shī'ah.

"Sahmi, Tarīqi,¹ and Faridūn² are thieves,
 They are thieves like the cat, the juckal, and the monkey,
 Take care not to recite your poetry before them
 For these two or three poets will steal the lines from you."

The following are some lines from Sahmi's ode written in answer to one by³ Ummidi :—

"The thought of thy mole has ever had its place in my heart, **243**
 I did not mention this scar to thee, but it remained on my
 heart.
 I sowed the seed of hope in the field of love,
 But obtained no crop save a crop of despair,
 When thou sawest in the mirror the reflection of thy cruel
 face
 The mirror melted before it from shame."

"This is not the new moon that has risen to the highest
 point of the heavens,
 It is a sword hung in the air for the purpose of slaying
 me."⁴

"The new moon of the 'Id was likened to the arch of her
 eyebrow.

¹ The text has 'Zurifi.' I follow MS. (A) as Qāsim Arsalān was evidently speaking of poets at Akbar's court. *Vide infra*, no. LXXIX.

² No Faridūn is mentioned as a poet in the *Āin*, or the *Tūbaqāt*, or in this work. Qāsim Arsalān may have been referring to Faridūn *Khān*, maternal uncle to Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakim, or more probably to Mirzā Faridūn *Barlās*, a commander of five hundred, son of Muḥammad Qulī *Khān Barlās*. Mirzā Faridūn *Barlās* served in Sind and, in A.D. 1592-93, accompanied Jāni Beg to court. Under Jahāngir he was rapidly promoted, and held, in the eighth year, a command of two thousand, when he served under Sulṭān *Khurram* against Rānā Amar Singh. He died during the expedition. *Vide Āin-i-Akbari*, trans. Blochmann, i, 342, 478 and *Tūsuk-i-Jahāngirī*, 126, 132.

³ Not the ode quoted above.

⁴ "A sonnet to his mistress' eyebrow."

If the simile were just there would be ever another¹ new moon at her side."

"Her mouth is like the end of a hair in its delicate proportions, but see

How the sword of her tongue in speech splits the hair."²

- 244 "Thou camest before me in order to vex my wounded heart,
What evil have I done that thou hast thus come before me?"

LX. SAQQĀ.³

His name was Bahrām. He was a devotee who believed that he had attained the stage of annihilation.⁴ He was one of the disciples of Shāikh Hājī Muḥammad Khahūshānī (may his tomb be hallowed!), and was in some measure mysteriously attracted towards God.⁵ He constantly traversed the streets of Āgra with a few pupils, giving water to the people of God, and while he was thus employed his tongue would be uttering refreshing verses. One of the sons of his religious guide came to India, and to him he gave all that he possessed, and would have given more, had it been possible, and he then set forth on foot,

¹ i.e. the poet himself, who is wasted by love to the similitude of a new moon.

² The Persian metaphor is the same as the English. The *double entendre* refers to the opening of the mouth in speech.

³ This poet's name is not given in the text, nor in the MSS., though the first sentence is so framed as to lead us to expect a mention of his name. I have supplied it from the *Ain-i-Akbari*. In the *Ain* (trans. Blochmann, i, 581, and n. 1) he is thus described, "Darvish Bahrām. He is of Turkish extraction, and belongs to the Bayāt tribe. The prophet Khizr appeared to him, and a divine light filled him. He renounced the world and became a water-carrier." The Bayāt tribe is a Turkish tribe scattered over Āzarbāijān, Irān, Tihān. Fārs and Nishābūr. Bahrām is worshipped as a saint. His mausoleum is in Bardwān in Bengal.

⁴ This *Sūfi*-istic term indicates selflessness, or the annihilation of self, the will being entirely delivered over into God's keeping.

⁵ خالی از جذبۀ نبرد. For the technical meaning of the words جذب and جذبۀ vide p. 7, n. 4.

alone and destitute, for Sarandib,¹ and on the way to Ceylon the torrent of annihilation swept away the chattels of his existence, and in that infidel land some person, guided by a sign from the prophet (the blessing and peace of God be upon him!) appeared, no one knew whence, and arranged for the obsequies of Saqqâ, (may God water his grave!).

He collected several *divâns* of his own poems, and whenever he was overcome by religious ecstasy he would wash the ink from the pages of the *divâns*, one by one, but the remains of his poems form a large *divân*. The following verses are part of the outcome of his clear and sparkling intellect: —

"I am thrown into bewilderment each time I regard the mole
on His cheek,
I distractedly encompass that spot like the leg of a pair of
compasses tracing a circle around its centre.
I, distraught as I am, have withdrawn my gaze from fair
creatures for this reason
That I have in the nest of my heart a Friend of my soul
like Thee."

"I have broken the foundations of austerity that I might
see what would come to pass,
I have sat in the market-place of ignominy, that I might
see what would come to pass."

"I see my poor mad heart distracted with the love of Thy
face,
I see it encompassed on every side with the chains of Thy
locks."

"This day from weeping am I plunged in my heart's blood,
Ah, heart! cause not my head to burst this day with
weeping."

¹ Ceylon. The word used immediately afterwards is سيلان ('Sildn'), referring to the same place. The latter word is used in order to pun with ميل (sail) 'a flood,' 'a torrent.' The account of Saqqâ's obsequies may

"The love of that beloved one with garments like the rose
has again grasped me by the collar,
Ah, now, at last, it has rent my garment from collar to
skirt."¹

LXI. SIPAH²

245 He was the grandson of the famous Khwāja Kalān Beg.³
This quatrain is by him.

"Alas, that the season of the rose has passed so quickly,
Alas, that it has passed in the twinkling of an eye!
Without thy eyes and the down on thy cheek the violet
and the hyacinth
Pass their days in blindness and in mourning."⁴

He died in Āgra in the year H. 978 (A.D. 1570-71).

LXII. SARMADI OF ISFAHĀN.⁵

His name is Sharif. He was for some time a roster-keeper,
and now holds some appointment in Bengal under Sharif Āmalī.

be accepted with a grain of salt. As Saqqā's tomb is in Bardwān he probably died in Bengal on his way to Ceylon.

¹ These verses are all mystical. The Beloved, in each case, is God, who is spoken of, after the fashion of the Šūfis, as though He were a human object of love. The couplet beginning "I have broken the foundations" probably means that the poet, having apprehended the esoteric meaning of divine love, has ceased to follow the ceremonial observances of Islām, and has thus rendered himself obnoxious to the formally pious.

² This poet is mentioned neither in the *Āin*, nor in the *Tabaqāt*.

³ The Governor of Qandahār under Mirzā Kāmrān. The Shāh of Persia captured Qandahār from him.

⁴ کبودی 'blue-nose,' applicable both to the violet and to the hyacinth. Blue, like black, is the colour of mourning. It may, perhaps, also signify blindness, with reference to the bluish film which forms in cases of cataract.

⁵ Muḥammad Sharif, Sarmadi, was a commander of two hundred. He was sent to Bengal with Sharif Āmalī in A.D. 1591-92 and in the following year was fighting in Uṛiṣā against Rām Candra, Rājā of Khurda. He is said to have died in the Dekan. In the *Āin* (i. 607) he is thus described, "His name is Sharif. He possesses some knowledge, is upright, and zealous in the performance of his duties. His rhyme is excellent. He understands arithmetic." The *Tabaqāt* has, 'Sharif-i-Sarmadi is as

He at first assumed Faizi as his poetical name, but when Shaikh Faizi submitted a complaint to the emperor on the subject he abandoned his pretensions, and chose Sarmadi as his poetical name. He has some poetic genius. The following verses are by him.

"Since the sword of the coquetries of that haughty
beauty has been raised,
Spectators from afar have stretched out a hundred necks
to receive its blow." ———

"When thou camest to my house with the fumes of wine
in thy head and roses under thy arm
The very dust of this house of grief put forth blossoms
to see the sight of thy arrival." ———

"Since in contempt I set my foot upon both worlds
Neither joy nor sorrow has had any power over my
heart."

LXIII. SÂQI OF THE JAZÂ'IR.¹

He is an 'Arab, and his father Shaikh Ibrâhîm was a learned theologian whom the Shi'ahs, after their mode of belief, regarded as an infallible religious guide. He settled in Mashhad, and Sâqi was born there. Sâqi has acquired some learning, and is 246 of a cheerful disposition and eloquent. He came from the Dakan to Hindûstân, and is now in Bengal. The following verses are by him:—

İsfahânî, and is one of the servants of this court' He was apparently a Shi'ah, for Badâ'uni (text, ii, 335) thus abuses him, 'Sharîf Sarmadî,' the roster-keeper, regarding whom somebody has said:—

"There are two roster-keepers, both of them vile.

One is anything but previous and the other anything but noble."

The two epithets in the second hemistich refer to the names of the two men, the second referring to Sharîf.

¹ Thus described in the *Âin* (i, 593), 'He belongs to the Arabians of the Jazâ'ir. He has acquired some knowledge.' الْجَزَائِر (Al jazâ'ir) 'the islands' is the Arabic form of Algiers, but the term here probably refers to the islands of the Persian Gulf.

"From my soul, as I weep, arises a sigh of grief,
Even as smoke arises when water is thrown on fire."

"I grieve not for the cruelty of my love
Lest my grief should become a cause of joy to others."

"When she passes by me in wrath the tears flow from my
eyes,
"Just as tears flow from eyes dazzled by the sun's rays."

"My heart flutters lest thou should have come to it in thy
sleep.
Whenever there comes before me any person heavy with
sleep."

An ode.

"In my desire for thy eyelashes each breath loads my heart
with blood,
In order that it may bring me once more into thy hand.
My heart obtained a glance from thee which made my soul
thy prey. Aye,
An arrow which has struck the mark steadies the aim.
My heart is, as ever, ardent with love; thou art, as ever,
indifferent.
Sâqî, describe to her thy pain, before she publishes it
abroad."

LXIV. SAYYIDÎ.¹

His name is Sayyid Shâh, and he has already been mentioned.
He comes of the Sayyids of the Garmsîr² who settled in Kâlpî.

¹ Sayyidi is not mentioned as a poet either in the *Āin* or in the *Tabaqât*. The only person of his name previously mentioned in this work is Sayyid Shâh Mir of Sāmān. Vide p 174.

² Garmsîr, a hot, low-lying tract. There are two districts to which the name is given, viz :—the north-eastern coast of the Persian Gulf, and the valley of the Halmund in Sistân and south-western Afghânistân. The latter is probably intended.

He is of a cheerful disposition and is pleasant in conversation and is to some extent imbued with religious mysticism. He is the disciple of Shaikh Salim Cishtī. He was for some time in the emperor's service, but it was his fate to leave it, and he has 247 since spent his time in the service of various *Amirs*. He is now in Kābul with Qilij Muḥammad Khān. I quote the following few couplets of his :—

"I am in the first pangs of love, and my heart is disquieted,
Like a child who trembles as he wakes from sleep."

"Since that stately cypress-like beauty made for herself a
necklace of roses,
I envy the roses, and the roses envy her shift "

"From my strayed heart the breeze obtained no news of
what had happened,
Although thy two locks spread their tresses to the wind."¹

"Reverence forbids me to set foot in my house,
Since the whole house has been filled with the effulgence
of thy face."

"I utter not a word of the secrets of thy favours and thy
chiding,
No sound arises from him who has been killed in sub-
mission to thee."

"Although there remains to nobody in the reign of the
king of the world
Anything but a draught of water and a patched garment,
Yet thanks a hundredfold are due to God that poverty
has become universal,
That there remains no envy among the people."

¹ "Although thy locks were careless in keeping their secret my heart did not betray it."

"I wrote an ode in thy honour, lord of generosity,
 Which was a faithful index of the volume of thy virtues
 and perfections,
 But the generosity which thou showedst to me in return
 for it was so slight,
 That my hope of benefiting by thy wealth was destroyed.
 Thy generosity was not an equivalent for my poetry,
 248 Keep, then, thy generosity, and return my poetry."

"God forbid that I should have a heart that never ex-
 periences pain,
 An arrow is better in the breast than a dead heart."

LXV. SHĀH ABŪ-'L-MA'ĀLĪ¹

He has been mentioned in the historical record of the reign.
 He was a man of cheerful disposition and had good taste in
 poetry. I reproduce these few couplets of his:—

¹ Shāh Abū-'l-Ma'ālī was one of Humāyūn's *Amīrs* and did valuable
 service on Humāyūn's return from Persia. He was of the family of the
Khaywās of Kāshghar. He is not mentioned among Akbar's *Amīrs* either
 in the *Ain* or in the *Tabaqāt*. For an account of his murder of Shīr 'Alī
 Beg vide vol. ii (text pp 9 et seq.) Early in Akbar's reign he was im-
 prisoned in Lāhōr but escaped, and, having persuaded Kamāl Khān the
 Gakkhar to join him in a futile invasion of Kashmir, escaped to Dipālpūr.
 Here he was discovered and was sent to Gujarāt en route to Makkah. In
 Gujarāt he committed another murder and fled and joined the Khānzamān,
 who delivered him to Akbar. He was then imprisoned in Biyāna but was
 released by Bairām Khān when the latter fled from court. He left Bairām
 and joined Akbar, but having treated the emperor with disrespect, was
 sent off to Makkah. On his return he rebelled and then fled to Narnaul
 and thence to Kābul. Here he persuaded Cūcak Begum, mother of
 Muḥammad Ḥākim Mirzā, to give him her daughter in marriage. He next,
 in the course of an attempt to seize on the supreme power in Kābul,
 murdered Cūcak Begum. Muḥammad Qāsim Kūhbar, Muḥammad Ḥākim
 Mirzā's *rakīl*, then fled to Sulaimān Mirzā in Badakhshān, who marched to
 attack Shāh 'Abū-'l-Ma'ālī. Muḥammad Ḥākim Mirzā left Shāh Abū-'l-
 Ma'ālī and joined Sulaimān. Sulaimān eventually captured Shāh Abū-'l-
 Ma'ālī and sent him to Muḥammad Ḥākim, by whose orders he was
 strangled. (May 10, 1563).

"My soul, to keep company with strangers is not good,
 It is not good to associate with every beloved one and to
 leave one friendless.
 It is pleasant sometimes to torment a lover, but kindness
 is also pleasant sometimes,
 To sit ever on the throne of scorn is not good.
 Sit in the corner of separation, happy in the hope of
 re-union.
 To despair of the good fortune of seeing ¹ the beloved one
 again is not good." ———

"Beloved, I have been alone, and separated from thee.
 I have been, for a purpose, a prisoner in the bonds of
 separation.
 In every place have I read the story of thy love so often
 That on this account I am become a by-word in the
 world." ———

"My heart suffers grief of a thousand descriptions on her
 account,
 If my grief kills me not what other boon shall I obtain
 from her?"

LXVI. SHIRI.²

He comes from a village called Kokñwāl³ in the Panjāb. **249**
 His father belongs to the Mājis,⁴ a large and well-known tribe,
 and he used to say that his mother was a Sayyid by race. Al-
 though he is not of noble blood he has a disposition sufficiently
 noble, and leads a well-regulated life. He studied under his
 father, Maulānā Yahyā, who wrote an ode with this opening
 couplet:—

¹ دیدار As in the MSS. The text has دیدار which is not so good a
 reading.

² He is thus described in the *Ain* (i, 610). 'He belongs to a Panjābi
 family of Shuikhs. Under the patronage of his majesty he has become a
 good poet.' He translated the *Haribans* into Persian. He seems to have
 been orthodox, according to Badāonī's views (text ii, 208, 209).

³ Or Khokhowāl, in the Bāri Dūb.

⁴ I have not been able to obtain any information regarding this tribe.

"From the rain of Thy favour, O merciful Providence,
There remain, from each drop, in the heart of the wise a
hundred rivers of precious secrets."

Shīrī had great facility in writing verse, and once boasted that he had composed thirty odes in one night, but God knows whether this was true or not. One day he was reading in an assembly a fragment from his *divān*, which contained this hemistich,

"I have thrown four volumes of verse into the river Cināb."

The late Maulānā Ilāhdād of Amroha ¹ at once said, "What if you had thrown this spill ² of paper after them?"

Shīrī possessed, to some extent, unworldliness, sympathy, and the ascetic spirit, and has written verses in this vein, for example,

"I am lord of the table of poverty, and never
Will my spirit allow me to beg from my friend.
To borrow from Hindūs at four hundred per cent
Is better than receiving gifts from these Musalmāns."

No poet among his contemporaries has written better pessimistic poetry ³ than he has. This is a specimen of such verses:—

"O, ye dead, rejoice that ye are at rest,
For pleasure has departed from our midst!
O, ye who are to follow us, read the *fātiḥa* ⁴
To offer thanks that you were not living in our time!"

In the composition of elaborate odes and epigrams he certainly excelled all the poets of his time, and silenced them by making such felicity of diction as they possessed seem as naught beside **250** his own. The following fragment justly describes his abilities in this line.

"If thou ask me of the poetry of Shīrī
I would say, if justice is to be done,

¹ Vide c. ii, no. LXX

² قندیل 'A wick for a lamp,' 'a linstock.' For قندیل.

³ شکویات (*shakaviyyāt*), lit. 'complaints,' scil against fate.

⁴ The first chapter of the Qur'ān, often read as an act of thanksgiving.

That not all the verses that poets write pass as current
coin

Just as nobody's wine is all clear.

Shirī, praise not the base,

For praise befits the noble.¹

Shirī's ghazals and maṣnavis are mere rubbish,

And this is intended neither for praise nor for blame,

But the fame of his odes and epigrams

Has reached the uttermost parts of the earth."²

The few verses quoted below are the production of his
brilliant wit:—

"My heart is so enamoured of the beauty of Salmā³

That it wanders abroad with her heart in search of
consolation.

The remembrance of another by that heart in which thou
dwellst

Is equivalent to the worship of 'Uzzā⁴ in the *Ka'bah*.⁵

The beloved has so entirely surrounded herself with an
array of coquetry,

That even desire found no way of access to her in that
dense crowd."

"Bid the caravan move faster, that Egypt

May no longer send back to us the cries of Zulaikḥā⁶
grieving for our absence."

¹ The verse may have two meanings, one, that which is apparent, and the other, that Shirī was not of sufficiently noble birth to be able to appreciate the qualities that call for such praise as is contained in oriental laudatory verse.

² Lit. 'from Caucasus to Caucasus.' This last couplet is in both MSS, but has been carelessly omitted from the text.

³ A woman celebrated for her beauty, hence 'a beloved mistress.'

⁴ An idol worshipped by the 'Arabs before the days of Muḥammad.

⁵ The temple of Makkah.

⁶ The wife of Potiphar, who loved Joseph. For the Muḥammadan version of the story vide *Qur'ān* xii

"I have bound my letter to thee with a white thread to
signify
That in my separation from thee no blood remains in the
veins of my soul." ———

"Deprived of thy face my existence is a sea of pain and
grief,
My ribs are the waves of that sea." ———

"She comes to slay me, with the sword of cruelty in her
hand.
Whatever men relate of injustice is committed by that
cruel one." ———

251 "In the abundance of its hopefulness the heart believes that
a messenger comes from *Shirīn*
To the unfortunate *Farhād*¹ even though it be *Parviz*
himself that comes." ———

"Wherefore, O tear, dost thou traverse my eye
When I bid farewell to my dear?
Where wert thou then, that thou now obscurest my sight?
O Zephyr, my beloved has entirely filled the mould of my
desire,
I am thy devoted servant, but thou wanderest overmuch in
her street." ———

* The following few complets are from an ode of question and
answer² by him:—

"I said, 'O heart, what is the cause of this change in the
condition of the world?'
My heart replied, 'Silence, the brain of heaven is thrown
into confusion.'"

¹ *Farhād* was the lover of *Shirīn*, *Parviz* being her husband.

² A very common variety of the *ghazal* or *qasidah*, the form being a conversation between the poet and his heart, or his beloved.

I said, 'From the well of hope the water of desire is not to be had.'

It replied 'The well-rope of hope was not sufficiently long.'¹

I said, 'If there is any rest anywhere, tell me where it may be found ?'

It replied, 'In sleep, they say, the sleep of death.'

I said, 'Can anyone spend his life in joy ?'

It said 'This is mere speech, which never comes to pass.'

I said 'Why is the brow of the beloved one furrowed with a frown ?'

It said, 'It is ill to contend with one ill-disposed.'

I said, 'The mirror of wisdom is covered with rust.'

It said, 'Where is the burnisher, generosity, that it may once more receive a polish ?'

I said, 'The eloquent are the ornament of the assembly.' 252

It said, 'Thou canst not say these things to the wealthy.'

I said, 'Alas for these men, who are far from the truth !'

It said, 'Let justice be done on this deceitful race, which follows injustice.'

I said, 'I have a detailed complaint to make against my fate.'

It said, 'To the King thou must relate it succinctly.'

I said, 'To Akbar, who resembles Jannahid in glory and Sulaiman in wisdom ?'

It said, 'Yes, the King of high destiny who in dignity resembles the sun.'

I said, 'That personality which is second only to the prophet in honour ?'

It said, 'Yes to that creature of God who surpasses all in beneficence.'

I said, 'By race and descent the crown and the throne are justly his.'

It said, 'His favour and liberality are the protection of his kingdom and his people.'

¹ i.e. the lover had not subsisted sufficiently long on hope

The following two couplets are from an ode which he wrote on the utility of the elephant:—

“How sweetly pass those nights in which, praying incessantly for the safety of the King’s elephant,
I read the chapter ‘night’¹ by the margin of the river
Biyāh;
On the fair ones of Kūkūwāl with the gait of an elephant²
and the eyes of gazells
I think every moment, and heave sighs from my bosom.”

The following is the opening couplet of an ode in which he enumerates six things as being necessary.

“O thou who holdest the world in the grasp of thy wisdom
by the force of thy sword and thy arrow,
Crowned monarch of the throne and of fate,
Who conquerest the world by means of thy elephants and
thy horses,
Thy crown and thy throne, thy sword and thy arrow are
the sun, the moon, the lightning, and the meteor,
A hundred writers³ would be unable to reckon the number
of thy elephants and horses.”

As his *divān* is exceedingly well known I refrain from quoting any more of his verses.

At the time when he was employed on the translation of the *Mahābhārata* ⁴ he said, “These prolix fables resemble the dreams of a man in a fever.”

¹ The 92nd chapter of the *Qur’ān*.

² The gait of an elephant is regarded as peculiarly graceful.

³ دبير (dabir). Having regard to the similes in the preceding hemistich the reference is probably to the planet Mercury, called دبير نلک (dabir-i-falak) ‘the writer of the sky.’

⁴ The only translation with which Shiri is credited in the *Āin* is that of the *Haribans*. The *Mahābhārata* was translated under the superintendence of Badāoni and Shiri was one of his collaborators. Vide *Āin*, trans. Blochmann, i, 104, 106, Badāoni, text ii, 319.

Mullā Shīrī's death occurred in the hilly country of the Yūsufzais, in the year H. 994 (A.D. 1586) as has been already mentioned.¹

LXVII. SHAKIBI OF ISFAHĀN.²

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He came recently to India, and is in the service of the Khān-khānān, son of Bairam Khān.³ He has good taste. The following verses are by him :⁴—

"My nightly lamentations are still of some effect.

My broken bow has still an arrow which will reach its mark.

My heart is provoked by her absence; show me some mercy, O fate!

For my hand is hampered in combat by my having a mountain's weight tied to my waist.

Scatter roses on the skirts of my friends, for he who is wounded to the heart by her absence

Has, on the point of each eyelash, a hundred drops⁵ from his liver."

"O God! Send me from heaven a market for my wares,
I am selling my heart for a sight of my love; send me a buyer."

"My wares are anguish, not joy; why dost thou ask the price?

Well I know that thou wilt not buy, and I will not sell."

¹ Vol. ii, text 350. This was the battle in the course of which Rāja Bir Bar, in Badāoni's words, "joined the dogs of hell."

² Not mentioned in the *Āin*. In the *Tab-i-qādt* he is thus described: "Mullā Shakibi of Isfahān has acquired many accomplishments and has many praiseworthy qualities. He writes elegant verse. He is in the service of the Khānkhānān Mirzā Khān, son of Muḥammad Bairam Khān."

³ Mirzā 'Abdur-Rahīm, son of Bairam Khān. Vide *Āin-i-Akbari*, trans. Blochmann, i, 334.

⁴ MS. (A) چو کدو خامه معنی زای اوست has 'were distilled from his significant pen.'

⁵ Literally, 'pieces.'

"When will the deliciousness of love's grief be forgotten?
I have sprinkled that silt on the marrow of my bones."

LXVIII. SHUJĀ'Ī.

He is Saif-ul Mulūk the physician.¹ One day when he came to treat a sick man Mir Sayyid Muḥammad the cloth-weaver, who has the poetical name of Fikrī,² and is well known under the nickname of *Mir Rubā'ī*, was employed with the patient. The Mir said of Shujā'ī,

"A sharp sword is his worship, Maulavi Saif-ul-Mulūk,
Who has introduced a new fashion in the practice of medicine.

254 Yesterday Death said, when he had come to take the life of
a sick man,

'Everywhere I go he has been called in first.' "

The Maulānā (Saif-ul-Mulūk) composed the following 'increased' quatrain³ on the incontinence and gluttony of the Mir (Sayyid Muḥammad),

"O Mir, how can five gallons⁴ of thick broth be contained—
in one debilitated stomach?

*Si autem contineantur, quomodo continebit e penis tuus—ab
intromissione primæ?*⁵

¹ Vide c. iii, no. II, and *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans. Blochmann, i, 543, where he is called Hakim Saif-ul-Mulk, Lang ('the lame').

² Vide no. CII.

³ The word سيف (*saif*) means 'a sword.' The title Saif-ul-Mulūk means 'the sword of kings.' Saif-ul-Mulk means 'the sword of the kingdom.' As has been said, Saif-ul-Mulūk was nicknamed *Saif-ul-Hukamā*, 'the sword of the physicians.'

⁴ A quatrain in which, after the metre and rhyme of each verse have been completed, an addition is made to it, prolonging the metre and completing the sense. In the example given I have placed a dash between the completed verse and the addition. In the text the words رباعي مستزاد have been carelessly printed as though they were the heading of the account of a fresh poet.

⁵ Lit. دومان (*dā man*) 'two maunds.'

⁶ I am not sure of the meaning of this line, as the poet uses a word which I

A tablet which will not contain a quatrain—written in the smallest writing¹

Will surely not contain a long ode—written in large text.²

The following verses are the production of the Maulānā's almost magical genius:—

"Distracted with love, the hair of thy head is dishevelled,
May I become a sacrifice for thy head, for thou hast traffic
with lovers."

"A hair has fallen from my love's locks across her cheek,
Or is it perchance the thread of my soul lying across the
fire?"

"Better that I should be buried in the earth than that, for
the sake of base desires,
I should walk the earth to seek favours from worldlings."

LXIX. SHU'ŪRĪ OF TURBAT.³

He is a student and practises book-keeping. The following verses are by him:—

"O thou who, for fear of being separated from thy love, art
in the agony of death,
I give thee good news, for she, whose breath is like that of
Masīḥ,⁴ is coming, nay, is come."

"The desire of seeing thee brings me, each moment, from my
house;

"Desire has seized me by the collar, and draws me to thee.

believe him to have coined. I believe, however, that my translation is, at least, approximately correct.

¹ خط فبار (*Khaff-i-Qhubḍ*). The smallest kind of handwriting, 'like dust.'

² نعل (*ḡulḡ*) a large kind of *nashī* handwriting used in engrossing.

³ Shu'ūrī is not mentioned as a poet either in the *Āin* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*. Turbat is either Turbat-i-Haidari or Turbat-i-Shaikh-i-Jām, both in *Khurāsān*.

⁴ The Messiah. Musalmans attribute the life-giving miracles of our Lord to a miraculous quality in His breath, and this simile is a favourite with poets.

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My great Preserver¹ is harsh to me in a thousand ways,
But how shall He bring the poor Shu'ûrî into thy presence?"

"Love has entered, and seized the vein of my soul,
The bewilderment of seeing thee has made my tongue mute."

"Her wavy lock has fallen on her moon-like cheek,
A horse-shoe has been put into the fire for thee."²

"Thou didst promise to sow the seed of faithfulness.
What is faithfulness? To keep one's promises."

"The double chin³ of that beauty with eyebrows like the
new moon
Is the reflection of the new moon in clear water."

"Nay, for when the sun rose in the heavens,
The moon appeared beneath his rays."

LXX. MULLĀ SĀDIQ ḤALWĀ'Ī⁴ OF SAMARQAND.

He is too honourable to be placed among the poets and reckoned along with the poets of this age. So to place him is a disgrace

¹ The verse is susceptible of the translation 'my favoured rival, etc.' but the epithet *معظم* (*mu'azzam*) appears to me to indicate the Deity. The ambiguity is possibly designed.

² 'Thy heart, like her hair, will be fixed on her cheek, and will be heated like a horse-shoe, in the fire of love.'

³ Fat is regarded as a beauty in the East.

⁴ The text has, wrongly, *حلوانى* (*Halwānī*). Both MSS. have the correct reading. In the *Tubaqāt* he is thus described, "Mullā Sādiq Ḥalwā'ī of Samarqand came from Makkah and paid his respects at court. He was for some years in Hindūstān and then went to Kābul, where he was engaged in teaching, and taught Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. He is now in Samarqand." Vide also *Āin-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 541, where he is called Maulānā Sādiq.

to him and a disgrace to me. He is mentioned as a *Mulla* of good understanding, of pleasant speech, and full of apposite learning. After many vicissitudes he came to India, and having devoted his attention to the successions¹ of self-styled saints in this country, set most of them by the ears. By the aid of the divine guidance he was led to make a pilgrimage to the sacred house of God;² and the other holy places,³ and in the year H. 978 (A.D. 1570-71) he returned and set out for his native country, but Mirzā Muḥammad Hakīm⁴ desired him to sojourn in Kābul and began to study under him. At present he is living, honoured and respected, in 266 Transoxiana, where he is engaged in teaching and lecturing. He has good taste in poetry and a sublime imagination. He has written a *divān*. These verses are by him:—

“My heart is lost and nobody can tell me whither it is gone,
Thy ruby lip is laughing, my suspicion rests on thee.”

“There is no resting place but thy door for my wandering
heart;
I said I would stray from thy door, but my heart would not
depart.”

“Thou hast returned like the sun from thy journey, O thou
with a face like the moon!
Thou wentest away beautiful, and hast returned most
beautiful.”

“O thou with a face like the rose, I desire not to see thee
like the snuff of a candle, in every assembly,
I desire not to see thee inclining, like the rose-branch, in
every direction.”

¹ The text seems to be corrupt here, but meaning is tolerably clear. The word *سلسله* (*silsila*) denotes a regular line of saints by spiritual succession, and, hence, a religious order.

² The Ka'bah at Makkah.

³ Madinah, and other places of pilgrimage in the Hijāz.

⁴ Akbar's brother, born A.D. 1554, died A.D. 1585.

"My love's mind is like a mirror set before me,
In it I see reflected whatever is in my heart"

"The pain of love, which I kept concealed from thee in my
heart and soul,
Has become manifest from my face, howmuchsoever I
tried to conceal it."

"That stately cypress¹ which I cherished in those eyes of
hers which shed tears of blood
I now see in my own eyes, with all its rubbish and splin-
ters."

"Come, my tears, what do you hope to gain by thus raining
down from my moist eyes."
You have disgraced me before the world: what more do you
require?"

LXXI. ŞABŪHĪ.²

He was of the Caġhātāi tribe. He lived a very unrestrained
and licentious life. He had great skill in poetry. The following
verses are by him:—

257 "That my heart loves thee thou alone knowest.
I have told this secret to none, God knows."

¹ i.e. the reflection of the poet's own figure

² He is thus described in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* (i, 582): "He was born in Kābul. Once he slept in the bedroom of Amir Khusrav, when the shining figure of an old man with a staff in his hand awoke him and ordered him to compose a poem. As he had no power of doing so, he took the whole for a vision and lay down in another place; but the same figure woke him up, and repeated the order. The first verse that he uttered is the following:—

'When I am far from thee my tears turn gradually into an ocean.

Come and see, enter the ship of my eye and make a trip on the ocean'

In the *Tubaqāt* he is called 'Mullā Şabūhī.' The only fact there mentioned of him is that he was for a long time about the court. His name does not appear to be known.

"Come unveiled into my poor house
For there is none in my house save grief for thee."

"Thou hast not been a lover, thou hast not suffered the
grief of separation;
How should one unfold to thee the tale of separation's
woe?"

"Thou didst sit nowhere, but the jealous watcher sat with
thee,
Save when thou didst take thy place in my heart and he
remained without."

"Last night to save my life, I took refuge from the hard-
ships of separation in thoughts of thee.
Thy image remained in my soul, else had I died."

"Alas, that I am so forgotten by that cruel one
That her eye has never fallen upon me, even in thought!"

"With thy image in my mind's eye I say, 'This is re-
union.'
I earnestly desire reunion with thee, all I have is imagina-
tion."

"Weakness has overpowered me, and my heart is weary
with weeping.
Who will now inform her of my condition?
What need is there that I should explain my condition to
her?
For my heart, if it truly burns, will have some effect on
her."

"Long eyelashes cause calamities
And when the white of the lover's eye becomes red they
shed blood."

His death occurred at Āgra in the year H. 973 (A.D. 1565-66) or H. 972 (A.D. 1564-65) and the words 'Ṣabūḥī the wine-bibber'¹ give the date of it.

258

LXXII. ṢĀLIḤĪ.²

He came from Hirāt and has good taste both in poetry and in prose composition. He is somewhat studious and writes a good hand. He was for some time employed as one of the secretaries, and then returned to his native land. He wrote the following couplet:—

"In the night of separation from thee, in my eye-sockets
The blood from my liver was so congealed that sleep could
not enter them." ———

This was written in imitation of the following couplet of Amir Khusrav's:—

"I fenced my eyes in with a thorn-hedge of eyelashes
In order that neither thy image might leave them nor
sleep find entrance." ———

The following are other verses by Ṣāliḥī:—

"With my two eyes, red with weeping during the grief of
the night of separation,
What shall I do, for these will be the roses of the day
when we meet?
I have neither desire nor strength to associate with the
rose, that I should roam in the rose-garden, [ness³
And the scent of the roses suggests to me only unfaithful-
Like the dogs I have taken my place at thy threshold
In order that my rival may not enter in the guise of a
beggar.⁴"

¹ مبروحی میخوار (Ṣabāḥī-i-maikhwār). The letters give the date 973. The word Ṣabāḥ or Ṣabūḥī means 'a morning draught.'

² In the *Āin* he is thus described, 'His name is Maḥammad Mirak. He traces his descent from Niẓām-ul-Mulk of Tūs' (i, 583).

³ برفانی as in MSS. (A) and B). The text has آشنائی, 'love' or 'familiarity,' which does not make such good sense.

⁴ i.e., as a suitor,

"Since my head was severed by that dagger of cruelty
It remains, weltering in blood, in one place, and my sad
heart in another.

Love, whether in separation or in union, is a source of
pain ;

Khusrav bewails his love in one place and Farhād¹ his
in another."

LXXIII. ŠĀDIQI.²

259

He was born in Qandahār but was a Hirāti by origin. He
was for some time in Hindūstān and died. The following verses
are his :—

"So many wounds has my body received from thy sword
That on whichever side I fall my heart falls to the
ground."

"The wounded heart pays no heed to the body,
The martyr of love has no need of a shroud.
Since I have been created a man of straitened means
Why have I no share in that mouth³ ?
Of my body little is left but a formless idea, and that too,
When closely regarded, is seen to be no more than my
shirt."

"On the day on which each man's lot was decreed to him
by fate,
The lot of others was joy, while mine was sorrow.
O my heart ! Tell me not that that moonlike beauty
comes in answer to my weeping ;
So many thousands of lamentations have I uttered, and
when did she come ? "

¹ Khusrav was the husband and Farhād the lover of Shirin.

² Šādiqi is mentioned neither in the *Āin* nor in the *Tabaqāt*.

³ There is a play here on the word نگی (*taṅgi*) 'strait' or 'narrow' as
applied both to a man's means and to a lovely mouth which cannot be
reproduced in translation.

A quatrain.

"The structure of cruelty was founded by thee,
 The structure of my life was scattered to the winds by
 thee.
 Thou art a treasure of elegance, yet never
 Has my ruined habitation been made prosperous by thee."

LXXIV. *ŞARFI*.¹

260 He is *Shaikh* Ya'qūb of Kashmir, a small portion of whose
 perfections has already been described by the author's halting
 pen. He is an epitome of all accomplishments and therefore if
 his praises be repeated (a pleasant repetition), what fault can
 be found? In spite of his having written standard works on the
 mysticism of the *Sūfis* and many other branches of knowledge
 his genius was highly adapted to the composition of eloquent
 poetry. The following couplets are a small portion of the fruit
 of his wonderful meditations:—

"In the morning that beauty with a face like the moon
 threw a veil over her face,
 It was strange to see the sun veiled before evening fell."

—
 "Ask not of the merits of tūtty, but ask for the dust of her
 door,
 Ask of its virtues from discerning men."

—
 In his latter days he wished to compose a commentary on the
Qur'ān like the Great Commentary ² and he had already written
 some of it roughly when suddenly death's decree reached him,
 and the unavoidable summons of God ³ was delivered to him in
 his well-loved native land, as has been said, and he died.

¹ Vide p. 200. In the *Āin* his *takhalluṣ* is given as *Şairafī*, but *Şarfi* is
 correct. Vide *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 581, and n. 2.

² تفسیر کبیر (*Tafsīr-i-Kabīr*), perhaps the *Anwār-ut-tanzīl*, vide vol. i, trans.
 Ranking, p. 6, n. 4.

³ The text has خالق (*Khālāq*) 'creatures.' Both MSS. have خالق
 (*Khallāq*) 'the Creator,' which is better.

LXXV. ŠARF OF SĀWA.¹

He was for some time in Gujarāt with Khwāja Nizām-ud-din Ahmad, and then came to Lāhor and lived as a religious mendicant. When Shaikh Faiẓi was appointed to the Dakan he went with him, and thence journeyed to the next world. He has written a *divān* and in long and short odes was a master of style. The following couplets are by him:—

“I am debarred from traversing the road to the *Ku'bah*,
else would I have sent there,
The sole of a foot glad to endure the torment of collect-
ing its acacia thorns.” _____

“My rose-seller who wishes to bring her roses to market
Must first acquire strength to withstand the impetuous
throng of buyers.” _____

“If thou wishest to burn me light up the fire of thy cheek,
And so shall a light arise from my ashes till the day of 261
resurrection.”

LXXVI. ŠABŪRĪ OF HAMADĀN.²

He was taken prisoner on the day on which the Khānzamān was slain, and though he escaped execution he did not escape death.³ His poetry is mediocre. These few verses are from his pen:—

“I have surrendered my soul and my heart, being no longer
able to bear the pain of separation from her,

¹ Thus described in the *Ain* (i, 586): “He is poor and has few wants, and lives content with his indigence.” In the corrupt Lakhnau text of the *Tabaqāt* he is called ‘Mullā Harfī of Sāwa,’ and is thus described, ‘He was in the company of this humble one (scil. the author, Nizām-ud-din Ahmad) for some time in Gujarāt and was for some time at court. He went with Malik-ush-Shu‘arā Shaikh Faiẓi to the Dakan, and departed thence on the pilgrimage to the Hijāz.’ His name seems to have been Sāliḥ-ud-din.

² Šabūri is mentioned neither in the *Ain* nor in the *Tabaqāt*.

³ Vide p. 314, n. 1. The author’s meaning apparently is that Šabūri died, either of wounds or of illness, soon after he was captured.

What a pain is this, which has no remedy save the surrendering of one's soul!

When the manifest fever of my love is not visible to her,
How shall I inform her of my secret wounds?

When that moon-like beauty walks abroad in the night in
vesture of the hue of the night

The brightness of dawn may be seen where her dress
opens at the neck." —

"I would that her breast could be cleft by my dagger
That my pure heart might see whether her heart is pure."

"Her waist has entranced the hearts of men,
Has completely made away with the hearts of men."

LXXVII. ŠĀLIH THE MADMAN.¹

He obtained from the emperor the title of 'Aqil ('the sagacious'). He is crazy about statuary. For some time he has laid it upon himself as a duty to eat nothing before he has sent five or six dishes of meat to be thrown into a river, a fountain, or a pond as an offering to *Khizr* (on him be peace). He used to hand these dishes to Qāsim, a native of India (who was a poet and the son of an elephant driver, and also a low-minded fellow), and Qāsim used to go out and invite *qalandars*² and other rascals to eat the food, and when (on his return) Šālih would say, 362 'Ha, did you see the *Khwāja*?' the impudent rogue would reply, "Yes, his holiness the *Khwāja* deigned to eat the food with much relish, and sent you his blessing," and would fabricate lying stories of this sort, which the madman believed. He had, however, some poetic genius, and to him might have been applied the saying:—

¹ Thus described in the *Ṭabaqāt*, "Muhammad Šālih the madman received the title of 'Aqil. His father was said to be I'lāmī the librarian, who had been librarian to the emperor Humāyūn. Muhammad Šālih grew up from childhood in the service of the emperor Akbar and is now enjoying an allowance in Kābul. He is in easy circumstances and well-to-do."

² *كَلْبَر* a wandering religious mendicant, usually of loose habits.

"Beautiful poetry emanates from the cross-grained Haidar
Kalaj
Just as roses spring from a midden."

Ṣāliḥ wrote the following couplet:—

"Since the desire of her locks has fettered my feet,
My only way out of this bargain¹ is to surrender my
life."

Ṣāliḥ was for some time a favoured and honoured courtier, then fell into disgrace and went to Kābul. He returned thence and was appointed to the trusteeship of the light-diffusing shrine of the Sultān of Shāikh² (may God hallow his soul!), but did not accept the appointment, and, having obtained leave to return to Kābul, departed.

LXXVIII. TĪRAMĪ.

He is Mullā 'Alī the *Muḥaddiḥ*,³ brother of the well-known Mullā Ṣādiq. He acquired his learning in the Sayings in Arabia, and was extremely pious and temperate. He came twice to India, and in the year H. 981 (A.D. 1573-74) entered the protection of God's mercy, when the famous Mullā 'Alīm of Kābul⁴ made this chronogram on his death.

¹ This couplet contains the usual play on the words *موداء* (Arabic) 'melancholy,' 'desire' and *مودا* (Persian) 'traffic,' 'trade,' and also the common simile which likens the locks of the beloved to fetters.

² *Shāikh* Niẓām-ud-dīn Auliyyā, born at Badāon in Oct. A.D. 1236, and died at Dihli April 3, A.D. 1525. *Vide* vol. i, trans., Ranking, pp. 71, n. 2, 236 and n. 2, 266 and n. 1, 267, 269, n. 5, 270 and n. 6, 271 nn 1 and 4, 284, 301, 610 and n. 4, 611, n. Also *Firišta*, ii, 730, and the *Am-i-Akbari*, iii 365.

³ *محدث* 'one learned in the sayings of Muḥammad' (*احاديث*) mentioned below. Mullā 'Alī Tīramī the *Muḥaddiḥ* is not mentioned in the *Am*. For an account of his brother, *vide* p. 354.

⁴ *Vide* no. LXXIV.

"Alas! for suddenly Mullā 'Ali
 Has been snatched from our midst by misfortune's victory.
 To ascertain the year of his death remember that the date
 of the year which followed it
 Is contained in the words 'Mullā 'Ali the *Muḥaddis* is
 dead.' " ¹

His sprightly genius, following the dictates of his taste, would
 sometimes employ itself in the composition of verses. (The
 263 following are some of his verses.)

"My earthy body is so withered away from the scorching
 brand of separation
 That it escapes from my garments like dust, if I shake
 the skirt of my robe." —

"Thy stately form is a plant in the garden of my soul,
 The plant of thy stature is more ethereal than my
 thoughts." —

"I have plunged the pupil of my eye into water
 That it may not for a moment think of sleep." —

"Since I have no honour among men,
 I seek to flee from men as my tears flow from my eyes." ²

¹ مرد ملا علی محدث giving the date A.H. 982. I have been obliged
 to give a somewhat full paraphrase of the hemistich preceding this, which
 has apparently puzzled the editor of the text, in order that the sense may
 not be lost. The editor of the text, in a footnote in which he gives an
 inferior variant of the hemistich, gravely remarks that the chronogram
 gives the date 983, not having understood, apparently that the composer of
 the chronogram has drawn attention to this fact, and expressly says that
 the date given in the chronogram is that of the year following that of the
 Mullā's death.

² There is here a play upon the words مردم (*mardum*) 'men' and
 مردم (*mardum*, for *mardum-i-qashm*) 'pupil of the eye' which cannot be
 reproduced in translation.

"Since I have cast my heart into the bonds of the tresses
of moonlike beauties
I have woven for myself a net of calamity."

LXXIX. *TARIQI OF SĀWA.*¹

He was a lewd old man and a buffoon² and was popular among most of the poets about the court by the mere force of his impudence.

He at last had the honour of performing the holy pilgrimage (to Makkah), and died there. The following verses are by him:—

"What business have lovers other than giving up their lives?
Since I fear not death what else should I fear?"

"From the toilsome pain of separation nobody has any life
left."
If this is separation nobody has any life left."

"In this land I have given my heart to a most cruel enslaver.
I have fallen into the snare of the locks of one with a face
like a fairy."

"I am the faithful dog of him whose foot does not stray **284**
beyond the skirts of his own power,
Who imposes obligations on none, and is under obligation to
none."

¹ Thus described in the *Ṭabaqāt*, 'Mullā Tariqī spent some years in the emperor's service, and at length performed a pilgrimage to the Hijāz, where he died.' In note 3 on p. 598 of the *Āin* (vol. i.), an epigram of his on Judā'i (p. 291) is quoted. He accuses Judā'i of plagiarism from *Ashki* (p. 260). On p. 252 he is accused by Qāsim Arsalan, with Sahmī and Faridūn, as a plagiarist.

² A word (جنگر) occurs here the meaning of which I cannot divine. I neither know nor can discover any Persian or Urdu word resembling it, and have been obliged to omit it. Whatever Badā'uni wrote, we may be tolerably certain that it was nothing complimentary.

"We saw the graceful cypress-like figure of that fair one
depart,
Although no one has seen a soul depart."

"Thou saidst, 'Do not hover around me, or I will disgrace
and slay thee.'
Still do I hover around thee. Depart not from thy word."

"When her two cheeks come into my mind in the hours of
sleep,
All night long I see the moon and the sun in my dreams.
Remembering that thou wert to come, although thou
comest not,
Tranquillity leaves my soul, and distraction enters my
heart,"

"The pain of love is increased, and no sympathy remains in
the world,
Majnūn was both afflicted and sympathetic, but he did not
remain in the world."

"From this world, as a mistress, I have wholly cut myself off.
That I might quarrel with nobody for such a thing as a
world."

"It is impossible to live without thee for a moment in the
world,
For thou art my soul, and nobody can live without a soul."

"Nobody spoke, nor asked what a stage this must have been
In which *Khizr* was the last of the water-carriers of the
caravan."

"The army of grief for thy absence has captured the citadel
of my heart,

The scars which are visible on my heart are the hosts¹ of the foe."

LXXX. TĀLIB OF ISFAHĀN.²

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He has now dwelt in Kashmir for nearly eight years. At first he was a religious mendicant and then he elected to become an official, and entered the emperor's service. From Kashmir he was sent as envoy to the ruler of Little Tibet, 'Alī Rāi,³ and on his return presented to Shaikh Abū'l-Faẓl a treatise which he had written on the wonders of that land, which Abū'l-Faẓl embodied in the *Akbarnāma*. He is a very sympathetic man, and his taste, both in poetry and in prose, is correct. He wrote the following quatrain:—

"Thou givest me to drink of the poison of thy absence, asking
me what has happened,
Thou sheddest my blood and shakest me from thee, asking
me what has happened,
O thou who art ignorant of what the sword of thy absence
inflicts on me,
Wring my dust, that thou mayst know what has happened
to me."

¹ *جسامی لشکر* (*syāhi-i-lashkar*) 'dark bodies of troops.'

² In the *Āin* (i, 607), where he is called 'Bābā Tālib of Isfahān,' he is thus described, 'He is a thoughtful poet, and is experienced in political matters.' According to the *Haft Iq'im* Bābā Tālib had been for nearly thirty years in Kashmir, patronized by the rulers of that country. When Akbar annexed the province he came to Hindūstān, where he was much liked. According to the *Ma'dfir-i-Raḥimī* he was often in the company of Ḥakim Abū'l-Faḥl (p. 233), Zain Khān Kūka, Abū'l-Faẓl, and Shaikh Faizī, and was, in 1616, *Sadr* of Gujārat. Vide also Badāoni, vol. ii, text, p. 372.

³ Vide vol. ii, text, 372. In 1591 Ḥājī Mirzā Beg of Kābul was sent to 'Alī Rāi to demand his daughter in marriage for Shāh Salīm (Jahāngīr), and returned with the lady, who was duly married to the prince as his eighth wife. On this occasion Mulla Tālib accompanied Ḥājī Mirzā Beg. In A.D. 1602-03 'Alī Rāi invaded the frontier districts of Kashmir, but retreated before Muḥammad Qulī Khān, Turkman, and Saifullāh. Vide *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 474.

Another quatrain.

"Thou readest not the story of my grief, and it waxes old,
 Thou knowest not my disappointment, and it waxes old,
 Let not thy coming be delayed, for as for this wound of
 separation,
 I fear that thou wilt linger, and it will wax old."

Another quatrain.

"One day I, weary with travelling along the road of the stages
 of the heart,
 Turned its dust into mire with water from blisters on the
 foot of search.
 I spend my life on this road in order that, in answer to
 my supplication,
 Soul may meet soul, and heart heart."

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Other verses.

"Seek after enjoyment, for this virgin of life, sitting in the
 bridal chamber,
 Like a rose bursting forth from the bud casts her mother
 aside.
 Like the petals of a rose scattered by the spring breeze
 We go, with dust on our heads in the grief of our hearts."

"I am pleased with the folk of this world, for I have learnt
 from their fellowship
 Not to give up my corner of solitude for the world."

LXXXI. TĀLĪ'Ī OF YAZD.¹

He is a penman who writes the *nasta'liq* hand well and is of
 moderately studious habits. His business was that of a book-
 seller² in Agra.

¹ He is not mentioned in the *Āin* or in the *Tabaqāt*.

² Or 'bookbinder,' or 'librarian' — *مکتب‌دار*

The following couplets are by him :—

"Cupbearer,¹ how long can the grief of this world be borne?
Bring wine, that I may banish grief from my heart."

"Every moment she afflicts my heart, that she may make it
weary of her.
When will my heart weary of her, however much she
afflicts it?"

"I wish for no companion but thee, my darling,
I desire thee, and there is none in the world that I desire
beside thee."

"If, when I have suffered a thousand griefs, she listens to a
word from me,
She hears but the speech of a self-seeker, and straightway
forgets it."
"She is enraged if I speak to her but a word of my sad state;
How strange is this, that I cannot speak of my sad state to
her!"

A quatrain.

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"The devotee boasts of his virtue and piety,
The lover expends the cash of his life for his love;
Each lives in hope of a glance from the eye of his Friend,
Each wonders towards whom the Friend will cast that
glance."

Another quatrain.

"Summon contentment, if thou art wise,
Thou mayst thus, perchance, slay the dog of base desire.
See that neither water nor broth be too plentiful. Drain
not the cup,
For it will rebuke thee in a hundred draughts of iced water
and acid."

¹ The text has, wrongly, ساقیانی (*saqiyan*) in the plural. The MSS. have ساقی (*saqi*), the vocative singular, which is correct.

LXXXII. TĪFLI.¹

He is the son of Mullā Darvish of Fathpūr, and his uncle, Mullā Šālih, is now the teacher appointed to the monastery at Fathpūr. Tīfi in his thirteenth year was reading the *Sharh-i-Shame'iyyah*.² He has a most generous nature and an admirable taste in poetry. He is in the service of the eldest prince,³ and obtained the poetic name of Tīfi from him. The following few couplets are from a laudatory ode which he composed in honour of the prince :—

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“O King,⁴ in whose just reign strife itself has become the guardian of the world against the robbers of confusion,
The hope of thy favour is such that the very sins of sinners protect them from the fire of hell.
Thou art he, to the war-horse of whose resolution in the day of battle
Victory is the standard-bearer and success the fellow.
Last night the bird of glory brought the record of thy success,
That bird the fame of whose pinions comes from the uttermost parts of space beyond our ken.
The scribe of thy dignity has written passages of which we hope for a translation and for which we earnestly desire a translator.”

He also wrote the following verses :—

“If the beauty of the Idol were to display itself in the monastery

¹ Neither Tīfi nor his relations are mentioned in the *Ain*, nor in the *Tabaqāt*.

² A commentary on a famous work on logic. Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, 427, n. 1.

³ Scil. Sulṭān Salīm, afterwards the emperor Jahāngir.

⁴ Jahāngir had not ascended the throne when this grossly fulsome poem was written, but the word *Shāh* was applicable to a prince, as well as to a king, and the word used for reign is *دور* (*daur*) not *دفع* ('*ahd*) so that the poet did not risk the resentment of Akbar, while he flattered his own master.

Devotees who drag about their prayer carpets would exchange their rosaries for the idolator's thread.
 Nobody counts the cash of both worlds offered by the buyer
 In that place where the merchandise consists of wounded hearts."

"I am he who has grown to love the lancet of grief.
 Ointment is shamed by the wound in my breast."

"From our manner of dealing with Islām in the day of retribution
 It is likely that infidelity will seize us by the skirt."

"The song of love's feast this night inflamed the plectrum,
 Her glances were the singers and her eyebrow the rebeck-players this night."

"O heart, let my lips for once be wreathed with smiles!
 For to-night will be seen the splendour of love's tears of blood."

"I fear no reproof, for the reproaches of the jealous watcher
 Are as applause to the followers of love's religion."

"Ah! See how thy glance imperils our true faith, 289
 Trust in thy promises is a sure way to disappointment."

"Brahman, despair not of the efficacy of thy prostrations to thy idol,
 For the mark on thy forehead is the mirror of thy fate."¹

¹ The text has پیشانی (*piṣhānī*) 'forehead,' which neither scans nor makes sense. Both MSS. have پشیمانی (*paṣhīmānī*), the correct reading.

² The reference is to the caste-mark worn on the forehead by Hindūs. The couplet is Sūfī-istic in tone. Religion, the poet says, is a purely subjective matter, and it is the sincerity of worship rather than its object, that is important.

"How should my pain be assuaged by lint and ointment,
The bird of whose wounded heart breathes forth flame?"

The following few couplets are from a *tarji'-band*¹ by Tifi:—

"My tears, rejoice, for this night
My heart's blood surges up in my eyes.
O reunion, plead for me, for my desire for her
Has devastated the abode of reason.
Speak not to me of delight,
For the lancet has become the companion of my wound,
It is useless to say to anybody,
'Scatter diamond-dust in your wound but do not cry out.'"

It is marvellous that a lad of Tifi's years should understand and speak Persian; much more so that he should be able to compose poetry in the language. It may be hoped that he will outstrip many of these old men who have wasted their lives.

LXXXIII. ZUHŪRĪ.²

He used to live in the Dakan, and was characterized by his unrestrained manner of life, his indifference to public opinion, and his disinclination from attending at the courts of kings. Shaikh Faizi used to dilate much on the praiseworthy qualities of him and of Malik Qumi, known as Malik-ul-Kalām, and these two poets wished to accompany the Shaikh to the imperial court at Lāhor, but Burhān-ul-Mulk³ prevented them from going. It is

¹ A poem in which a refrain occurs at stated intervals.

² Zuhūri is mentioned neither in the *Ain* nor in the *Tubaqāt*. The Asiatic Society of Bengal has a MS. copy of his *divan*. He is described as Mullā Nūr-ud-din Zuhūri of Tarāhiz.

³ Burhān Niẓām Shāh II, king of Ahmadnagar, A.D. 1590-1594. On his death the affairs of the Ahmadnagar kingdom fell into great confusion. Three kings followed one another in quick succession, mere puppets raised to the throne and deposed by opposing factions, and there was much bloodshed. In 1595, the year in which Badaoni's history was concluded, Akbar's troops were attacking Ahmadnagar and peace was made on the condition that Ahmadnagar ceded to the empire the province of Berar. *Vide Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, by Major T. W. Haig, pp. 39, 236.

now reported that the unruly Dakanis, following their detestable habit of murdering foreigners,¹ have, in a recent riot, put these two poor innocent men to death (may God put *them* to death!).

Maulānā Zuhūri was a master of poetical style, and composed a *divān*. The following couplets are quoted as a memorial of 270 him:—

“The wine-stains cause tulips to bloom on my woollen coat,
The evening of Friday ever brings a Saturday for me.”²

“Zuhūri, thy complaints of the beloved are out of place.
Thy destiny is at fault. What fault is that of hers?”

LXXXIV. ‘ĀLIM OF KĀBUL.³

This *Mullā* of pleasant manners, cheerful nature and graceful actions used the poetical name of ‘Ārif. In argument, and at other times, he would say things fit to make his hearers die with laughter. In his common-place book he has written an essay on the commentary⁴ on the *Maqāṣid* and has stated the proposition that the title means ‘the book of endeavour,’ which was one of the compositions of the writer, and also a commentary called the *Tajdīd* (‘renewal’) on the commentary¹ on the

¹ The domestic history of the independent Muḥammadan kingdoms of the Dakan is largely the history of violent and bloody feuds between the *Dakani* and Abyssinian nobles on the one hand and the ‘foreign’ nobles (Turks, Arabs, and Persians) on the other. The latter were frequently much favoured by the kings of the Dakan and the jealousy of the native *Dakanis* led to frequent conflicts and massacres. *Vide* Haig’s *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, pp. 4—10 *et passim*.

² Friday, according to the Muḥammadan method of computing time, begins on Thursday evening, which is called the evening of Friday. The poet’s meaning is that he does not keep the Sabbath of Islām and that Friday is as Saturday to him. This couplet is not in the text nor in MS. (B). I have introduced it from MS. (A).

³ Mullā ‘Ālim is not mentioned in the *Āin* as a poet. He is thus described in the *Ṭabaqāt*, ‘Mullā ‘Ālim of Kābul was a man of cheerful nature, happy disposition, and unconventional habits. He wrote poetry and composed a history of governors, learned men, and poets, which he called *Fawāṭih-ul-Wilāyah*.’

⁴ I have not been able to identify these two works, which are probably works on theology.

Tajdid, and also some marginal notes on the *Muṭawwal*,¹ in which he writes, "This book is copied from the book *Tuwal*,² which is equal in length to the *Muṭawwal*, or even longer." He has also written a book containing accounts of the *Shaikh*s of India, in which he has entered everything that he has heard from every mosque-sweeper and beggar, adding also some conjectures of his own, and he has named it *Wa fawātiḥ-ul-wilāyah*. When they questioned him regarding this title, saying, "The particle *wa* ('and') requires something preceding it, to be coupled with the latter clause, and what should precede, it does not appear," he replied, "That which precedes it is here understood, and is manifest by transposition, that is to say, the title should be *Fawātiḥ-ul-walāyah*, with a *fathḥ* over the *wāw* of *walāyah* as the *wāw* preceding the phrase indicates, not with a *kasr* under the *wāw* of *wilāyah*, as it is commonly read."³

The Mullā was always jealous of Qāzī Khān of Badakhshān,⁴ on the ground of his having invented the *siḍdah*⁵ ('prostration'). One day in Fathpūr he led the late Mirzā Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad and the author off to his house at early dawn, with much solicitation, and, having given us an appetizing electuary, began to show

¹ Vide vol. I (trans. Ranking), p. 428, n. 3.

² The *Mullā* is here punning on the title of the *Muṭawwal*, which means 'lengthened'. *Tuwal* means 'the duration of life,' also 'the seven long chapters of the *Qur'ān*.'

³ I have been obliged to translate somewhat freely here, in order to make some attempt at explaining the *Mullā*'s clumsy jest. *Wa fawātiḥ-ul-wilāyah* means 'and the beginnings of saintship.' The *Mullā* was asked to explain the apparently redundant 'and' and replied that it indicated that the first letter of the word *wilāyah* ('saintship') was to be read with a short 'a,' like the same letter in the word *wa* ('and'), so that the title of the book would read *Fawātiḥ-ul-walāyah* ('the beginnings of governing'), his object being to satirize the pretended saints who had made their sanctity a means of rising to high places. Vide *infra*.

⁴ Vide *Īn-i-Akbarī*, i, 440, where his title is given as Ghāzī Khān, his name being Qāzī Nizām. Vide p. 214.

⁵ The *siḍdah* ('prostration') was introduced at Akbar's court instead of the *karnigh* and *taslim* (bowing and raising the hand to the head), and gave great offence to the orthodox, vide p. 214, n. 2.

us his books, talking about them from dawn till midday, while we remained hungry and were not able to get a word in. At last the *Mirzā*, no longer able to endure it, asked the *Mullā* whether he had anything to eat. The *Mullā* answered, "I thought that 271 you had eaten before you came. I have a lamb here; if you wish I will kill it now." We rose and went home. It is impossible to recount all pranks of this nature which he played.

When he saw that *Shaiḫ* Abū'l-Faḍl, Qāzī Khān, and others of his contemporaries from being *mullās* rose to the rank of *amīrs* of the highest grade, while he continued to draw a small stipend, he petitioned that he too might be admitted as a soldier. His request was granted, and one day, at the time when the guard turned out for the evening salute, he appeared in military guise before the emperor, girt in a grotesque fashion with a borrowed sword, and, having approached the presence from one side of the *darbār*, stood, and, catching his scabbard to him, said, without any introduction,¹ "By which *manṣabdār*² shall I stand, and from what place shall I make my obeisance³?" The emperor was sagacious enough to penetrate his design and said, "Make your obeisance from that place in which you are now standing." When the *Mullā* saw that this effort to obtain recognition had failed he wandered at large. One day, in order to show that he possessed all that became a soldier, he came to court, in the noonday heat, in dirty, greasy clothes quilted with cotton, which had been either given or lent to him by somebody, and *Mirzā*

¹ The text appears to me to be corrupt here. It has *بی نیابت کنی* which is unintelligible. MS. (A) has *بی نیابت کسی* which is not much better. MS. (B) has *بی نیابت کسی* which appears to me to be the correct reading, and which I have followed. For *خلاف* in the text and MSS which makes no sense, I have substituted *فلان*.

² A military commander. The object of the unceremonious behaviour of *Mullā* 'Alim, who was, apparently, at this time no more than a private soldier, was an attempt to obtain a *manṣab*, or military command.

³ The word used is *تسلیم* (*taslim*). The *Mullā* would not, apparently, perform the *سجده* (*sajdah*) 'prostration'.

'Aziz Kūka cracked some pleasant jests on his appearance, and the Mullā returned pleasant answers to them.

As his birthplace was Gulbīhār, a village in the district of Kābul, he wrote for some time under the poetical name of Bahārī, but afterwards, having recognized that the name was unbecoming, as it called to mind the names borne by servant girls, he changed it, and called himself Rabi'ī.¹ The motto which he composed for his seal was, "He had a well-ordered mind."²

272 The following few couplets are quoted as a memorial of him :—

"That eye in which I delighted every moment flees away,
It may be that I shall place a straw from her wall upon it."

— — —

"The glass of delight has been shattered, with whomsoever
I sat ;

The bond of fellowship has snapped, with whomsoever I
bound it.

She has risen to slay me, with the sword of hatred in her
hand,

Whenever I sat in kindness with anybody for a moment."

He has composed, some couplets in the metre of 'The Chain of Gold'³ and he has called his book of nonsense "The Tinkling of the Bell," and has enumerated in it books said to be of his own composition, some of which have no existence but in his verses, and has given them imaginary names, as in the following verses :—

¹ *Rabi'ī* ('of, or relating to the spring') is the Arabic equivalent to *Bāhārī*. I cannot reconcile this statement with the statement above, that the Mullā's *takhallus* was 'Arif.

² The motto may also be translated "He had poetic genius." The text here has a note by the editor to the effect that the reading is the same in the three MSS from which he edited the text. The reading seems to puzzle him, but it is perfectly simple.

³ سلسلة الذهب (*silsilat-udh-dhahab*). I have not been able to trace this poem.

“Thou mayst have seen, from a copy of the *Tajdid*,¹
That a new favour has newly arrived
In which are concealed a hundred stages of the pilgrimage,²
And from the contents of which great enterprises³ are manifest.

The text of the *Tajūd*⁴ is halting beside it,
Its rose-garden has lost its colour from want of water
Its splendour, without dissimulation and without exaggeration,

Is perfect wisdom, the wisdom of the sunrise⁵
And of that book, the attributes of which are beyond telling,

*Dalālat-ul-‘aql*⁶ is the name and description
And that pearl which has come from the ocean of generosity,
Is the *Luġjat-ul-jud fī’l-irġud*⁷

I am the compiler of that *‘Awdlim-ul-āthār*,⁸
From the instructions of the knower of chronicles,

¹ The *Tajdid* (تجدید—‘renewal’) was Mullā ‘Alim’s commentary on the commentary on the *Fayūd*. In this couplet the poet puns on the Arabic root meaning ‘new,’ using three different measures of the trilateral root

² مواقف (*marāqif*) ‘halting places or stages in the performance of the ceremonies of the pilgrimage at Makkah. It is probable that Mullā ‘Alim styled the chapters or sections of his book *marāqif*, or that he is referring to a book of this name. MS. (A) has the reading مواق (*muwāq*) which does not make good sense.

³ مقاصد (*maqāṣid*) a reference to the poet’s *كُتَاب قَصْد* (*kitāb-i-qand*) or ‘book of endeavour’ and to the *Maqāṣid*, the book on which it is a commentary.

⁴ *I*de note 1, *supra*.

⁵ حکمت عین وحکمت اشراق. It is possible that the words هین (‘*ayn*’) and اشراق (*ishrāq*) refer to the titles of books

⁶ ‘Indication of wisdom,’ apparently one of the poet’s imaginary works

⁷ ‘The ocean of generosity, on existence,’ apparently another of the poet’s imaginary works

⁸ هوالم الآثار ‘worlds of relics.’ Probably another of Mullā ‘Alim’s imaginary works.

In which I have collected a hundred and twenty different branches of learning,
Say who else can be thus described."

In spite of all this fooling he was a good friend, tactful, accomplished, able, sympathetic, unceremonious, agreeable, acceptable, and jocular. I hope that God (He is praised and exalted!) may in His grace and benevolence have made him a partaker of eternal life in heaven.

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LXXXV. MIR 'ABDUL HAYY OF MASHHAD.¹

He was for some time *Ṣadr*² under the emperor Humāyūn and his brother, Mir 'Abdullāh the jurist, was one of Humāyūn's intimate and specially honoured confidants. Both brothers were endued with piety, sanctity, and regularity of life.³

Mir 'Abdul Hayy was expert in writing the *Babari* hand, which was invented by the emperor Bābar, who sent to the honoured city of Makkah a copy of the *Qur'ān* written in that hand, of which no trace now remains.⁴ In the memoir of Mir

¹ Vide *Āin-i-Akbari* i, 468, 471, 480. He was a commander of five hundred and Akbar's *Mir-i-Adl* or chief justice. In the 35th year of Akbar's reign he and *Ṣadr-i-Jahān* took part in a drinking bout, and amused Akbar very much. Mr. Blochmann says that he is called in the *Tabaqāt* '*Khawāja* 'Abdul Hayy,' but in the Lucknow edition he is thus described, 'Mir 'Abdul Hayy the *Ṣadr* was a *Khawāsāni*. The emperor Humāyūn made him *Ṣadr-ul-Afāzil* ('chief of learned men') He was for years in the service of the emperor Akbar.'

² 'It was the *Ṣadr*, or, as he was then (*scil.* before the reign of Akbar) generally styled, *Ṣadr-i-Jahān*, whose edict legalized the *julūs*, or accession, of a new king. During the reign of Akbar also he ranked as the fourth officer of the empire. The power of the *Ṣadr* was immense. They were the highest law officers and had the powers which Administrators-General have among us; they were in charge of all lands devoted to ecclesiastical and benevolent purposes, and possessed an almost unlimited authority of conferring such lands independently of the King. They were also the highest ecclesiastical law-officers, and might exercise the powers of High Inquisitors. Vide *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 270.

³ Or, perhaps, 'administrative ability.' The word is *نظامت* (*niṣāmat*).

⁴ *Shaiḡh* Abū-l-Faḡl, in the *Āin-i-Akbari*, discourse at large on the art of

'Alā-ud-daulah' it is mentioned that Mir 'Abdul Ḥayy devoted some attention to the study of accomplishments and that nobody had learnt to write in the difficult *Bābarī* style more quickly or better than he, but Mirzā 'Aziz Kūka wrote in the margin of the memoir that Mir 'Abdul Ḥayy had no knowledge of any branch of learning, and that his one accomplishment was some knowledge of the *Bābarī* script, with which he was very imperfectly acquainted, that he was wonderfully simple and would, apropos of nothing and without consideration, relate in social gatherings strange tales which no child would believe. As Mir 'Abdul Ḥayy was better known to Mirzā 'Aziz Kūka than to Mir 'Alā-ud-daulah, it is beyond doubt that what the Mirzā wrote is nearer to the truth than that which is written in the memoir, for Mir 'Alā-ud-daulah, has recorded much incongruous nonsense ² in the memoir.

Mir 'Abdul Ḥayy has some aptitude for poetry, and wrote an answer to that fantastical quatrain which was written in the form of a square by one of the accomplished men about the court in honour of Muḥammad Hindāl Mirzā, and is so well known that it is the first thing that children are set to learn. The quatrain is as follows :—

"O thou, before whose court a hundred Rustams ³ have cast
down their crowns,

penmanship and mentions ten different scripts, among which the *Bābarī* finds no place. This bears out Badi'oni's statement that it was lost. *Vide* *Āin*, i, 96.

¹ *Vide* page 239, also *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 447 and n. 2. where the name of his *Tazkirah* or memoir is given as *نقائس المآثر* (*naṣā'is-ul-ma'āthir*) 'precious memorials.'

² *شتر گربه* (*shutur-gurba*), lit. 'camel-eat.' Anything incongruous or absurd.

³ In the text the four verses of which each of these quatrains is composed are written, following the conceit of their authors, on the four sides of a square, with the exception of the titles concluding the final hemistich of each, which are continued in the line of one of the diagonals of the square. There is no particular art in this conceit, for any quatrain could be so written. The text contains the following note by the editor, 'In truth this form of composition is no more than a child's plaything and men of letters do not class such things among *murabba'* (verses written in a doubled metre)'

Whose praises are sung by all those who have attained
perfection;
India has been conquered merely by thy footstep within her
bounds,
Thy title is, MUḤAMMAD HINDĀL ! ”

Mir ‘Abdul Ḥayy, who also had a childish nature, wrote, in
reply, the following quatrain :—

“ O thou, at whose door a thousand monarchs like Cæsar hold
their crowns,
Whose praises exercise their tongues evening and morning !
May all the confines of the world, O Lord,
Be under the sway of the king of the world, MUḤAMMAD
AKBAR ! ”

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LXXXVI. ‘ITĀDL’

He is Sayyid Muḥammad of Najaf who made a name in the
Dakan^a and came to Ilāhābād and paid his respects to the
emperor. He was very unconventional in all outward observances
and was bold and slovenly. It was reported to the emperor that
he had written a satire in the Dakan on *Shāh Fatḥullāh*,^b and
when he was questioned on this point he denied that he had done
so, saying, ‘In that country I would have taken no notice of a

nor are they mentioned as such in the *Majma‘-uṣ-Ṣanā‘i*, nor in the *Haft
Qulzum*, for any four hemistichs might be written in this form.’ The editor
of the text apparently resents the application by Badāoni of the term
murabba‘ (‘in the form of a square’) to these quatrains, but Badāoni
evidently did not intend to say that these quatrains belonged to the class of
compositions technically known as *murabba‘*, but merely that they were
written in the form of a square. The MSS. omit the first syllable of each
hemistich.

¹ Thus described in the *Āin* (i, 588), ‘He possesses harmony of thought,
but his mind is unsettled, and he lives a disorderly life,’ and thus in the
Tabaqāt, ‘He came from foreign parts to India and owing to his ill-regulated
disposition he was imprisoned for two years in Gwāliyār, and was at last
pardoned by the natural clemency of the emperor.’

^a Probably in Bijāpūr.

^b Vide p, 316,

man of that sort.' This remark increased the suspicion that he had written the satire and he was imprisoned, and it was ordered that all his papers should be examined in Fatḥpūr in order that it might be discovered, whether he had written satires on anybody while he was in Hindūstān. Some incriminating papers were discovered, and he remained in prison in Gwāliyār for ten ¹ years until at length he was pardoned at the intercession of the eldest prince and other courtiers, and was summoned to Lāhor, but he still retained his evil disposition.

One day he came to the house of Qāzī Ḥasan of Qazvin,² who has the title of *Khān*, and the doorkeeper opposed his entering. 'Itābī grappled with him, entered the assembly, which was a party of friends who had sat down to food, and said to Qāzī Ḥasan, 'It was this food, that led you to cause your door to be shut in the face of a learned man, a foreigner, and you have a perfect right (to keep your food to yourself).' In spite of all that the master of the house and his guests could do in the way of excusing themselves, saying that the doorkeeper had not recognized him, 'Itābī would not be appeased, and refused to sit down and eat. He had great skill in writing Persian and Arabic poetry, also in penmanship and in prose composition. He has composed a *diwān*. The following couplets are by him :—

"We have scorched our wise hearts in the furnace of desire,

"We have burnt the lamp of the *Ka'bak* at the door of the
idol-temple."

"We have given thee permission to shed this innocent blood, 276

We have given it to thee verbally, in writing, and under a
formal attestation."

"We swear by thy honour that we are the nightingales of
this meadow,

¹ Two years according to the *Ṭabaqāt*, vide n. 9.

² He served in Gujarāt in A.D. 1537, and later in the siege of Asirgarh.
Vide *Āin-i-Akbari* i, 498.

That the rose has bloomed and we know not where the garden is."

"In thy country the name of faithfulness causes weeping,
Both the messenger, and the letter which he bears cause,
each separately, weeping.

"The drum of thy munificence sounds loudly, but I can find
no way to the sun (of the assembly).
This special custom and public assembly of thine will kill
me."¹

"I have left thy street, besmirched with accusations;
I brought to it chastity, and I leave it defiled with sin.
May the black night of thy locks be pleased with the
multitude of hearts (offered to it)
While I stray, miserable, from thy street.
The fountain of Khizr ² prides itself on receiving the dust
of my feet
While I go, thirstier than ever, from the dimple in thy
chin.
Sugar was poured out at each door at which I knocked,
thou wouldst think
That I had been to beg from that laughing lip.
I knocked at the door of the seventy-two sects of Islām,
and from the door of despair
I turned, hopeless of help from either fire-worshipper or
Musalmān."

"In my impatience, 'Itābi, I resolved to part from her, and
now
Each time the thought of her enters my heart I weep unrestrainedly."

¹ That is to say the loved one's custom of holding public levées, having previously given notice of them.

² The fountain of the water of life,

A quatrain.

"In the love of thy face I have lost both learning and sense. 277
 But what of these? I have lost my very soul
 In following thee, whatever I had at the end of my life
 Have I lost, and yet I have lost all evil."

"It would not be wonderful if from the atmosphere of thy
 face,
 And from the heated iron of my heart, a film should form
 on the mirror."

After his release from confinement he was given a sum of a thousand rupees for travelling expenses and was placed under the charge of Qilij Khān,¹ who was ordered to send him off from the port of Sūrat on a pilgrimage to the Hijāz, but on the way to Sūrat he escaped and fled into the Dakan, where he took refuge with the rulers of the country, and there he still wanders about in the condition in which he formerly was.

LXXXVII. 'UBAIDI.²

He is a youth recently come to man's estate. He wrote the following couplet:—

"The reward for pain which is not worthy of my asking
 after it
 Is a glance to ask for which I am unworthy."

This couplet for some time raised a great stir (among lovers of poetry) on every side in Lāhor, and on this account Hakīm Abū-'l-Faṭḥ Gilānī³ was loud in 'Ubaidi's praises, and presented him to the emperor. When he was asked to write more poetry he did not continue a poem on the lines of this couplet, but wrote some

¹ A commander of four thousand and governor of the fort of Sūrat. He was made governor of the fort when Akbar, after a siege of forty-seven days, took it. His daughter married Akbar's youngest son, Sulṭān Dāniyāl.

² 'Ubaidi is not mentioned as a poet in the *Āin*, nor in the *Tabaqāt*

³ Vide p. 233.

pessimistic verses which obtained no recognition, and since then he has disappeared, like all traces of his poetry.

LXXXVIII. 'Ishqī Khān.¹

He is descended from some of the religious leaders of the Turks. He is acquainted with book-keeping, and was for some time accountant-general to the imperial government. He has a *divan* 278 full of long and short odes. One day in Lāhor he represented that he wished to present the emperor with a complete copy of his works, and at the same time to recite before him a long ode and a short ode which he had just composed. As his poetry was known to be ridiculous, the emperor told him to keep the two odes by him and to insert them in the complete copy of his works when he should present it, in order that all his poems might be heard at one reading. He composed a long *maṣnavī*, like the *maṣnavī* of Khānjar Beg, which has already been mentioned. This couplet occurs in it,

"I am mean, of no consideration, and ugly ;

What a plague of a contemptible mannikin am I."

Rahmān Quli Sultān, his son, had skill in composing chronograms, and wrote this hemistich as a posy for his seal.

"The slave Rahmān Quli Sultān, the son of 'Ishqī Khān."

(The author adds)

"How should that ingenious man have a worthless son."

Since in this selection I have imposed upon myself the duty of quoting, just as it was written, the poetry of all the poets of the age without any distinction, and most of whatever I found in my sources of information, whether melodious or inelegant, has been reproduced, I have, of necessity, quoted some of the verses of 'Ishqī Khān, in order to show no unreasonable preference. And, in truth, the responsibility rests with Mir 'Alā-ud-daulah,² not with the author. The following couplets are his :—

¹ In the *Ain* (i, 528) he is called Maulānā 'Ishqī. He came from Ghazni

² Mir 'Alā-ud-daulah seems to have helped Badā'oni in selecting verse to be quoted.

"The reflection of thy eye, heavy with the drowsiness of wine,¹ has fallen on the wine,
Like a drunkard who, in his drunkenness, falls into the water."

"The bud, in desire of thy lip, smiled not at the breath of the morning,
But in order to see thy face opened the eye of its heart." 279

"As I write my letter to thee the paper is wet with my tears,
I weep in jealousy of the pen which writes thy name on the paper."²

He was, at all events, a mild and dignified man, of old-fashioned manners. He has now wholly accepted the *Ṣūfī* doctrine of annihilation, and is become an old man nearing actual annihilation.

LXXXIX. 'Ilmī.³

He was entitled Mir Murtazā and was descended of the Sayyids of Dūghābād.⁴ He was one of the most trusted officers of the Khānzamān, and for some time held possession of Badāon. He was endowed with learning and accomplishments and was immoderately fond of jesting. When Hījāz⁵ Khān, one of the chief

¹ A drowsy or languid appearance of the eye is held by orientals to be attractive.

² Balāoni seems to have had a very poor opinion of 'Ishq's poetry: but the examples here quoted are at least up to the standard of most of the verses quoted by him.

³ 'Ilmī is not mentioned as a poet in the *Imn*, or in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

⁴ دروغاباد in the text, with a variant, دوعات (Du'āt), in a foot-note. MS. (ii) has دوقابان (Dūghābād). I have not been able to identify this place, the name of which has evidently puzzled the scribes.

⁵ Thus in both MSS. The text has جهيز (Hahjīz) or جهيز (Jihjiz), names which I cannot identify. The reading of the MSS. appears to me to be better than that of the text.

men of Badāon, who wrote poetry under the name of Zāhid, recited, from the *magnavi* which he had written on the phrase 'In the name of God,' the following couplet:—

"When the crenellations of the letter *sin*¹ began to laugh
The letter laughed so as to show its gums,"

The Mir said, "What are 'the crenellations of the letter *sin*?'
The doors and the walls are laughing at your verse."

Sometimes from the sprightliness of his nature he would occupy himself by writing poetry.

The following couplet is his:—

"O heart, all night the street dog gets no sleep
From thy cries and lamentation and wailing."

XC. MIR 'AZIZU-'ILLĀH.²

280 He came of the Saifi Sayyids of Qazvin³ and in book-keeping and penmanship he came first among accountants and scribes, and he also had some proficiency in those branches of learning which are not treated of in Arabic literature. He was for some time a *divān-i-sa'ādat*,⁴ and when *Karoris*⁵ were appointed throughout

¹ The poet evidently means, by this expression, the points of the letter *sin* (س) at the head of the small loops, commonly called the 'teeth' of the letter. Hence the expression 'laughed so as to show its gums' (من دندان) *bun-i-dandān* or, literally, 'the roots of its teeth.' *Sin* is the second letter of the Arabic phrase. 'In the name of God,' as usually written. The verse is sufficiently absurd, but the critic's own verse is not much better.

² Mir 'Azizu-'illāh is not mentioned in the *Āin*.

³ The Saifi Sayyids of Qazvin were *Sunnis*, and suffered some persecution in Persia on account of their religious belief.

⁴ The *divān-i-sa'ādat* was clerk to the *Šadr*, vide p. 378, n. 2.

⁵ *Karoris* were revenue officers placed each over a tract of country which paid annually a *karōr* of *dāms* (1,00,00,000 *dāms* = Rs. 2,50,000) to the imperial treasury. Vide *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 13. They were first appointed in A.D. 1574-75 and each *karōri* was obliged to give security for his good behaviour. Notwithstanding this they were grossly extortionate and depopulated large tracts by their exactions. Many of them were called to account and perished under scourging and torture or lived miserably in

the empire of Hindūstān he, having with much trouble collected five *karors* (of *dāms*)¹ from the Sambhal district, was appointed to the administrative and revenue charge of that district,² and at last he was for several years under suspension, engaged in rendering accounts to the *divān* and his honour was changed to disgrace, and he was subjected to torture, and suffered much, and he surrendered all that he had, even to the uttermost farthing,³ to the imperial treasury, and, after surrendering all his possessions, surrendered his life with them. He composed a *divān* of short odes, a poem in praise of the people of his town,⁴ a poem on roses and wine, and many other treatises in verse, but his poetry is all in the style of the poets of the time of Sultān Husain Mirzā,⁵ and most of the works which I have named are in that style. The following verses are his :—

“ The fresh down has sprung from her ruby lip with moisture
and splendour,
For she ever drinks water from the fountain of the sun.”

jail till death ended their sufferings. Badāonī says that they lived for one year in luxury as *karoris* and paid for it with their lives or by dragging on a miserable existence ever afterwards. Vide Badāonī, vol. ii, text, p. 189.

¹ Rs. 1,250,000. The meaning of the passage is that Mir ‘Azizu’llāh extorted this sum from the people of the Sambhal district in order to pay for the appointment of revenue administrator of the district. As this large sum was over and above the revenue which the people had to pay to government and as ‘Azizu’llāh’s habits of extortion probably grew upon him, it is not surprising that he was called to account.

² The text has *موبد* (*subah*) ‘province,’ but it is improbable that Mir ‘Azizu’llāh was placed in charge of the whole of the province of Dihli, in which Sambhal was situated. It is more probable that he had charge of the *sarkār* or revenue district of Sambhal, which was a sufficiently important charge, paying in annual revenue, Rs. 16,73,536, not reckoning *suyārghāh*.

³ Literally ‘all that he had and had not,’ an expressive phrase which may perhaps be taken to mean that he had to surrender all his property and promise to deliver whatever property he might acquire in the future.

⁴ *شهر آشوب* (*shahr-aghūb*) ‘town-disturbing.’ A poem written in praise or disparagement of the people of a town.

⁵ King of *Khurāsān*, A.D. 1470—1505. He was descended from ‘Umar Shaikh Mirzā, second son of Timūr.

"I am thus fallen in the road of grief and toil like rubbish,
Perchance some breeze of thy favour and grace will raise
me from the dust."

"O Lord, I am distracted by the multitude of my sins,
Show me some mercy, for I am heavily weighed down by
my sins.
I have grief in plenty, boundless sorrow, but no comforter.
How shall I make friends for myself? I am heavily
afflicted."

It is evident that he composed these last few verses while
he was in prison.

XCI. MĪRZĀ 'AZĪZ KŪKĀ.¹

He is entitled A'zam Khān, and is well known for his good
281 breeding, and for his varied accomplishments and gifts, and there
is no other *amīr* who is regarded as his equal in depth of under-
standing or in capacity. As he used formerly, now and again,
but rarely, to make trial of his ability in the composition of verse,
the following few verses of his are quoted, in order that these
memoirs may not be destitute of all mention of him.

"Since honour and reputation prevented me from obtaining
the desire of my heart,
I will henceforward shatter my reputation with a stone."

He also wrote an illuminated copy of an ode composed by
himself, the opening couplet of which was this :—

"O thou, whose curled lock is the fetter of my heart,
The love of whom is mingled with all the elements of my
body!"

¹ Son of Ataga Khān and Jī Jī Anaga, and foster-brother of Akbar. He
received the title of A'zam Khān in A.D. 1580, after his father's death, and
was at the same time made a commander of five thousand. His daughter
married Murād, Akbar's fourth son. Mirzā 'Azīz died in A.D. 1623-24 at
Ahmadābād. He was remarkable for his ease of address, intelligence, and
knowledge of history. Vide *Ain-i-Akbarī*, i, 325.

The following couplets are also by him:—

“The affairs of the world have no stability,
It is better that my heart should be withdrawn from the
affairs of the world.”

“My heart is sick with the pain and grief of loneliness,
O physician of the sick heart, what dost thou prescribe?”

“My grief-worn heart has become dust in the road of fidelity;
See, my faithless love, the way of those who humble them-
selves to the dust.”¹

He laid out a splendid garden in Agra, and in it built a garden-
house adorned with paintings, and composed this quatrain for
an inscription on the building:—

“O Lord, by the purity of heart of men of discernment,
Which is dearer to Thee than all other things,
Since this house has, by Thy grace, been completed,
Of thy favour send me honoured guests!”

There are in the world many records of his doings, one of
which relates the story of his high-spirited departure on pilgrim- 282
age to Makkah, and of his return in a different frame of mind,
—one of the inevitable consequences of these evil days.²

¹ The text has *خاکساری* (*Khāksārī*) ‘humility.’ MS. (A) has *خاکساران* (*Khāksārān*) which is better.

² In A.D. 1001 (A.D. 1593) Mirzā ‘Aziz, who had been absent from court for six years, was summoned from Gujarāt by Akbar. The Mirzā, then a good Muslimān, had been much alarmed by the religious freaks with which Akbar had inaugurated the millennium in the previous year and on receiving the summons fled to Diu on April 3, 1593, and departed thence on pilgrimage to Makkah. Here he remained for some time, and was so plundered in the name of religion that this zeal for Islam cooled. He returned to India in A.D. 1594-95, was favourably received by Akbar, and became a member of Akbar’s new religion, ‘the divine faith.’ The orthodox Badshah here dismisses the subject very curtly. Vide vol. ii, text, pp. 397, 398, and *Āin-i Akbarī*, i, 327.

XCII. 'AHDİ OF SHIRAZ.¹

He has written different kinds of poetry, both long and short odes. He was for some time in Gujarāt with Mirzā Nizām-ud-din Aḥmad. When he came to Dihli, after the deposition of Qāzī Muḥammad, who was a fanatical Shī'ah and an evil liver, the late Ḥakim 'Ain-ul-Mulk² in Lāhor besought the *Ṣadr*³ to appoint Mullā 'Ahdī to the *Qāzī*-ship, and by way of an anticipatory omen found the words *Qāzī 'Ahdī*⁴ to give the date of his imaginary *qāzī*-ship, but it was all of no avail and resembled the story of an imaginary man riding an imaginary horse in an imaginary plain and playing polo with an imaginary stick and an imaginary ball. 'Ahdī then went with the Ḥakim to the Dekan, and nothing is known of him after the Ḥakim's death, neither what happened to him nor whither he went.

The following verses are by him :—

A quatrain.

"Though the lip of my complaint was wet with blood,
The smoke from my heart arose from the chimney of my
eyes,
My tears rained down sparks and fire,
My sighs kindled and became like a burning coal."

At the time when Ḥakim 'Ain-ul-Mulk departed from Lāhor and also (after a short time) from this world of wickedness and strife, the following quatrain, attributed to Ḥakim Ṣanā'ī, was discussed :—

"Breathe once more, for thy Beloved is near thee,
And the bird of thy desire is near to the cage.
How long wilt thou say, 'I am far from my Beloved?'
Look within thyself, for the Friend is very near thee."⁵

¹ 'Ahdī is mentioned neither in the *Ain* nor in the *Tabaqāt*.

² *Vide* p. 229.

³ *Vide* p. 122, note 2.

⁴ قلبي عهدی The sum of the letters gives the date A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-92).

⁵ This is a Ṣūfī-istic quatrain. Cf. St. Augustine, "*Ego multum erravi quaerens Te extra me, et Tu habitas in me.*"

Maḥvi composed the following quatrain :—

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“Maḥvi, whose heart is near to all men,
Is near to the bud of the garden and to its thorns and
rubbish.
For this reason he was not repulsed from the litter of the
beloved,
That the sound of his weeping resembles the sound of its
bell.”

Ḥakīm ‘Ain-ul-Mulk composed the following in answer to both
quatrains :—

“Since thy Beloved is near thee every moment,
Beware, for thy fire is near the dry grass !
O thou who hast fallen behind thy companions and lost the
way
Hasten, for the sound of the caravan’s bell is near.”

Mullā ‘Aḥdi composed the following quatrain and also wrote it,
as a keepsake, in my common-place book, and our companionship
in prayer was changed for separation :

“The freedom of this caged bird is near at hand,
And this flame is near to the thorns and stubble,
Grief would fly from me with a thousand wings and pinions,
Did it but know with whom it consorted.”

I wonder at my own hardness of heart seeing that I am able to
sit and beat my breast with a stone in the absence of so many
friends,

XCIII. ‘INĀYATU-’LLĀH THE SCRIBE.¹

He is a Shirāzi, and is now employed in the imperial library as **284**
a librarian. He has a merry and nimble wit and occasionally
writes poetry. The following verses are his :—

“I am fallen, like a helpless bird, into the cage
My broken heart is like a soundless bell.
Though I am more contemptible than an ant or a fly
I am suffocated by the straitness of the two worlds.”

¹ ‘Ināyat-u’llāh is not mentioned in the *Ain*, nor in the *Tabaqat*.

Another quatrain.

"We have learnt the way to a cure for ourselves,
 We have heaped up the harvest of our transgressions,
 We have kindled the fire of hell for ourselves,
 We have consumed ourselves with the fire of our own sins."

Another quatrain.

"So long as the locks of the beautiful curl,
 So long as the gestures and gait of the lovely are alluring,
 So long as the arrow of the glance is in the brow of cruelty,
 I die and live again each moment."

A couplet.

"There is no rose in the rose-garden of this world which is
 not tinged with the blood of some nightingale."
 In describing a horse he has written :
 "From his great pace as he gallops, his limbs
 Close on one another like drops of water flowing together."

XCIV. 'URFI OF SHIRAZ.¹

He was a high-minded young man of sound understanding and he composed poetry of all kinds well, but he became so puffed up

¹ He is thus described in the *Āin* (i, 569), 'The forehead of his diction shines with decorum, and possesses a peculiar grace. Self-admiration led him to vanity, and made him speak lightly of the older classics. The bud of his merits withered away before it could develop itself.' In the *Tabaqāt* he is mentioned as follows: 'He was a young man of genius and of excellent understanding, and composed all sorts of poetry well, but he developed so much pride and conceit that he lost the regard of all. He has composed a *divān* and some *magnatis*.' He was the encomiast of Ḥakīm Abū'l-Faṭḥ. That his poetry was highly regarded is evident from the following couplet by the great Persian poet Ša'ib, written on Naḡmī:—

صائب چه خیالست شوی همچو نظیری
 'Ša'ib, what dost thou think? Canst thou become like Naḡmī?
 Even 'Urfī has not written poetry like Naḡmī's."

'Urfī's name was Khwaja Sayyidi Muḥammad Jamāl-ud-din, and his *takhallūs* has reference to the occupation of his father, who, as *dārogha* to

with pride and conceit that he lost the regard of all, and he never reached old age. When he first came from his country to Fath-pūr he attached himself to Shaiikh Faizi above all others, and in truth, the Shaiikh treated him well, and in this last journey he lived in the Shaiikh's tents until the camp reached Atak, and was supplied with all the necessities of life by the Shaiikh, but at length, in accordance with the long-standing habit of the Shaiikh, who is friendly with everybody for a week, a coolness sprang up between them, and 'Urfi attached himself to Ḥakīm Abū-'l-Fath, and afterwards, by means of a recommendation which he received from the Ḥakīm, to the Khānkhānān, with whom both his poetry and the esteem in which he was held made great progress daily. One day he went to Shaiikh Faizi's house and found him fondling a puppy. 'Urfi asked, "What is the name of this child of my lord's?" The Shaiikh replied, "His name is well-known ('*Urfi*)", and 'Urfi replied at once, "May it be auspicious."¹ The Shaiikh was very angry, but to no purpose.

Both 'Urfi and Ḥusain Ṣanā'ī have wonderful good fortune with their poetry, for there is no street or market in which the booksellers do not stand at the roadside selling copies of the *divāns* of these two poets, and both Persians and Indians buy them as auspicious possessions, while it is quite otherwise with Shaiikh Faizi, who has spent large sums from his *ḥāḡirs* in having

the magistrate of *Shirāz*, was concerned both with the canon (شرعی) and the common (عرفی) law. He died at Lāhor in August, 1591, of dysentery, or, according to another account, of poison, at the age of thirty-six. His early death was ascribed to the abuse which he had heaped on the ancients. His odes have been several times lithographed.

¹ 'Urfi's question is not quite so pointed in the original Persian, and might be rendered, 'What is the name of this highly-born one?' But the innuendo is perfectly clear. Faizi replies by giving 'Urfi's *nom-de-plume* to the unclean animal. 'Urfi's retort is one of the commonest expressions of politeness, but its mordant wit cannot be reproduced in a translation. In the original it is مبارک باد (*mubārak bād*), i. e. 'may it be auspicious' or 'may it be *Mubārak*' *Mubārak* was the name of Faizi's father. Faizi should have known better than to measure his wit with that of a *Shirāzī*.

² Vide no. XXXI.

his works copied¹ and illuminated, and nobody asks for them, the only copy for which he has had any sale being the solitary one which he himself sent abroad.

'The power of pleasing and grace of diction are gifts of God.'

'Urfi has a *divān* of his collected poems, and a *maḡnavi* in the metre of the *Makḡzan-i-Asrār*² which is known throughout the 286 world. The following few verses are quoted as a memorial of 'Urfi:—

A quatrain.

"On the morrow, when the workers of every craft shall be summoned,
When the good acts of Shaikh and Brahman shall be investigated,
There shall be taken from thee not a grain that thou hast reaped,
But for everything that thou hast not sown a harvest shall be required."

The following couplets are by him:—

"He who thirsts for the blandishments of thy lip knows
That the frown on thy forehead is a wave of the water of life."

"Nobody has been born who can bear the pain of love;
Every afflicted one has betrayed himself by changing colour
as he told his story."

"As I sing of love I weep bitterly,
I am but an ignorant child and this is my first lesson."

¹ The text has کتاب (*kitāb*). The MSS., which I have followed, have کتابت (*kitābat*), which is a better reading.

² مخزن اسرار, 'treasury of secrets.' The famous *maḡzan-i-Asrār* here mentioned was by the well-known Persian poet Shaikh Abū Muḡammad Ilyās Nīzāmī of Ganja. 'Urfi's *maḡnavi* bore the same name.

"Step not beyond the bounds of ignorance, or else become a
Plato,
A middle course is a *mirage* with raging thirst."¹

The opening couplet of the ode from which the last couplet is
taken is as follows :—

"My conversation in society consists of muttered speeches,
For here those reputed sensible are ignorant, and my speech
is Arabic."

The following couplets are also by him :—

"How shall I endure my desire for my beloved, for, by the
laws of love
A mere glance is disrespect and a thought of the beloved is
derogatory to her."

"Of what pain has it been decreed by Time that I should
die,
That the eyes of my soul have not gone forth to welcome?"

"I speak no word, for silence is better than speech, 287
I have no knowledge, for oblivion is better than knowledge."

"The *Ka'bah* would have circled round thy head and circum-
volated² it
Had it had but pinions and wings"

¹ Cf. Pope—

A little learning is a dangerous thing ;
Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring ;
Here, shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,
But drinking deeply sobers it again."

² A clumsy word, but necessitated by the suggestion that the temple at
Makkah should be endued with wings. The idea is that the ceremonial
circumambulation performed by the pilgrims round the *Ka'bah* would be
performed by the *Ka'bah* round the head of the beloved. *Vide* p. 19, n. 4.

XCV. GHAZNAVĪ.¹

He is Mir Muḥammad Khān-i-Kalān, who is well-known by reason of his high rank and position. His assemblies were always attended by learned men and poets. In spite of his constant employment in administrative business he found time occasionally to indulge in the customary recreation of writing verses, and collected a large *divān* of his poems. He used to say to the Emperor, 'The boast of your reign is this, that a man like me has lived in it.'

The following verses are his :—

"In my youth the flower of my age was passed in ignorance,
And what was left of it has been passed in repentance.
Young man, thou hast sown nothing but the seed of despair
in the world,
Now the season of old age is come, and the time for tillage
is past."

"Go Ghaznavī, associate with the dogs of the beloved,
Be content with a dry crust and make thyself independent
of the world,
Take the crown of pride from thy head and pass beyond
the stage of 'we' and 'I,'²

¹ The elder brother of Shams-ud-dīn Muḥammad Ataga, A'zam Khān. He served under Kāmrān and Humāyūn and rose to high dignity during the reign of Akbar. As governor of the Panjāb he distinguished himself in the war with the Gukkhrs. Later he assisted Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm of Kābul against Mīrzā Sulaimān and restored him to the throne of Kābul, but disagreements afterwards arose and Mir Muḥammad returned to Lāhor. In the 13th year he and his relatives were removed from the Panjāb and he received Sambhal in *jāgīr*. In 1573 he was sent by Akbar in advance, for the reconquest of Gujjarāt. On the march he was wounded near Sirohi, but recovered. After the conquest he was made governor of Patan (Nahrwālā) where he died in 1575. He was a commander of five thousand. *Vide Ain-i-Akbarī*, i, 322 and Badā'uni, text, ii, 165 *et passim*.

² i.e. egoism.

Overthrow (in thy mind) the foundations of the kingdom of
 this world, like Ibrāhīm, the son of Adham.¹
 Withdraw thy notice from thyself and thy friends that
 thou may be at rest,
 And if even the light of thy eyes should meet thee in the
 way, turn aside.

When he was governor of Sambhal he gave great vogue to the
 following ode of Shaiḡh Sa'dī² (may his tomb be hallowed):— 288

"The heart which loves and is patient must surely be a
 stone,
 For love and patience are a thousand leagues apart."

He himself wrote as follows:—

"When the cupbearer's cheek is rosy with wine,
 Drink wine to the sound of the flute, for the heart is sad."

Mir Amānī and other poets composed answers to these verses,
 in imitation of them, each according to his capacity and frame of
 mind, and one of them, the late Jamāl Khān of Badaon, who was
 a constant and intimate companion of the Khān, and was un-
 rivalled in wit, composed an ode of which the following was the
 opening couplet,

"Thy cheek is ever rosy with the wine of delight,
 My heart, like a closed bud, is constricted with grief in
 meditating on thy mouth."

When I was in Kānt-u-Gola³ in the service of Husain Khān⁴
 this ode reached me one night in a letter from Miyan Jamāl

¹ I do not understand this reference. It cannot have anything to do with
 Adham Khān, the murderer of Mir Muḥammad's brother

² Muḥarrif-ud-dīn Sa'dī bin Muḥib-ud-dīn, of Shiraz, one of the most
 famous of Persian poets

³ Two adjacent *parganas* in the *Sarkār* of Radāon, usually mentioned
 together. Vide *Āin-i-Akbari* ii, 289.

⁴ Husain Khān *Tukriya* ('the patcher', 'the Bayard and Don Quixote of
 Akbar's reign.' He acquired his nickname from his haying, while governor
 of the Panjab, compelled Hindūs to distinguish themselves by wearing a
 patch near the shoulders. He was a commander of three thousand. He
 died, of wounds, in A.D. 1575.

Khān and the next morning news came that he had been seized with colic in the place of public prayer in Sambhal on the 'Id-i-Qurbān,¹ and had sickened suddenly, and in the flower of his youth had surrendered his soul to God. His bier was brought into Badāon. Some mention has been made of this event in the record of the reign,² and besides (the chronograms there given)³ the words 'Ah, Jamāl Khān has died!' were found to give the date of his death.

In these days⁴ whom have the heavens seated in safety
Whose existence they did not cut short like the morning's light?

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XCVI. GHUBĀRĪ.⁵

He is Qāsim 'Alī, son of Haidar the grocer, and was notorious for his pride and groundless vanity. He used to call himself a Quraishī⁶ until it became generally accepted that anybody who had no descent whatever to boast of claimed connection with the Quraish. Whenever he was ashamed of the arrival of his father in any social gathering and lost his temper his father used to say,

¹ The festival of sacrifice, otherwise called عيد الضحى (id-ud-ḡuḥ) celebrated on the tenth day of Zi'l-Hijjah in commemoration of Abraham's preparations for the sacrifice of Ishmael (not Isaac, according to the Muḥammadans).

² Vide vol. ii, text, p. 135.

³ The other chronograms are—

صد آة از جواني وزيب جمال خان

'a hundred sighs for the beauty and grace of Jamāl Khān'

and

سپرده جان بروز عيد قربان

'He gave up his life on the day of the festival of sacrifice'

The one here given is آة جمال خان بمرور

There is something wrong with these chronograms. The first gives the date 928, the second the date 967, and the third the date 977. The correct date is A.D. 978 (A.D. 1578).

⁴ The text has آفتاب ('the sun'). I follow the reading of MS. (A) which has ابن زمانه, a much better reading

Ghubārī is mentioned neither in the *Ain* nor in the *Tabaqāt*.

The Quraish is the Arabian tribe to which Muḥammad belonged.

'To spite you I will sit in the shop which I have in Agra, selling fruit and electuaries, and to everybody who comes to the shop, whether he questions me or not, I will say, 'Let it be known that Qāsim 'Ali is my son, begotten by me. You may kill him if you like.'"

Somebody asked Haidar how many sons he had; he replied, "Eight, the particulars are as follows:—

"Two are mine, and two are my wife's, and two belong to us both;

Two others there are which belong neither to my wife nor to me." ¹

Qāsim 'Ali was in his youth very handsome, and used to sing at social gatherings, and was then for some time servant ² to the *Khālifa* of the age (Akbar), became a man of some importance, and acquired the title of *Khān*, ³ and this case was an illustration of the remark made by a man when another said to him, "Have you heard that they have made so and so a Khan?" and he replied, "Well, the mannikin deserved it."

His manner of forming his letters and his handwriting were like those of the master of the world. ⁴ His unformed hand and his ill-formed letters are like those of boys, but in spite of that hand and those letters he has a childish confidence in himself. ⁵

¹ i.e. Haidar had two sons by another wife and his wife had two sons by another husband, and they had two dutiful sons of their marriage, and two more who were ashamed of their parents, and of whom their parents were ashamed.

² Literally, '*Khālifa* to the *Khālifa* of the age' In India the word *Khālifa* is applied to cooks and other menial servants. Badāoni's innuendo is susceptible of a very ill meaning.

³ I do not think that *Ghubāri* can be the Qāsim 'Ali *Khān* mentioned on p. 465 of the *Āin* (vol. i.) but he may have been.

⁴ Scil. Akbar. As Badāoni is making a slighting remark on the Emperor's accomplishments he applies to him an unusual and ambiguous title, *akli jān*.

⁵ The words 'hand,' 'letters,' and 'confidence' are, in the original, diminutives which cannot be otherwise translated than by employing some such qualifying adjectives as I have used.

During my twenty-one years' acquaintance with *Ghubāri* he has been constantly engaged in taking lessons in (what may be called) **290** the middle standard,¹ and he used to compel his teachers to make obeisance to him, and if they did not consent to do so he would not come for his lesson, and in the lessons received under these unfortunate conditions he never progressed beyond the elements of accident.² His taste in poetry may be estimated from the following verses:—

"I love water, and the bath is my place,
The bath-house is the house which is appropriated to me."

In imitation of the opening couplet which runs,

"I wish for one hair from the curled lock of my love.
That is to say, I am an idolator, and I wish for a sacred thread."

He wrote the following:—

"I wish to explain my grief to the dog of my love.
That is to say, I am grieved, and I wish to explain my grief."

The following verses are also by him:—

"From her eyes nothing but calamity reaches me.
Nobody has ever such calamity."

A quatrain.

"Everybody who is afflicted by love
Becomes acquainted with toil and grief;
Everybody who has found his way into love's circle
Revolves around calamity like a pair of compasses."

Ghubāri departed from this world, very unwillingly, in A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-92), and the chronogram found for his death consisted of the words, "*Qāsim 'Alī Khān the fool.*"³ Accord-

¹ سبق منسط (Suba-p-i-mutawassif) lessons learnt by boys not just learning to read and write, but in the middle classes in schools.

² وَضَعَ لَمَعِي مُقَرَّدٌ "It is singular in meaning."

قاسم علي خان ايله. The letters give the date 1000.

ing to another account the year of his death was A.H. 1001 (A.D. 1592-93), and if this be accepted as correct the word *jāhil* ('ignorant') substituted for the word *ablah* ('fool') will give the correct date.¹ 291

Since thou art ignorant grieve not if they call thee fool,
For these two expressions are ^a synonymous.

XCIV. GHURBĀT OF HĪR.²

He has composed a *diwān* and has studied to some extent. He used to tell the following story:—

I was once in an assembly convened for the ecstatic dancing ^a of *darvīshes* by that king of saints and greatest ^b of pious men, *Shaiḫ* Husain of *Khwārazm* (may God bellow his soul), and the chanters were chanting the following quatrain:—

“Throughout my life I have been one of those who wear my
skin as Thy garment,
I am one of that brotherhood who wear the ring of Thy
service in their ears,
If Thou showest me favour I am one of those who shout for
joy of Thee,
And if Thou showest me none I am one of those who are
silent for Thee.”

And his holiness the *Shaiḫ*, on hearing the last verse, was seized with holy rapture, and an ecstasy that communicated itself to others,^c so that I too, blessed by being in his company,

¹ The letters of *ابله* ('fool') give the total 38, and those of *جاهل* ('ignorant') 39. If, therefore, the latter word be substituted for the former in the chronogram given above the grand total will be 1001 instead of 1000.

² The text has *عبادت ده نه یکدیگر است*. To make sense we must read *عبادت ده به یکدیگر است*.

³ *Ghurbāt* is not mentioned as a poet either in the *Am* or in the *Tabaqāt*. *Hīr* Firūza was the chief town of a *sarkār* in the *quba* of Dihli, and is now the headquarters of a district in the Panjāb.

^a *سماع* vide p. 9, and note 1.

^b *ختم*, literally 'seal.'

^c *تواجد*

experienced holy rapture, and, springing up from my place as one beside himself, uttered the following couplet:—

“Whether Thou showest me favour or whether Thou showest it not
I am one of that brotherhood who wear the ring of Thy service in their ears.”

His holiness the Shaikh seized me by the hand and whirled me round with him, and the delight of that moment never leaves my heart.¹

He died in Agra, in the neighbourhood of Shaikh Farid's College, in A.H. 966 (A.D. 1558-59).

The following opening couplet of one of his odes is well known:

“The mouth of my Friend last night told me a secret mystery,
‘I am the fountain of the water of life, and thou knowest it not.’”

292 The following verses are also by him:—

“Why does not fate shed my blood where thou art not?
It would seem that this is beyond the power of fate.”
The words which fell from her lips were brief, and I could not understand them,
The down around her lips is a marginal commentary² brief enough.
In travelling the road of love for thee I arrived at no stage
At which I did not find that the pain of love for thee had preceded me.”

¹ This story gives us an interesting picture of a form of worship which commends itself to the mystics of the East, and which is not without its counterpart in ‘revival meetings’ nearer home, and ‘camp meetings’ in the far West.

² ḥaṣṣiyah (ḥaṣṣiyah) means ‘a fringe,’ ‘a margin,’ ‘a marginal commentary,’ but it is impossible in a translation to reproduce the play on this word and on the two meanings of ḥaṣṣ (Khass), viz:—‘writing’ and ‘down on the cheek.’

XCVIII. GHAIIRATI OF SHIRĀZ.¹

He spent some time in India and returned to Shirāz. The following verses are some of his:—

"I would not consent to the slaying of others, for I know
That death has taken the bitterness of death from the dagger
of my executioner."

"Devotees, the knot in the string of thy rosary cannot be
loosed without sincerity:
Go, and for a time convert thy rosary into the sacred
thread of the fire-worshippers."

"A pleasant country is the street of love,
For there all the malice of the heavens is changed to kindness."

"I am slain by the dagger of that slayer who so shed my
blood
That not one drop of it fell on the ground "

XCIX. FĀRIGHI OF SHIRĀZ.²

He was the brother of Shāh Fathu-'llāh,³ who has already been mentioned. When he came for the first time to Hindūstān Bairam Khān the Khānkhānān asked him, as Fāriḡhī was the poetical name of the well-known Shaikh 'Abdul Wajid of Khavāf to whom he was closely bound in the bonds of friendship and religious dependence, to change his poetical name to Fā'iq. He used this name for some time, but when he returned to 'Irāq 293 he reverted to the use of his former *nom-de-plume*. He then came to Hindūstān a second time, and died here. His son, Mir Taqi, was another Shāh Fathu-'llāh in his knowledge of astronomy and astrology, and I presented to him a part of twenty chapters

¹ The very brief description of Ghairati given in the *Tabaqāt* is word for word the same as that given here. In the *Ain* (i. 594) he is thus described, "His diction is good, and he knows the history of the past."

² Fāriḡhī is not mentioned as a poet in the *Ain*—in the *Tabaqāt* he is thus described, "Mir Fāriḡhī is the brother of Mir Fathu-'llāh of Shirāz. He was for a long time in the Emperor's service."

³ Vide p. 216.

which I had written on the astrolabe. He was a man of noble disposition and high aspirations, and his brother, Mir Sharif, had many excellences and perfections. Mir Taqī used to say that in his family he and his brother, with their uncle, Shāh Fathu-'llāh, were the only ones that held the *Sunnī* faith, all the others being bigoted *Shī'ahs*. The following verses are by Mir Fāriḡhī:—

“Well is it for me that in accordance with thy promise
happy in my abode of toil

“I sit, glancing ever and again expectantly at the door.”

“To such a point does love at length bring intimate association
with the beloved

That the lover finds himself a stranger to separation.”

“On the humble body of Majnūn no scar was visible;
For the footprint of Lailā's camel was impressed on
him.”

“The festival time has arrived and I am constantly anxious.
Hoping, O Lord, that I may have speech with her, in order
to offer my congratulations.”

“So frequently has the country of my heart been ravaged by
the army of thy love
That the caravan of patience never unfastens its burdens
there.”

“Love's madness can easily unfasten those knots in love's
bonds
Which wisdom, with all its pretensions, cannot, with count-
less efforts, unfasten.”

“Fāriḡhī has girded up his loins in the service of that lovely
one on the condition
That he never, until the day of resurrection, unfastens from
his waist the sacred thread of idolatry.”

“In her absence, O death, I have put up with my life,
But now I can no longer sit patiently waiting for thee.”

The following is the opening couplet of an ode which he wrote in praise of his holiness our sponsor the eighth *Imām*, *Rizā'* (blessings and praise be upon him!):—

"When the money-changer of the recurring morn opened
his shop
He exchanged every copper coin that he had for a piece of
gold."

C. FAHMI OF TIHRÂN.¹

He had travelled much and seen the world. He came to Hindūstān and then returned to his own country. He had some poetical genius. The following verses are his:—

"I wish that the flame of love may so strike my grief-nurturing body
That, while I weep from its burning, water may fall on my ashes."

"I will give rest to my heart by patiently bearing her message,
Though this (rest) is an impossibility to which I can never attain."

"Go, speak not of love's burning pain till the last trumpet shall sound,
For this world is nothing but a house of mourning."

CI. FAHMI OF SAMARQAND.²

He is the son of Nādirī of Samarqand. He was a jovial man, and expert at composing enigmas. He came to India and then returned again to his own country. The following verses are his:

"Since the tavern-keeper³ described to me the properties of wine,

My repentance of my repentance passes description."

¹ In the *Tabaqāt* it is recorded that he was with the *Khān-i-A'zam*, but, as no date is given, it is not certain whether the reference is to *Shamsu-d-din Muḥammad Ataga Khān* or to his son *Murzi 'Aziz Kūka*, both of whom held the title. The latter is probably intended. In the *Āin* (i, 599) *Fahmī* is described as 'of Rai,' but this *Fahmī* is identified as *Fahmī of Tihirān* by a couplet ascribed to him by *Abū-'l-Faṭl* which is also ascribed to him by *Daghīstānī* and in the *Tabaqāt*.

² *Fahmī of Samarqand* is not mentioned in the *Āin* or in the *Tabaqāt*.

³ Literally, 'the chief priest of the magians.'

295 "When I saw her dark hair forming a garment round her
body
I believed it to be the garment of the holy pilgrimage and
wound it round myself."

CII. FIKRĪ.¹

He is Sayyid Muḥammad, the cloth weaver, well known as Mir Rubā'ī. In this description of poetry he is the 'Umar Khayyām of the age. He left this world in the course of the journey to Jaunpūr,² in the year H. 973 (A.D. 1565-66), and the words 'Mir Rubā'ī made a journey,³ were found to give the date of his death.

A quatrain.

"Fikrī has a head which is unfurnished with contents,
He has at his heart a secret pain for which there is no
remedy.
For an age he has made his head his feet on the road of
love,
He has set out on a road which has no ending."

As his verses are very well-known I shall conclude by quoting the following few quatrains and a couplet which are attributed to him:—

"O heart, though thy love be a warrior, fear not,
Though her business be oppression and mortal enmity, fear
not,

¹ Fikrī is thus described in the *Tabaqāt*. "He is Sayyid Muḥammad the cloth weaver. He spent many years in the service of the Emperor. He is distinguished for his quatrains, since he was always writing quatrains, and he is also known as *Rubā'ī* ('quatrain')." In the *Ḥin* (i, 602) he is thus described: "He is a cloth weaver from Hirāt. He generally composes quatrains." According to the *Haft Iqlīm* he came to India in A.H. 969 (A.D. 1561-62).

² Akbar was directing the campaign against the *Khānzamān* in the neighbourhood of Jaunpūr during the cold weather of 1565-66. *Vide* vol. ii, text, pp. 82-84.

³ *میر و باقی سفر نمود* The sum of the numerical values of the letters gives the date 973.

In the army of her beauty her two eyes are warriors,
For the rest, the down on her cheek and her mole are the
dark colour of the host.

"If one will not, like the sun, suffer the sword to be raised
above his head
The sky shall not be clad from head to foot in gold for him :
If the gardener will not endure the hardships of the thorn,
He shall receive into his bosom no loved one in rosy garments
like a bud."

"On the morrow, when nothing shall remain of this world 296
but a tale,
When signs shall appear of the Resurrection's spring,
The beloved ones shall raise their heads from the dust-like
verdure,
And we too shall raise our heads in courtship."

"Thou goest with thy locks dark as night, and like dew on
every side
Salt (wit) rains from thee, alas for wounded hearts !"

CIII. FANĀ'Ī.¹

He is a Caghatāi of noble descent. He has travelled much and has acquired honour by visiting the holy places of pilgrimage (Makkah and Madinah). He has performed notable services in the field and at one time held the title of Khān, but on account of some misconduct he was degraded from that rank. One day

¹ This poet appears to be identical with Shāh Fanā'ī, mentioned in the *Asn* (i, 426) as a commander of one thousand. He served in the conquest of Malwa and fought in the battle of Sīrangpur against Bāz Bahādur, early in A.D. 1561. The poet Fanā'ī described in the *Tabaqāt* is undoubtedly the same person, for the couplet there attributed to him is one of those here, attributed to him by Badā'oni, but in the *Tabaqāt* he is thus described, 'He is Mullā Khwurd, the goldsmith, who has spent all his life in this court. He was at first in the service of Mirzā 'Askari.' 'Askari Mirzā was one of the brothers of the Emperor Humāyūn, and was consequently Akbar's uncle.

he said, 'Nobody has excelled me in these three *shins*¹, *Shamshir* ('the sword'), *shir* ('poetry'), and *shafranj* ('chess'). The Emperor at once replied, 'The same might be said of two other *shins*, *shaiḡdānī* ('devilry') and *shaḡḡdānī*² ('effrontery').' Fanā'i spent some time in prison, and when he was released he was seized with madness, which, taking him by the hand, led him away into some wilderness, whither, nobody knows. He has written a *divān* and his poetry is of the character of that of the debauched Caghatai nobles. The following couplet is by him,

"Every one attains his object by his nightly cries of 'O Lord, O Lord!'

O Lord! Why do not I attain my object by my cries of 'O Lord!'"

The following opening couplet also, which I have borne in my mind for the last fifty years, and which is quoted in the *Tārīkh-i-297 Niẓāmī*,³ is by him:—

"I say not that I have a house worthy to be honoured by thy footsteps,
I am a stranger, and humble, and have but a waste corner."

(The following is another opening couplet.)

"Whilst thy rosy face blossomed above the rosy wine
The wine blossomed in the cup from the reflection of thy rosy face."

CIV. FUSŪNĪ OF YAZD.⁴

He is a Sayyid, a story-teller, and has a mind adapted to

¹ The three words begin with the letter ش (*shin*) as do also the two words added to them by Akbar.

² This word is not in the text, but both MSS. have it. It may perhaps have been an afterthought of some scribe, but is very applicable to the boastful Fanā'i.

³ See. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, by Niẓamu'-din-Aḥmad.

⁴ Fusūnī is not mentioned in the *Ṭabaqāt*. In the *Āin* he is called a Shirazi, while Dīghistānī and the *Atashkade-i-Āsar* say that he came from Tabriz. Dīghistānī adds that he served under Jahāngir and Shāhjahān as a *mustawfi*. The *Mir'ātu-l-'Ālam* mentions a Fusūnī who was an amir in

poetry. He came from Thāṭha¹ and obtained a post in the Emperor's service. The following verses are by him:—

"Why didst thou needlessly pass by the unworthy?
And, if it was necessary to pass by him, why didst thou
glance towards him?
Thou wert in talk with a stranger, and, when thou sawest
me from afar,
If thou didst not completely veil thyself from me why didst
thou draw thy veil but a little?"

— — — — —
"When I arrived, and thou wert in talk with a stranger,
Thou didst distract his attention, and then glance covertly
towards me."

— — — — —
"Fusūnī made his obeisance to thee merely to deceive others,
Had it not been for this such a worthless wretch would
have been unworthy of making his obeisance."

— — — — —
"When she had, after making a thousand promises, shown
me her face but once,
She then, for fear of strangers, showed it but for a mo-
ment and went."

— — — — —
"He who is slain by the glance of the beloved closes not his
eyes,
As he draws his last breath he is dazzled by the face of his
slayer."

CV. FIRŪZA OF KĀBL.²

He was brought up in the household of Mirzā Muḥammad Jahāngir's reign and had the title of Afzal Khān. In the *Āin* (i, 604) Fusūnī is thus described, 'His name is Maḥmūd Beg. He is an excellent accountant and knows also astronomy well.'

¹ The well-known town in Sind.

² Firūza is mentioned in the *Āin* (i, 526) as a commander of two hundred. He came from Kābl to India with Ghūzī Khān of Badakhshān in the early years of Akbar's reign.

Ḥakim.¹ By birth he belongs to the Langāh² clan. It seems
 298 probable that he was captured by a soldier in some of the wars
 in Hindūstān and was placed in the service of the late Emperor,
 and was then brought up with Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakim. He is
 somewhat studious, in a desultory manner, and is moderately
 skilled in penmanship. He has a general knowledge of music,
 and can beat the drum after a fashion.³ In body he is well pro-
 portioned. He came to court and paid his respects, with Qāzi
 Khān of Badakhshān, between Jaunpūr and Agra, when the Em-
 peror was returning from his expedition to Patna. Although
 he does not study assiduously he is naturally somewhat ready in
 etymology, and it gradually becomes evident that he has under-
 stood the whole drift of any stiff argument.

The following verses are his:—

“Thou hast made a stranger the object of thy regard.

What means this?

Thou hast cast out the slave from thy regard. What
 means this?

I have seen nobody in this age to equal thee in beauty and
 grace.

But thou hast destroyed the value of beauty. What
 means this?”

— — —

“What remedy is there but death for this sick body?

Go, physician, waste not thy pains on me.”

— — —

Nowadays it is reported that he boasts that he has written an-
 swers⁴ to most of the odes in the *divāns* of ancient and modern

¹ King of Kābul, second son of Humāyūn and brother of Akbar.

² An Afghān clan, six members of which ruled in Multān as independent
 kings for ninety-two years from A.D. 1445. *Vide Ain-i-Akbari* ii, 384.

³ Badāoni certainly seems to be damning Firūza with faint praise, but
 playing the drum is more highly regarded in the east than it is in Europe.
 Drums, which are of several sizes and shapes, are carefully tuned, and are
 usually played with the fingers and the heel of the hand, with a certain
 amount of expression.

⁴ An ‘answer’ to a poem is a poem imitating the original in metre and

poets. As to what he has discovered from these sources it may perhaps become more generally known than it is at present.

CVI. FAHMĪ OF ASTARĀBĀD.

He was a capable man. He died in Dihli. The following quatrain is by him:—

“O thou whose face is bathed in rose water,
With ringlets curling around it like wreathed violets, 299
Thy eyes are like two beauties overcome with wine on one
pillow
Who have laid their heads together and are fallen asleep.”

Couplets.

“In these days freedom from care has become no more than
a tale,
Whither shall I go? What shall I do? The times are
very evil.”

“The piteous state of the faithful is caused by thy cruelty.
Remove the sword, for their blood is on thy head.”

CVII. SHAIKH FAIZĪ, THE POET LAUREATE.¹

In many separate branches of knowledge, such as poetry, the composition of enigmas, prosody, rhyme, history, philology, rhyme, and either elaborating the ideas of the original, or introducing fresh ideas on the same subject.

¹ Literally ملك الشعراء (*maliku-sh-shu'arā*) ‘King of poets,’ the official title given to him by Akbar in A.H. 997 (A.D. 1589).

Shaikh Abū'l Faiz Faizī, one of the most learned men of Akbar's court, was the eldest son of Shaikh Mubārak of Nagor, and elder brother of the famous Abū'l-Faẓl. He was born at Āgra in A.H. 954 (A.D. 1547). His acquirements in Arabic literature, the art of poetry, and medicine were very extensive, and he used to treat poor people *gratis*. As a young man he was regarded with suspicion and ill-treated by the orthodox in Āgra on account of his Shā'ah proclivities, and when he was summoned to court the orthodox believed, or affected to believe, that he was to be called to account for his heterodoxy, and carried him to court by force. He was however, very

medicine, and prose composition Shaiikh Faizi had no equal in his time. At first he used to write under his well-known poetical

favourably received by Akbar, and in a short time became his constant companion and friend. He was instrumental, in A.H. 986 (A.D. 1578-79), in bringing about the downfall of Shaiikh Abdu-n-Nabi the *Ṣadr*, who had been one of his persecutors. It is said that Faizi wrote a hundred and one books. In 1586 he planned a *Khamsah*, or collection of five epics, in imitation of the *Khamsah* of Nizami. The first, *Markazu-l-Adwār*, was to consist of 3000 verses, and was to be an imitation of Nizami's *Makhzanu-l-Asrār*. The *Sulaimān-u-Bilqīs* and the *Nal-u-Daman* were to consist of 4000 verses each and were to be imitations of the *Khusrau-u-Shirin* and the *Lailā-u-Majnūn*; and the *Haft Kishvar* and the *Akbarnāma*, each of 5000 verses, were to correspond with the *Haft Paikar* and the *Sikandarnāma*. This great undertaking was never completed. Portions were written, and in 1591-95 Faizi, encouraged by Akbar, completed the *Nal-u-Daman* and presented a copy to the Emperor. The *Markazu-l-Adwār* appears also to have been completed. Faizi translated from the Sanskrit the *Līlāvatī*, a work on arithmetic, and the *Bhāgavad Gītā*. Faizi was sometimes employed as tutor to the Princes, and sometimes acted as an ambassador. He suffered from asthma and died on Šafar 10, A.H. 1004 (Oct. 15, 1595). He was a member of Akbar's 'divine faith.' Vide *Īm-u-Akbari*, i, 490 *et passim* and Badami, vol. ii, text, pp. 260 309, 365, *et passim*.

A long description of Faizi as a poet is given in the *Īm* (i, 549) from which I give the following extracts.—'He was a man of cheerful disposition, liberal, active, an early riser. He was a disciple of the Emperor, and was thus at peace with the whole world.* * He wrote for nearly forty years under the name of Faizi, which he afterwards, under divine inspiration, changed to Fayyāzi.* * His excellent manners and habits cast a lustre on his genius.* * He composed many works in Persian and Arabic. Among others he wrote the *Sawāṭi'u-l-Ilhām* (vide p. 194 n. 1)* * Genius as he was, he did not care for poetry, and did not frequent the society of wits. He was profound in philosophy.* * The gems of thought in his poems will never be forgotten. In the *Tabaqāt* he is thus described, "He is one of the greatest of learned men and Shaiikhs and is much respected for his resignation to the Divine will and for his habits of solitary meditation. He has grown to maturity in the Emperor's service and has been honoured with the title of *Maliku-sh-Shu'arā*. In the art of poetry he is a prodigy, and he has written a work on ethics, entitled *Mawārid-u-l-Kilām*, which contains no dotted letters, and he has also written a commentary on the word of God, which contains no dotted letters. It is known as the *Sawāṭi'u-l-Ilhām*. His *dirn* contains over 15,000 verses and he has written some

name of Faizī, but later, imitating the title of his younger brother, whom the Emperor describes in writing as 'Allāmī'¹, and in order to glorify himself, he chose a poetical name in the same measure, viz. Fayyāzī,² but it did not suit him, and one or two months later, having packed up the baggage of this life, he took it from the world with the most bitter regret. He was a master³ of malevolent activity, idle jests, conceit, pride, and malice, and one epitome of hypocrisy, baseness, dissimulation, love of pomp, arrogance, and ostentation. All Jews, Christians, Hindūs, and fire-worshippers, not to speak of Nizāris and Sabāḥīs, held him in the very highest honour for his heresy, his enmity to the followers of Islām, his reviling of the very fundamental doctrines of our faith, his contemptuous abuse of the noble companions (of the Prophet) and those who came after them, and of holy Shaikhs, both dead and living, and of his unmannerly and contemptuous behaviour towards all learned, pious, and excellent men, both in secret and openly, and both by day and by night. Not content with this he used, despite the sacred faith of Muḥammad (may God bless and assoil him and his family), to regard all forbidden

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maḥṣar. In poetry he is the chief of all poets of the age, and in prose composition he is alone and unapproachable. In branches of knowledge foreign to the Arabic, and in philosophy, medicine and many other sciences he has much skill. In universality of knowledge he has no equal. I have enjoyed intimate friendship with this most learned man of the time from my childhood up. His gentle disposition is equalled by his cheerfulness. His angelic nature imposes an obligation on all his contemporaries."

¹ *عَلَّامِي* 'my very learned man,' a title bestowed on Shaikh Abu-l-Faḍl by Akbar.

² *فَيَّازِي* signifies 'abundance', with the *yā-yi-nishati* added to it, as is usual in a *takḥallus*, it becomes *فَيَّازِي* is an intensive adjective

formed in the same measure as *عَلَّام*, from the same root, and signifies 'prodigiously generous.' The *yā-yi-nishati* converts it into a *takḥallus*. The letter *ي* (*yā*) in 'Allāmī is, on the other hand, the sign of the first (singular) possessive pronoun in Arabic.

³ *خَبِيرًا* (*Khayirā*). The word has perplexed the editor of the text, who says, in a plaintive footnote, Sic. in all three MSS

things as lawful, and all the injunctions of the sacred law as unlawful, and, with a view to washing away the stain of his ill-repute, which the waters of a hundred oceans (poured over it) till the day of judgment will not wash away, he used, in the height of his drunkenness, and while he was ceremonially impure,¹ to write a commentary² on the *Qur'ān*, written entirely in words which contained no dotted letter, and his dogs³ used to trample on it in all directions. At last, after all his denial of the truth, his obstinacy, his pride, and his heresy, he hastened to the place to which he belonged, and went in such sort that I pray that nobody may see or hear of the like. When the Emperor went to visit him when he was at his last gasp, Faizī barked like a dog in his face, and the Emperor used to relate this story in open *darbār*, his face was swollen and his lips had become black, so that the Emperor asked Shaiḫ Abū-l-Faẓl what caused this blackness of the lips and suggested that Faizī had rubbed *mist*⁴ on his teeth, as the people of India use to do, but Abū-l-Faẓl replied that this was not so, and that the blackness was caused by the blood which Faizī had been vomiting. But, without a doubt, the sufferings which he had already endured were very little considered with reference to his vice, his abuse of the faith, and his revilings of his holiness the last of the Prophets (may God bless him and his family, all of them). Many abusive chronograms were discovered for the date of his death. One was as follows:—

“When Faizī the atheist died an eloquent man uttered (as the date of his death) the words,

‘A dog has gone from the world in an abominable state.’⁵”

¹ جنابت. ‘Vir de quo egreditur semen coitus, lavabit aquā omne corpus suum: et immundus erit usque ad vesperum’ Lev xiv. 16. The Muhammadan law on this point was the same as the Mosaic. The obligation was contemptuously set aside by the ‘divine faith’: vide Budāonī, ii, text p. 305.

² The *Sarāṭi'n-l-Ilhām*, vide *supra* p. 194 and note 412.

³ Faizī was very fond of dogs.

⁴ A dentifrice used in India for blackening the teeth.

⁵ سكي از جهان رفته بحال تبیع. 60 + 20 + 10 + 1 + 7 + 3 + 5 + 1 + 60 + 200 + 80 + 400 + 5 + 2 + 8 + 1 + 80 + 100 + 2 + 10 + 8 = 1003. One year short.

Another said :

"The date of the death of that carrion Faizi is fixed by the words 'The four religions of fire.'"¹

Another found the following chronogram:—

"Faizi the inauspicious, the enemy of the Prophet,
Went, bearing on him the brand of curses,
He was a miserable and hellish dog, and hence
The words 'what dog-worshipper has died'² give the date
of his death."

301

In the same strain was the chronogram :

"The laws of apostasy have been overthrown."³

And another wrote: "Faizi was an apostate."⁴

And to the same effect is the following:—

"Since he could not choose but go, there is no help but that
The date of his death shall be found in the words, 'He is
for ever in fire.'"⁵

He wrote poetry for a period of exactly forty years, but it was all imperfect. He could set up the skeleton of verse well, but the bones had no marrow in them, and the salt⁶ of his poetry was entirely without savour. His taste in lowly raving, in boastful verse,⁷ and in infidel scribblings, is well known, but he was

¹ 2 + 3 + 1 + 200 + 40 + 700 + 5 + 2 + 50 + 1 + 200 = 1204.

This chronogram gives two hundred years in excess. Badi'oni perhaps thought that any stick was good enough to beat a dog with. The 'four religions of fire' were probably Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism, and Zoroastrianism, the 'divine faith' of Akbar being, perhaps, substituted for one of these.

² چه سنگ پرستی مرد 3 + 5 + 60 + 20 + 2 + 200 + 60 + 400 + 10 + 40 + 200 = 1004.

³ قاعدۃ الحاد شکست 100 + 1 + 70 + 4 + 5 + 1 + 30 + 8 + 1 + 4 + 300 + 20 + 60 + 400 = 1004.

⁴ بود فیضی ملحدی 2 + 6 + 4 + 80 + 10 + 800 + 10 + 40 + 30 + 8 + 4 + 10 = 1004.

⁵ خالد فی النار 600 + 1 + 30 + 4 + 80 + 10 + 1 + 30 + 50 + 1 + 200 = 1007.

Three years in excess.

⁶ مصالح (Masaliḥ) 'Spices,' 'flavouring materials.'

⁷ فخریات (fakhrīyāt) Verses boasting of their own accomplishments in

entirely devoid of any experience of the love of truth, of the knowledge of God, and of any idea of a painful longing for God, and "a favourable reception is the lot of enemies." Although his *diwān* and his *magnavī* contain more than twenty thousand couplets there is not among them one couplet that is not as much without fire as his withered genius, and they are despised and rejected to such an extent that no one, even in lewdness, studies his verse, as they do those of other base poets.

"Verse which is wholly devoid of pith
Remains, for all time, a rough draft."

And this is stranger still, that although he has spent the whole revenue of his *jāgirs* in having his misleading lies written and copied, and has sent copies of them to all his friends, both far and near, nobody has ever taken a copy in his hand a second time.

Thy poetry has doubtless taken a lesson from the dignity
of the veil,
For it displays no desire to come out of its private corner
in the house.

The following few couplets are taken from his selected poems which he wrote as memorials of himself, and entrusted to Mirza Nizāmu d-din Aḥmad and others:—

"Cover not thy eyelashes¹ when thy eyes travel, like feet,
(the road of love)

For stout wayfarers march with naked feet."

302

"Why dost thou cut my hand, thou sword of love? If
justice is to be done

Cut out the tongue of the slanderer of Zulaikhā."

"When we cast our bounteous glance on those who sit in
the dust

We distribute even to ants brains like those of Solomon."

"The flood of my tears will hardly turn thy heart of stone;

To turn this mill-stone the flood of Noah is required."

poetry are a favourite form of composition among Persian poets, and especially among Indian poets writing in Persian.

¹ i.e. 'Veil not thyself.'

"O love, overthrow not the *Ka'bah*, for there, for a moment,
Those exhausted in the faith of love sometimes take rest."

"O love, have I leave to remove from the shoulder of the
sky

To my own shoulder the banner of thy power?"

"How long shall I stake my heart on the blandishments of
the fair?"

I will burn this heart and obtain a new heart.

Faizi, my hand is empty, and the road of courtship is be-
fore me,

Perhaps I shall be able to pledge my *divān* for this world
and the next."

The following is the opening couplet of a boastful ode, of
which he was very proud:—

"Thanks be to God that the love of beautiful ones is my
guide.

I am of the religion of Brahmins and of the faith of the
fire-worshippers."

The following couplet is also by him:—

"In this land there is a sugar-lipped multitude

Who have mixed salt with their wine and are drunk in-
deed."

(Poet) say thyself in what part of this poetry there is any
savour.

The following couplets are from the *Maṣnavi Markaz-i-Adir* 303
which he wrote in imitation of the *Makhzan-i-Khiyāl*¹ and which
did not turn out fortunately for him:—²

"To beg³ for what aid I come to this door,

That I have become richer in heart and hand?"

¹ This is a mistake. The *Markaz-i-Adir* was written in imitation of
Nizami's *Makhzan-i-Asrar*, vide *supra* p. 412 n. 1.

² By this expression Badi'oni appears to mean merely that he did not
live to finish it.

³ *darj* in the text. The MSS. have *darj*. The difference affects neither
the meaning nor the scansion.

I asked for little, but my stock increased
Then, though I sat down, my footsteps advanced."

The following couplets are from his projected ¹ *maṣnūvī*, *Bilqis-u-Sulaimān*:—

"I set myself again to place
The slit of my pen opposite to the window of my heart :
There comes from that window and enters this window ²
That very light which serves as a guide to the soul,
Although from this court of injustice
The throne of the Sulaimān of my words ³ has gone on the
breeze,
Yet it occurred to me to consider a plan
Whereby, by means of spells, I might bind the demons in
chains, ⁴
Bind them, by what means I have, to the throne of my
rhetoric,
And adorn that (throne) from the treasures of my mind."

The following is an enigma which he composed on the name of Qādiri:—⁵

"I will leave the mark from love's brand
Since it is a memorial in my heart, and is the only scar
there."

When he was absent as an envoy in the Dakan I sent him two letters from the lower slopes of the Kashmīr mountains, informing him of the Emperor's disfavour towards me and of his refusal to admit me to his presence in order that I might pay my respects. In the petition which Faizi sent to court he recom-

¹ *موشوم* (*maushum*) 'imaginary' The meaning may perhaps be that the poem was the work of Faizi's imagination, but I believe my translation to be correct. The poem was never finished. *Ibid* p. 412 n. 1.

² i.e. the light is conveyed from the window of the poet's heart to the nibs of his pen, the slit between which is compared to another window.

³ i.e. the poet's words of wisdom

⁴ As Sulaimān is said to have done.

⁵ The meaning of the passage may be, "an enigma which he addressed to Qādiri." I have not been able to solve the enigma.

mended me to the Emperor's favour and Shaiikh Abū-l-Faẓl was ordered to embody that petition in the *Akbarnāma* in order that it might be read as an example of what such documents should be. The following is a copy of that petition, which was dated on the 10th day of the month *Jumādī'u-l-Awwal*, A.H. 1000 (February 23, 1592), and despatched from Aḥmadnagar to Lāhor:—

'Refuge of the world! There lately came to me from Badāon two relatives of Mullā 'Abdu-l-Qādir, in a very disturbed state of mind, weeping, weeping and tortured by anxiety. They told me that Mullā 'Abd-l Qādir had for some time been sick, and had been unable to keep his promise to attend at court, that some 304 of the Emperor's officers had carried him off with force and violence,¹ and that they did not know what the end of the matter would be. They also said that the long duration of his sickness had not been reported to your majesty. Cherisher of the broken spirited! Mullā 'Abdu-l-Qādir has much aptitude, and he has studied what the *Mullās* of Hindūstān usually study in the ordinary branches of learning. He acquired accomplishments under my honoured father, and I, your slave, have known him for nearly thirty-eight years. In addition to his acquirements in learning he has some skill in poetry, and good taste in prose composition, both Arabic and Persian. He has also acquired some knowledge of Indian astrology, and of accounts, in all their branches. He is acquainted with Indian and foreign music, and by no means ignorant of chess, both the two-handed and the four-handed game,² and has some practice in playing the *bīn*.³ In spite of all these acquirements he is endued with many virtues. He is not avaricious, has a contented mind, is not vacillating, is truthful, straightforward, respectful, unambitious, humble-spirited, meek,

¹ بَشَدَتِ تَمَام (bi-ḡhiddat-i-tamām). MS. (A) substitutes شَرَارَت (sharārat.

'malice' for بَشَدَتِ

² Akbar himself played both games. Vide *Amr-i-Akbar*, i, 368.

³ The *bīn* is a stringed instrument consisting of a narrow strip of wood connecting, and placed over the openings of, two dried gourds, spherical, or nearly so, in shape. Along the wooden bridge are stretched five or seven steel strings, which are played with a plectrum.

moderate in his requests, almost entirely devoid of the dissimulation so common at court, and entirely faithful and devoted to the Imperial Court. When the imperial forces were sent against Kūmbhulmer¹ he, having requested permission to accompany them, went thither in the hope of offering his life to your majesty, and was in action and was wounded, and when the fact was reported he received a reward. Jalāl Khān Qūrci² first presented him at court, and said, when presenting him: "I have discovered for your majesty an *Imām*³ with whom you will be well pleased. Mir Fathu-'llāh⁴ also acquainted your sacred majesty, to some extent, with his affairs, and my respected brother⁵ is also aware of his circumstances; but it is well known that 'a grain of luck is better than a load of merit.'"

Since your majesty's court is the court of the just, your slave, acting as though he were present in person at the foot of the august throne, when he saw a helpless man suffering persecution, has represented the case to your majesty. Had he not represented it at this time he would, in a manner, have been guilty 305 of insincerity and want of proper regard for the truth. May God (who is praised) deign to keep the slaves of your majesty's court constant in the path of truth, justice, and righteous dealing under the heavenly shadow of your majesty, their Emperor; and may He long maintain your majesty as their shelter, the cherisher of the miserable, the bestower of favours, the coverer of faults, with boundless wealth, glory, greatness and majesty, by the honour of the pure ones who dwell in the courts of God and the enlightened ones who rise betimes to praise him. Amen. Amen.

¹ This place, the name of which is variously spelt by Bada'oni, as Kūmbhalgarh, a fortress on the western border of the Udaipur State in Rajputāna, about 40 miles north of Udaipur city. *Ide* text, vol. ii, pp. 227, 266. It was in April 1576 that Bada'oni asked for and obtained leave to accompany this expedition.

² Jalāl Khān Qūrci was a commander of five hundred. He distinguished himself in the field and Akbar was much attached to him. He was murdered, in mistake for Shīrāl Khān, early in 1576. *Ide* *Īn-i-Akbarī* i, 475.

³ The reader and leader of prayers in the *masjid*.

⁴ *Ide* p. 216. ⁵ Shaikh Abū-l-Faḍl

If any should ask me what rules of humanity and faithfulness I observe in so harshly reviling one who had so much goodwill for me and so much sincere friendship, and especially how it is that I, forgetful of the command, 'Mention not your dead but in connection with good,' have thus written of a man after his death, and have become one of those who disregard their obligations, I reply, 'All this is true, but what could I do?' The claims of the faith and the safeguarding of one's compact with God are above all other claims, and 'Love is God's and hatred is God's' is an established precept. Although I was for full forty years in the company of Faizi, yet after the gradual change in views, the corruption of his nature, and the disordering of his disposition and especially in his mortal sickness, our relations were changed, and as our association together became mere hypocrisy we were freed each of the other. All of us have our faces set towards that court where all disputes shall be decided. "On that day the intimate friends shall be enemies to one another, except the pious."¹

Among the property left by Faizi were four thousand six hundred valuable bound books, all corrected, of which it might have been said with but little exaggeration that most of them were either in the handwriting of the authors or had been written in the authors' time. These became the property of the Emperor, and when they were presented before him he caused them to be catalogued in three sections, giving the first place to books of verse, medicine, astrology, and music, the middle place to works on philosophy, religious mysticism,² astronomy, and geometry; and the lowest place to commentaries, the traditions,³ books on theology, and on all other subjects connected with the sacred law.⁴

الإِخْلَاءُ بِرُؤُوسِهِمْ لِبَعْضِ عَدُوِّ الْإِيمَانِ Qu'ān, c. xlvii The text has المُنْقُونَ.

² تصوف (taṣawwuf), the doctrines of the Sūfīs.

³ حديث (ḥadīth), the sayings of Muḥammad.

⁴ The classification indicates Akbar's contempt for orthodoxy, and evidently much shocked Rādhicū's prejudices.

Faizi wrote a hundred and one books, the *Nal-u-Daman*¹ and others, which he used to reckon. When he was near death he wrote, at the earnest solicitation of some of his friends, some couplets in praise of the Prophet (may God bless and assoil him, and of his ascent,² and incorporated them in the *Nal-u-Daman*. The following couplets are taken from the conclusion of that work:—

“ O King of Kings,³ who seekest after wisdom,
 Wealthy as the sea and glorious as the sky,
 The world is a banquet linked with joy,
 Thy reign is the wine, which stupefies the heavens ;
 I am the minstrel singing melodies drawn from the veins
 of my heart,⁴
 My pen is the sounding organ.
 If from this banquet, in which thy conversation is the cup-
 bearer,
 I arise, my song will still remain.
 The drinkers circulate the tale
 That there is no⁵ singer, and yet the assembly is full of
 song.

¹ The text is corrupt here, and reads as though there were a hundred and one books of the *Nal-u-Daman*, which was not the case. From other sources, e.g. the *Mir'ātu-l-'Ālam*, we know that Faizi was credited with the authorship of a hundred and one books in all. The *Nal-u-Daman* is the story of the loves of Nala, king of Nishada or Málwa, and Damayanti, daughter of the king of Vidarbha, or Berar. Faizi's source of inspiration was the *Mahābhārata*, where the story is given at length.

² *میراج* (*mir'āj*). According to the belief of Musalmāns Muḥammad was caught up one night from Jerusalem to heaven, his means of conveyance being *Buraq*, an animal smaller than a mule and larger than an ass. While in heaven he held 90,000 conversations with God, but on his return found his bed yet warm. This belief was one of those selected for ridicule by Akbar and the followers of the 'divine faith,' vide text, vol. ii, p. 316. If Faizi's recantation were genuine it must be regarded as, in some sort, a triumph for orthodoxy.

³ Akbar.

⁴ Literally 'bloody melodies' (*pardahā-yi-khāni*). I believe the meaning to be that which I have given.

⁵ The text has, wrongly, *تو* 'thou art not' (a singer). From the scansion it is clear that the simple negative (*نہ*) is the correct reading.

To-day, with my honey-sweet music
 I am Bārbud,¹ thou the *Khusrav* of the age.
 Though I have polished my pen on the heavens
 I am standing before thee on one leg.²
 Look now on the arrangement of my mystical characters
 And now on my long years spent in thy service.
 This poem, which bears on its tongue the name of love
 Takes thy name³ to heaven.
 I am the inebriating wine of true wisdom,
 If I ferment no blame is mine.
 I am the bell of thy caravan
 And must surely be excused if I give forth sounds.
 The reward of my handiwork is this (appreciative) eye,
 Which I reckon among the gifts of God.
 A hundred nightingales, drunk with love, have arisen,
 singing
 That the rose of Persia has blossomed in India.
 I have arrayed in splendour virgin thoughts
 In the Ganja of my genius and the Dihli of my mind.⁴
 Before this, when my poems were all the current coin I
 had
 Faiẓi was the name written on my signet;
 Now that I am chastened by (spiritual) love
 I am Fayyāẓi⁵ of the ocean of superabundance.⁶
 In thy reign, incomparable King,
 Have I plucked from the bush of time the rose of good
 fortune.

¹ A celebrated musician at the court of *Khusrav*.

² The attitude, in India, of a suppliant, or penitent.

³ *ṭughra* (تغرة), literally, 'thy royal sign manual.'

⁴ The reference is to the two great poets Nizāmi of Ganja (in imitation of whose *Lailā-u-majnūn* this poem was written) and Amir *Khusrav* of Dihli. Faiẓi means to say that he has conceived poetical ideas which neither Nizāmi nor Amir *Khusrav* ever conceived.

⁵ Vide p. 413, note 2.

⁶ Mr. Blochmann (*Ain-i-Akbari*, i, 549) charitably supposes 'the Ocean of Superabundance' to mean 'God's love,' as, indeed, it may; but it is just as likely to signify Akbar's generosity, or spiritual gifts.

The breeze of my genius has diffused the odour of roses
 over my banquet,
 My cup has been filled to overflowing with the wine of
 delight;
 I have sat laughing, like a cup of sparkling wine,
 While the cupbearer, like the bottle, stood behind me
 Drinking deeper draughts than either I or my good for-
 tune,
 My days have been good, but my means of spending them
 better.
 My gardener has been happy, like thy reign,
 For my basil plant has grown freely.
 These four thousand jewels of pure water,¹
 Which I have stirred up with the water which is like fire,
 Accept, for the lustre of the gems is all thine,
 They were produced that they might be scattered round
 thy crown;
 If I have scattered more than I have said
 I have then reckoned my harvest without any deficiency.
 From this ocean which, in its turmoil, rears its head to the
 highest heaven
 Gems bubble forth on the crest of each wave.
 Thus employed, in the art of arranging mystic sayings,
 My speech has set itself to no mean employment.
 Every pithy phrase with which my pen has charged itself
 Has been brought by my heart from distant recesses.
 My pen points out to me the road to inscrutable mysteries
 Where a mountain of meaning best appears,
 Hidden under phrases slight as a blade of grass.
 This book is illuminated with my heart's blood.
 Its allegories are filled to overflowing with true wisdom.
 If its melodies be chanted in the mountains
 Their sound will dance among the grains of flowing sand.²

¹ I.e. the verses of the *Nal-u-Daman*.

² ریز (rig-i-râd) commonly means quicksand. I take it to mean here the sands of mountain streams, as quicksands are not commonly found in the mountains.

I have woven from my swiftly travelling breath
 Sacred threads for the Brahmans of the nine monasteries.
 My thought, which stirs up mystic truths,
 Is an ocean which produces gems from its waters.
 This writing, which brings to the light the essence of all
 things,
 Is but half the shadow of my pen.
 Every truth contained in it is as water in the stream,
 Every knotty saying is as the curl in lovely hair.
 This poem is a pearl of which the price may be fixed
 For it shows forth the felicity of both worlds :
 This lovely idol from the workshop of Āzar¹ received
 Its adornment in the month of Āzar,²
 In the thirty-ninth year of the Imperial reign,
 In the new Divine Era,³
 When I reckoned up the years of the *Hijrī* era
 I computed them to be a thousand and three *alifs*.⁴
 This garden, which is full of thy perfume
 Is but one rose of the plant of thy boundless wealth.
 I have the prospect of the joy of another cup
 In laying out four gardens more.⁵
 If love thus consumes me entirely,
 I shall make moonlight shine from my ashes.
 The transparent glass of my heart is melted,
 And I will give it, as a mirror, into the hands of the
 assembly.

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¹ The father of Abraham, said by the Mussalmans to have been a sculptor of idols.

² The ninth month of the Persian solar year.

³ The era instituted by Akbar, beginning with the first year of his reign (A.H. 963 = A.D. 1556). In this era the years were solar, and the old Persian solar months were used. The era was instituted in 1582; vide vol. ii, text, p. 308.

⁴ I.e. A.H. 1003 (A.D. 1594-95), the numerical value of the letter *alif* being one. There is a play on the words **الف** (*alif*) 'a thousand,' and **الف** the letter *alif*.

⁵ *Scil.* the *Markasū-l-Adwār*, the *Salaimān-u-Bilqis*, the *Haft Kishwar*, and the *Akbarnāma*.

The story-tellers of the market-place base their stories on
their dreams ;

But I have awoken from such stories.

This is the arena of those who have traversed the heavens

And in it valiant heroes are to be descried ;

Scribes whose very breath breathes magic, with the points
of their pens

Have completed the adornment of this epic.

I also, for the sake of making a name in the world,

Have with my skill in words made a talisman.

I melted down both my heart and my tongue

In displaying this picture to the world.

When my genius scattered its wit into pen,

The pen poured the water of life into the inkstand ;

The Messiah saw musk in a moist bladder

And dried it with His breath.

Is this an inkstand filled with ambergris,

Or a censer emitting smoke of ambergris ?

When this lofty dome (the sky) became my cradle

The year was 954 (A.D. 1547).¹

Now that I have spent forty-nine years in this monastery

I have passed through the seventy-two sects (of Islām)

My meeting-place has been in the idol-temples of India,

The fire-temples of Persia have been in my heart.

With a hundred incantations and magical devices

Have I cleaned from the mirror of the king's heart the scum
of rust.²

This day, among the great tribe of the ages

The sky beat the *naubat* for me on the roof ;³

¹ Faizi refers to his own birth in that year. Vide p. 411, n. 1. The next verse fixes the date of the completion of this poem.

² It is obvious that this 'conclusion' of the *Nat-u-Daman* does not consist of the couplets written in praise of the prophet and on his ascent, mentioned on p. 422. Here Faizi, after boasting of his eclecticism mentions with pride his part in weaning Akbar from orthodoxy. The whole extract consists of the glorification of Akbar and the poet, chiefly the latter.

³ The *naubat* was the daily music played at stated hours over the gate houses of the emperor and some of the chief grandees.

Eloquence, that King who has been my surety,
Has enthroned himself on my tongue.

I have become both the equal of the *amirs*
And the prince of poets.

In every direction I go, uttering my wise words,
The ranks of mystic significations bow the knee to me.

Since love entered into my mind

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I have become the adorning of the diadem which is over the
nine thrones of the heavens.

The valiant swordsmen of the kingdom of rhetoric,

The archers of the battle of pretensions,

When they cast their eyes on my forces,

Cast down their shields in the field before me.

My pen, on account of my great fame

Writes as my autograph, 'He who is mighty in speech';

'The pride of the philosophers' is the writing on my forehead.

'The greatest' ¹ of the poets' is the device on my seal.

The heavenly Key has opened

To my thoughts the door of mystic significations.

When my breath gave birth to this poem

Khizr ² came, and bestowed on me his length of days.

If the door has been opened before me

My poems have also been endued with long life.

If I reckon up all that both worlds can give

I find it to be but dust from the stour ³ which I have raised.

This pen, which has traversed the whole of my poem,

Drives its splinters under the nails of bad penmanship ⁴

See now the drift of this book, which shall last for ever,

See boundless wisdom concealed in (boundless) love

¹ Literally, 'the seal,' i.e. the last and greatest

² The guardian of the water of life

³ 'Dust in motion.' I know of no English word by which to translate
فبار (ghubār) 'dust in motion' as opposed to گرد (garī) 'dust at rest'

⁴ Faiz here praises his penmanship. Driving splinters under the nails is a well-known torture. The meaning of the verse is that other penmen will be tortured by envy owing to the excellence of his handwriting

Those who are not dumb before this splendour
Are men who are not admitted to the privy chamber of
imagination.

As for him whose business is with words,

Let the age endow him with justice.

It is the practice of those of meagre wit

Ever to gibe at their contemporaries :

What of those who have fallen asleep, wrapped in the sheet
of the earth ?

Knowest thou what they said of the men of their time ?

And those who shall obscure my light with smoke

Will I afflict in their eyes (with their smoke).¹

Moreover, a time will come when I shall be no more,

And shall no longer be the nightingale of this garden ;

Then those who struck a thorn into my rose

Shall sigh for sorrow over my shrine.

O thou who hast poured the lees of the draught into my
pure wine

Pluck but a rose of the spring of justice,

Or else take my goods at my valuation ;

Look to their worth and consider yourself fortunate in me.

In the morning, when I sing in this meadow

My melodies shed a hundred gardens of flowers.

I am humble as dust in the path of true appraisers

Who this day, despite the ungrateful,

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When they opened this treasure from my stock.

Cast on it a glance which justly estimated it

And looked (with pity) on other unfortunates.

They, like the ocean, teemed with gems

And the diver who brought the gems to the surface
delighted in their commendation.

Art is intensely jealous of love

For I have compounded this poem with love's magic.

This pen is the source of great wonder

That from a dry reed such moist sweetness should flow.

¹ This verse may also mean, 'I will hold them excused, owing to (the badness of) their eyesight.

This breath of mine is a monument to love,
 For it is vapour which arises from my inward fervour.
 Fayyāzi on this incantation of thine
 How long wilt thou dilate ?
 It is best that thou should'st bring thy tale to a close
 Before thou becomest, thyself, no more than a tale.
 O thou consumed with love restrain thy breath ;
 Have done with love's tale, have done !"

CVIII. FARIS¹

His name is Sharif, and he is the son of Khwāja 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad the painter. He is a youth lately come to man's estate, and he is unrivalled in beauty of penmanship and in painting.

¹ Muḥammad Sharif was the school companion of Sulṭān Salim, who was much attached to him. When Salim rebelled against his father Sharif was sent to bring him to his senses, but only widened the breach. On Salim's reconciliation with his father Sharif had to flee to the hills and jungles, and was brought to the verge of starvation. On Salim's accession to the throne Sharif at once joined him, and was appointed a commander of five thousand, and rakīl and chief minister of state. In Akbar's reign Sharif had been a commander of two hundred, and Salim, when in rebellion, had appointed him commander of two thousand five hundred and governor of Bihār. Jahāngir says of him (*Tāzūk*, p. 6), "By his coming my heart was much rejoiced for the nature of his services to me is such that I regard him as a brother, a son, a friend and a companion. As I had complete confidence in his sincerity, his intelligence, his wisdom, and his experience of business I appointed him rakīl and chief minister of state, and conferred on him the exalted title of *Amīru-l-unwāḍ*, than which no higher title is conferred on any servant of the state, and I honoured him with the title of Commander of Five Thousand, and the command of five thousand horse, though his rank was such that I was inclined to appoint him to a higher command. He, however, said at last that he would accept no higher command until he should have rendered some conspicuous service." Mr Blochmann (*Ain*, i, 5, 7) has mistranslated this passage. In 1607 (*Tāzūk*, p. 60) Sharif fell sick, and Āṣaf Khan was appointed to officiate for him. On his recovery he was sent to the Dakan but was recalled as he could not agree with the Khānkhānān. He was sent again to the Dakan, and there died a natural death in November, 1612 (*Tāzūk*, p. 113).

Sharif's father Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad was a Shirāzī. He held command of 400 horse and received from Akbar the title of *Zarrin-qalam* ('golden pen'). Vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, 495, 5, 7.

It is well known that his father wrote in full, and in a good and legible hand, on one side of a poppy seed, the *Sūratu-l-Ikhlaṣ*,¹ and on the other side of it the argument of the chapter; and they say that his son, Sharif, bored in one poppy seed eight small holes, and passed wires through them, and that he drew, on a grain of rice, a picture of an armed horseman, preceded by an outrider, and bearing all the things proper to a horseman such as a sword, a shield, a polo-stick, *et cetera*.

Sharif has a pleasant nature. He has composed a *divān* and the following verses were selected by him from his works and given to me (for insertion in this work).

- “ They who wander by night in the grief of longing after thee
cause me to weep,
For they travel over the road by the rays of that light of
Thine.
311 Clemency is Thine, but I am all sin.
When Thou pardonest such a one as me all will sin.”

“ I sift the sparks of my lamentations in the sieve of respect
Lest, perchance, their harsh sound should strike thy ear.”

“ By the blessing of love I am at perfect peace with both
worlds,
Do thou become my enemy and see with what friendliness
I shall treat thee.”

“ The spacious field of my breast is so full of love
That, in spite of my earnest desire, there is no room for
more.”

“ Prosperity is no assistance in our path
We have recognized the Friend in another form.”

¹ Vide p. 322, note 2.

A Maṣnavi.

- " I have a grief for which may all joys be sacrificed ;
 May God guard my grief from the evil eye.
 When my heart admitted the fire which burnt within me
 Even resignation became a stranger to it."
 " If she has taken my heart O God, carry to her nostrils
 The odour of separation, which was mingled with my
 heart's blood."
-

- " Why should I sing of my genius or boast of my intellect ?
 The fact that I am generous ¹ disproves my boast."
-

- " O intellect, how long empty-handed in the market of love
 Wilt thou ask the price of the goods and blush for what
 thou hast to offer in exchange ? "

A quatrain.

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- " I have a love which is my religion and my faith.
 I have a pain which is chief over all my possessions.
 Should love be parted from me it will die
 Saying, 'Sharif-i-Fārisi is my soul.' "
 " To have in the breast beauty of the heart is such a wonder
 That it is pointed out like the new moon, when it can only
 just be seen."
 " The price of gratitude, that unsaleable commodity, has risen
 Because no caravan arrives from the land of grief "
 " Cast not away the heart which thou hast stolen,
 Carry a treasure, although it may seem heavy."
 " O zephyr, bear this message to love, ' Take courage, for we
 are gone,

¹ کرام (Kīrām), the word is plural, but evidently refers to the speaker.

کرم (Kurrām) ' very generous ' would fit the sense, but not the metre

No more will the dust of thy street be turned into mire by
tears'."

"I am silent from jealousy, not from pride of love,
For no speech, save of thee, passes on my tongue."

CIX. QARĀRĪ OF GILĀN.¹

He was the son of Mullā 'Abdu-r- Razzāq, and full brother to Ḥakīm Abū-l-Faṭḥ² and Ḥakīm Humām.³ He had many accomplishments and virtues, among them being poetry, penmanship and studiousness, and he was endowed with the qualities of an inclination to holy poverty and humility.

When he first came to court the emperor ordered him to be put
313 on duty with his brothers, and, when the guard turned out to salute the emperor, as he did not know how to put on a sword he appeared in the midst disordered in his dress. Some of the young wits expressed their surprise at this, but he said, 'Soldiering does not suit men like me,' and told that story of the Amir Timūr, *Ṣāhib Qirān*,⁴ who, in one of his battles, drew up his army in a certain position, and ordered that the laden camels, and the

¹ Qarārī is thus described in the *Jin-i-Akbarī* (i, 586), 'His name is Nūru-d-dīn. He is a man of keen understanding and of lofty thoughts. A curious monomania seized him. He looked upon his elder brother, the doctor Abū-l-Faṭḥ, as the personification of the world, and the doctor Humām as the man who represents the life to come, for which reason he kept aloof from them.' Abū-l-Faṭḥ is sarcastic at the expense of Nūru-d-dīn. Nūru-d-dīn accused his brother Abū-l-Faṭḥ of intense worldliness, and described his other brother, Humām, as one who was religious for the sake of the pleasures of Paradise, while he himself was truly religious, loving God with no motive but love. In the *Tabaqāt Qarārī* is thus described: 'Qarārī of Gilān is the brother of Ḥakīm Abū-l-Faṭḥ. By the emperor's order he was transferred from service at court to Bengal, where he died.'

Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad came to India with his two brothers in A.D. 1575. According to the *Itāḥ-tadū-m-Isarī* he had been in the service of Khān Ahmad Khān in Gilān, and went, after the overthrow of Gilān, to Qazvin.

² Vide pp. 233, 234 and notes

³ Vide p. 234 and note.

⁴ The great Timūr, Akbar's ancestor, called in English histories 'Tamerlane,' *Ṣāhib-Qirān*, his well-known title, means 'Lord of the (fortunate) conjunction,' and has reference to a conjunction of the planets at his birth.

footmen, and all beasts with their burdens should take up a position of safety behind the troops, and that the ladies should remain in rear of the army. At this moment the learned men¹ asked where their place should be, and Timūr replied, 'Behind the ladies.' When this story was repeated to Akbar as a rare piece of wit on the part of Qarārī he ordered that he should be sent to Bengal. He went thither, and there rendered up his soul to God² during the rebellion against Muẓaffar Khān's authority.³ The following verses are productions of his genius:—

"What fear is there if the whole world should become lovers
of Lailā,

So long as Lailā's heart inclines only towards Majnūn?"

"For the sake of my grief Heaven confers on me a nature
like that of the Friend⁴

If I make of my darkly-clad lot a mouthful of fire."

¹ Literally, 'the lords of turbans,' a common expression for learned men who are distinguished by the turbans as soldiers are by a helmet or military hat

² حق (*Haqq*) MS. (A) has بَخَائِنَانِ جِل (*bi-Khāinān-i-jal*) 'to the treasurers of eternity'

³ Muẓaffar Khān, governor of Bengal, was slain by the rebels in A.D. 1579, and during those torments Hakim Nūr-dīn Quṭrī passed from the world. Vide vol. ii, text, p. 282

⁴ خليل (*Khālil*) Abraham, 'the Friend of God.' The reference is to the legend of Abraham's persecution. Abraham had broken the idols of the Chaldeans, or, according to the Jewish legend, the idols in his father's shop, and Nimrod (Nimrod) ordered him to be burnt. A large space was enclosed at Kūtha and filled with a vast quantity of wood which, being set on fire, burned so fiercely that none dared venture near it. Abraham was projected into the fire by means of an engine, but Gabriel was sent to his assistance, and the fire burnt only the cords which bound him, and became to him a sweet and odoriferous breeze while the pile became a pleasant meadow. Notwithstanding this the fire raged so furiously otherwise that about two thousand of the idolators were consumed by it. The legend resembles in many respects the account of the attempt to burn Aganias, Azarias and Misael, as given in the third chapter of the Book of Daniel in the Vulgate, but is supposed to have had its origin in the translation of the proper name 'Ur of the Chaldees,' the city whence Abraham was brought by God, the proper name meaning 'fire.'

"What accusation shall I make against Death? I have
received an arrow from thy eye
Which would have killed me, even though I did not die
for a hundred years."

"I am illumined, as a candle, by the fire of thy love,
I humbly burn, even in my tomb."

"An ocean of fire is raging from my burning heart.
Tell Noah to flee, for *my* flood sheds fire around."

314 "My grief is this, that however much I am persecuted by
thee
The delight of being persecuted by thee leaves my heart
before I have well experienced it."

"Of her cruelty all that I ask is more wounds for my
wounded heart,
I am not solicitous for her favour; all I desire is her
cruelty.
I am distracted by the pain of separation; O love, for ages
Have I desired to be distracted but for a moment by the
delight of seeing thee!"

"God forbid that our hearts should be beyond the need of
the sight of her,
For we are entirely guiltless, and she is beyond all need."

"I am rejoiced at the duration of our separation, for now I
shall be able
To approach her and make advances as though I were a
stranger."

A quatrain.

"If I be seethed in the caldron of God's wrath,
 If I be placed in the flames of hell,
 This will be better than that my sins should, of mere favour,
 be forgiven
 While I am left to burn in the fire of shame."

A quatrain.

"If the love of my heart should find a buyer
 I should do something that would reveal my true self.
 I should so shake out my prayer-carpet of abstinence
 That from each thread of it a hundred idolators' sacred
 threads would fall." —

"If I drive from my heart regret for my union with thee
 It will be better than that I should increase the regret of
 my heart by meeting with thee "¹

CX. QAUSI²

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He was in the service of the Khān-i-Kalān,³ and was unequalled in these days for the carving of toothpicks, comb, and such articles. He once wrote the following couplet in a fair hand on the pointed end⁴ of a toothpick.

"The affairs of Qausi have been thrown into confusion by
 the ringlets of his love;
 His affairs are ever twisted in a hundred places like the
 ringlets of his love."

¹ The poet apparently means to say that as the union must necessarily be transient he will do well to refrain from seeking to renew both it and his grief.

² This poet is mentioned neither in the *Ans* nor in the *Tabaqat*. His *takhalluṣ* is not pointed in the text, nor in the *Mss*. If it is as I have written it, it signifies 'of, or relating to, a bow, the rainbow, or Sagittarius.' It may, however, be *Qāsi*, in which case it would signify 'of or relating to a cloister, cell, or monastery.'

³ Elder brother of Ataga Khān. Vide p 308 and note 2.

⁴ The text has حنجره خاللي (*hanjara khilālī*), an expression which has puzzled the editor. The true reading is, beyond a doubt, حنجره خاللي (*hanjara-yi-khilālī*) with the meaning given by me.

CXI. QAIDĪ OF SHIRĀZ.¹

He came from the glorious city of Makkah and at once entered the emperor's service and received an appointment near his person. One day before the court he said to the emperor, "Men are much harassed by this new regulation of the *daḡh-u-maḡalli*² which Your Majesty has invented," and from that time forth he was debarred from court and never again girded his loins in service. For some time he wandered about in the Biyāna district as a *qalandar*³ and then came to Fathpūr, where he suffered from hæmorrhoids and hectic fever. A quack whom he consulted cut the veins of his fundament, and he died under the treatment. He was of an extremely cheerful disposition.

The following verses are by him :—

"The lover has much of the merchandise of complaints, it
will be better

That he open not his pack until the market day of the
resurrection."

"O thou who hast never wandered from thy place in my
heart,

I marvel that thou should'st have found a place in the
hearts of all!"

"Though I be dying and no other comes to bid her farewell,
Hasten, camel driver, for her litter departs!"

"What ointment of thy favour is there on my heart,
That melts not my soul more than all the brands of regret?"

¹ Qaidī is thus described in the *Āin* (i, 599), 'He spent some time in the acquisition of such sciences as are usually studied; but he thinks much of himself.' The following is the account given in the *Ṭabaqāt*, 'Mullā Qaidī of Shirāz came from Makkah, entered the imperial service, and was honoured by many marks of favour. He died in Fathpūr Sikri. In the expedition to Kābul he shared the author's (Nizām-d-din Ahmad's) quarters.'

² Regulations by Akbar to prevent the grandees and officers from drawing pay for establishments which they did not keep up. They were not entirely new, but had seldom been strictly enforced and were much resented, as all interference with customary embezzlement is in the East. *Vide text*, ii. 190.

³ A wandering *darvīsh* who has given up all worldly desires.

CXII. QADRI,¹

He had some poetical genius. The following couplet is his:—
 "Love's madness gives me not so much grace that my soul
 May know how it is to come forth and be laid as an offering
 at her feet."

CXIII. QANDI,²

He came from Transoxiana to Āgra in the time of Bairam Khān, and there studied. I have seen no poetry of his but the following ode:—

"The hermitage in which I follow my devotions is a corner
 of the wine-shop,
 The ecstatic shriek³ which I hear is the shout of the
 drunkards;
 My patched robe of devotion and piety has been pawned for
 wine.
 The gurgling of the wine flask is for me the murmur of
 prayer and praise.
 Qandi was journeying, destitute, towards the temple of
 Makkah,
 When a lovely being waylaid⁴ him and he turned aside to
 the idol-temple."

CXIV. KĀMĪ.

This is the poetical name of Mir 'Alā-u-d-danlah,⁴ the author of the *Tazkiratu-sh-Shu'arā* which is the source from which his treatise has been compiled. It is superfluous to describe him and to quote his poems here even if it were not the case that the author is a poor judge of poetry and is ill qualified to make selections. It is better that I should recount my own deficiencies than that I should leave it to be done by others. Most of the couplets which I have written in imitation of others will bear out what I say.

¹ Qadri is not mentioned as a poet either in the *Ain* or in the *Tabaqat*.

² Qandi is not mentioned in the *Ain*, nor in the *Tabaqat*.

³ One of the performances of the *Shāfis* in their 'worship.' Vide p. 92.

⁴ Vide p. 239 and note 1.

CXV. KULĀHI.¹

He is acquainted with several branches of learning, and he received the title of Afzal Khān. He came to Hindūstān from the Dakan and was enrolled for some time among the doctors of the sacred law. On the occasion on which Mirzā Muqim and Mir Ḥabash were put to death² by the sentence of Mullā 'Abdu-'llāh of Lāhor on a charge of heresy and of cursing the companions of Muḥammad³ he fled in terror⁴ from this country to the Dakan and departed thence for the next world. The following verses are his:—

“ I tell love's secret to none but my own heart,
For my heart hears the word which I speak, and tells it not again.”

“ I placed my head on her feet, but she was vexed with me.
When I seized her skirt she snatched it away and passed from me.”

“ How long will the jealous watcher oppose my passing through that door?
He girds up his loins in enmity against me. O Lord, let him not gird up his loins ! ”

“ Whenever the enemy comes to war against thee with helmet on head,
When thou in battle smitest his helmet with thy sword,

¹ Kulāhi is not mentioned as a poet in the *Āin* or in the *Tabaqāt*.

² Vide text, vol. ii, pp. 124, 198, 255. The latter two pages contain references to the execution of Mir Ḥabash. From this passage it is evident that he suffered with Mirzā Muqim.

³ تَبَرَّأَ (*tabarrā*) vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, pp. 576, 577 and note 5. I may add to Lt.-Colonel Ranking's note that the word is commonly applied to actual reviling of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān.

⁴ It is clear that Kulāhi was a *Shāh*. The kingdom in the Dakan from which he came is not mentioned. Of the Muḥammadan Kings in the Dakan the Qutb Shāhi Kings of Golkonda without exception, the 'Adil Shāhi Kings of Bijāpūr with one exception, and the Nizām Shāhi Kings of Aḥmadnagar with very few exceptions, were *Shāhs*.

(The sword) cleaves his helmet as a pen divides the
columns on the paper, and, with the red blood,
Draws a ruled column on the page of the field of battle."

CXVI. KALĀMI.¹

He is of Caghatāi descent and was for a long time in Sind. He used to be constantly arguing and wrangling with Mullā Niyāsi.² He came from Bakar,³ and was for some time in Āgra. He writes poetry after the style of the men of Transoxiana. The following verses are his :—

"I attempted to close the road against my tears by thinking
on thy ringlets,
But water is not to be bound with a chain."

"Thy face is the fountain of love, and drops of sweat
Like bubbles appear everywhere on it.
Look on the bud of my bleeding heart and see
How it has been cleft once and again by my love's sword,
and is smiling."

"Sit for a moment, of thy grace, in the eyes of Kalāmi,
For there is to be found a purified corner, and water will be
in thy sight."

CXVII. KĀMI OF QUM.⁴

He is a youth lately arrived at man's estate and has recently come to Hindūstān. His disposition is not without sprightliness. The following couplet is his :—

¹ Kalāmi is not mentioned, either in the *Āin* or in the *Tabaqāt*, as a poet.

² Vide *infra* No CLIII.

³ The capital of a *sarkār*, or revenue district, in the *šābah* of Multān. Vide *Āin-i-Akbari*, ii, p. 333.

⁴ Kāmi is thus described in the *Tabaqāt*: 'He is a youth lately arrived at man's estate, and has a poet's tongue.' In the *Āin* (i, p. 160) he is called Kāmi of Sabzavār and Abū-l-Faḡl remarks that his mind is somewhat unsettled. Mr. Blochmann adds the following note: 'Kāmi's father, Khwāja Yahyā, was a grocer, and lived in the Maidān Mahallah of Sabzavār, in

"My whole body would turn to blood and flow out at my eyes
If I knew that weeping would be of any avail."

CXVIII. LIQĀ'Ī OF ASTARĪBĀD.¹

He is an epitome of many accomplishments. He was for some time with the *Khānzamān*. The following couplet is from his poems:—

"My tongue made mention of my heart-subduing sword,
May it be well with the speech that I uttered."²

CXIX. LIWĀ'Ī.³

He was descended from one of the holy men of Sabzavār. He had a pretty wit, and was for some time in service at court. The following verses are his:—

"When the stranger comes towards thee to see thee
I stand between thee and him, that haply he may not see
thee."

"I speak not of thee to the stranger
Lest desire for thee should find a place in his heart."

"When the lewd mention with lubricity the names of their
lights-o'-love
I ever fear lest, by some error, thy name should be men-
tioned."

Khurāsān. Occasionally he wrote poems. When the Uzbaks took Sabzavār Mir Yahyā went to India and left Kāmi, then twelve years old, with one of his relations in Sabzavār. At the request of his father Kāmi came to India, and was frequently with the *Khānkhānān*. He went afterwards back to *Khurāsān*, and the author of the *Ma'ṣūf-i-Raḥīmī* saw him, in A.H. 1014 (A.D. 1605-56), in Hirāt. While travelling from Hirāt to his home he was killed by robbers, who carried off the property which he had acquired in the *Khānkhānān's* service.

The *Haft Iqlīm* says that his poems are good, but that he was irascible and narrow-minded.⁴

¹ Liqā'ī is mentioned neither in *Ā'in* nor in the *Tabaqāt*.

² I.e. may it come true.

³ Liwā'ī is mentioned in the *Ā'in* (i, 613) as Firsāda, nephew of Mir Davām of *Khurāsān*, a singer and chanter.⁵

In A.H. 995 (A.D. 1587) in Lāhor, a wall, blown down by some ill wind, fell on his head, and the coin of his life was whirled away by the breeze. As he was unrivalled as a singer and chanter this chronogram was composed on the event :—

“ Alas, that by the efforts of the unjust sky
A nightingale of sweet song is gone from the garden !
He was so smitten on the loins by a whirling stone
That he was wounded and went from our midst.
I asked of wisdom the date of his death,
And received the answer, ‘ The *Pirzādu* has gone from
the world.’ ”¹

CXX. LA'LI.²

He is Mirzā La'l Beg, the son of *Shāh Quli Sultān* of *Badakhshān*. He is a young man of exceeding nobility of disposition, and is distinguished by the delicacy of his beauty, and as well known for the purity of his nature as for his beauty of form. He is remarkable for his good manners, his humility, his amiable disposition, his courtesy, and his modesty, and he is one of the intimate associates of the emperor. At the present time a *farmān* has been issued from court to him in the *Dakan* ordering him to leave the service of *Sultān Murād*³ and to join the court at Lāhor. He is very well read in history, and in travels. The author is bound to him by bonds of mutual acquaintance and great regard.

He sometimes occupies himself with poetry, and the following couplet from his poems remains in the author's memory :—

“ Since I have become as the dust of the road in thy path I
fear

Lest thou should not pass by me, but should take another
way.”

¹ پیرزاده از جهان رفت. The letters have the following values : 2+10+200+7+1+4+5+1+7+3+5+1+50+80+400 = 976. The chronogram is thus wrong by no less than 19 years.

² I have not been able to discover any mention elsewhere of La'li or of his father.

³ Akber's second surviving son, at this time (A.D. 1595) employed in the *Dakan*.

CXXI. LUṬṬĪ THE ASTROLOGER.¹

He was a good boon companion, and had by heart so many of the verses of the great masters of poetry that he could in one night recite a thousand verses on any subject. He also imitated the great poets well. He was for some time with Mirzā Nizām-d-din Aḥmad in Gujarāt, and by his efforts received a fixed sum of money granted for the purpose of enabling him to travel, and embarked on a sea-voyage. The following couplets are by him:—

“That face like the pomegranate flower became like a parterre of roses from the glow of wine,
O rose-sellers, good news! Roses are plentiful.”

“In the breeze of the rose-garden I smelt but the odour of thee.
I passed by no rose but it wafted to me the odour of my love.”

“If my heart becomes a flame of fire, what then? It will wither away.
If the rose of my fate blossom from paradise, what then?
It will fade.”

“Each sigh that I heaved over thee in regret
Has become a palm-tree to adorn the meadow of my repentance.”

CXXII. MIR MURTAẒĀ SHARIF OF SHIRĀZ.²

He was the grandson of Mir Sayyid Sharif-i-Jarjāni,³ (may his tomb be hallowed). In the exact sciences, in various bran-

¹ MS. (A) calls this poet ‘Mir Luṭṭī.’ In the *Ṭabaqāt* he is thus described:— ‘Mulla Luṭṭī the Astrologer composed good extempore verses, and could recite as many as a thousand couplets at one sitting. He was a good companion over the bottle, and a mimic. He understood astrology well, and was in the company of the author for several years.’

² Mir Murtaẓā is mentioned in the *Āin* (i, 540) as one of the learned men of the third degree, acquainted with philosophy and theology.

³ *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 84, where Mir Sayyid Sharif is thus described: ‘that paragon of mankind, the eleventh intelligence!’ From this passage it

ches of philosophy, in logic, and in metaphysics he excelled all the learned men of the age. He went from Shirāz to the glorious city of Makkah, and there studied the Traditions¹ under Shaikh Ibn Hajar and received a teaching diploma. Thence he went to the Dakan, and from the Dakan he came to Agra, where he attained a higher position than most learned and erudite men of former or recent times. He employed himself in giving instruction in arts and sciences until, in the year H. 974 (A.D. 1566-67), as has already been said,² he departed to Paradise. His body, which was at first interred near that of Mir Khwarav³ (God's mercy be on him), was taken to Mashhad, and Mir Muhsin Rizavi⁴ found the following chronogram for his death :—

"When Mir Murtaẓā left this world

It was as though knowledge departed from the race of Adam.

To give the date of his departure Muhsin

Said, 'A paragon has departed from the world.'"⁵

The following couplet is one of the productions of the Mir's noble genius :—

"Ease of heart is not to be obtained from material possessions.

The seed of ease of the heart is in the dispersal of material possessions."

It is probable that the source of this couplet is that passage in appears that Mir Murtaẓā Sharifi was one of those sent, in 1566, to the Khūzamān, to convey to him the emperor's forgiveness, and to exhort him to repentance for his rebellion.

¹ Ḥadīth (ḥadīth) the 'sayings' of Muhammad.

² *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 99. "In this year (A.H. 974) that paragon of the age, Mir Murtaẓā Sharifi of Shirāz, passed from this illusory world, and was at first buried in Dihli, near the tomb of Mir Khwarav (on him be God's mercy). But the Sadr, and the Qāzi, and the Shaikhul-Islām, then represented that as Mir Khwarav was a native of India and a Sunni and Mir Murtaẓā a native of 'Irāq and a heretic, Mir Khwarav would be annoyed by his company, for there is no doubt that 'the companionship of an unworthy man is a grievous torment to the soul.' It was therefore ordered that he should be removed from there and buried elsewhere, and thus, as is evident, great injustice was done to both."

³ The famous poet of Dihli.

⁴ *Vide* no. CXXIV.

⁵ علامہ ز عالم رفت The sum of the numerical values of the letters is 974.

the *Lawā'ih*¹ in which it is said that some have believed that contentment consisted in the accumulation of material possessions and consequently remain in distraction to all eternity, while others, knowing for certain that the accumulation of material possessions is one of the causes of distraction, have washed their hands of all things.

CXXIII. *MAḤMŪD*.²

This is the poetical name of Mir Maḥmūd the *Munshī*, who was for twenty-five years chief secretary to the empire of Hindūstān. His daughter married Naqib Khān.³ He had some poetical talent, and wrote poetry like a secretary. The following quatrain is one which he wrote at the beginning of the divān of Bairam Khān:—

“Of being and of a place of existence there was in the beginning no trace,
For all things came into being by virtue of the two letters of the command ‘Be.’
Since these two letters were the key of existence
They have become the opening couplet of the preface to the *dirān* of things seen.”⁴

The following is another quatrain of his, an enigma on the name ‘Qāsim’:—

¹ Probably the *Lawā'ih-i-Jāmi*, a work on ethics by the famous Persian poet, Mullā ‘Abdu-r-Raḥmān-i-Jāmi.

² Mir Maḥmūd is not mentioned as a poet in the *Ain*, or in the *Tabaqāt*. Mir Muḥṣin, who also had this *taḥalluṣ* is mentioned in both works.

³ Mir Ghiyāṣ-d-din ‘Alī, son of Mir ‘Abdu-l-Laṭīf, a Saifi Sayyid of Qasvin. He was a commander of nine hundred under Akbar. He came to India with his father while Akbar, after his accession, was still in the Panjāb. He was Akbar's reader, was very proficient in history, wrote several portions of the *Tārīkh-i-‘Alfi* and superintended the translations from Sanskrit into Persian. On the accession of Jahāngīr he was made a commander of fifteen hundred. He died at Ajmer in A.H. 1023 (A.D. 1614) and was buried beside his wife within the enclosure of Mu‘īnu-d-din Chishtī's tomb.

⁴ *شاهد* (*Shahād*). The word has several meanings. Its meaning here may perhaps be that attached to it by the *Sāfi*s, ‘the sight of God,’ ‘the beatific vision.’

"There is a capricious one the dust of whose door-step is my lodging,
 From whom I have gained naught but cruelty and oppression.
 When I see her face over the corner of the roof
 Her eye shoots the arrow of cruelty at my heart."

—
 This is a couplet of his :—

"Perfume not the jasmine with musk,
 Draw not a line of ambergris around the sun."

He wrote the following quatrain to describe a horse which had been given to him by the emperor Humāyūn :—

"O King with an army like that of Jamshīd, monarch of boundless power,

I have a horse which is exceedingly lean and weak ;

When I mount him, at every two or three steps which he takes

He falls, saying, ' Now you carry me for two or three steps.' "

The source of this quatrain is certainly that well-known couplet, by whom I know not :—

"He goes one or two steps and then says,

' Now do you carry me for an hour or so ? ' "

Following the idea expressed in the following couplet by a master of poetry,

"O lovely one with heart of stone and body of silver,¹

Whose lip is comfort and whose glance is destruction"

he wrote the following ode in two metres ² :—

"O thou whose lovely face is the envy of the jasmine,

Whose comely stature is the cypress of the meadow

¹ The text has *سَمِين* (*Samīn*) 'fat,' 'plump,' but the metre requires *سَمِينِ* (*Simīn*) 'of silver.'

² There are many syllables which may be, by the rules of Persian prosody, either short or long, and the art of the composition described consists in the introduction of syllables of this nature in such positions that the poem may be read in two metres. The two metres in which this ode may be read are those known as *Bāḡ-i-sarī-i-magfā* and *Ramāl-i-musaddas-i-magfā*. A

323 Whose laughing lip is a load of sugar,
 Whose row of teeth is a string of pearls from 'Adan,
 Whose musky locks are a net of calamity,
 Whose narcissus-like bewitching eye is seduction's self;
 Thy fawn's eyes are hunters of men,
 Thy glance, drawing blood from the heart, shoots sharp
 arrows,
 Thy ringlets work naught but magic,
 The glances of thy eyes seek but to draw blood from the
 heart,
 The down newly sprung draws on the jasmine of thy cheek
 'a life-giving line of musk,
 Of thy grace cast a glance towards Maḥwi
 O lovely one with heart of stone and body of silver!"

Shaikh Faiḏi also, in the days of his ignorance and while he was yet a boy, practised the same metrical trick, and wrote the following ode in four metres¹ :—

"O thou, whose goodly figure resembles a moving cypress,
 Whose arched eyebrow is bent like a bow,
 The curl of whose locks is a snare of love's madness,
 Whose dark ringlet is the desire of Paradise,
 Thy bewitching lip is the water of life,
 The lovely down on thy cheek is the *Khizr* of these days,
 Thy fawn's eyes are calamity's self,
 Even a raging tiger would fall before the eyes of such a
 fawn,
 The wretched Faiḏi is bound in the bonds of thy locks,
 All the world is smitten with thy dark ringlets."

One day, about the time when this hasty essay was being written, Shaikh Faiḏi saw in my hand the *Tuḡkirah* of Mir

full explanation of these terms would involve a long note on Arabic and Persian prosody which would be of no interest to those who have not mastered its rules, and superfluous for those who have.

¹ See the last note. The four metres in which Faiḏi's ode may be read are: (1) *Baḥr-i-Sarī-i-maqṣūd*, (2) *Baḥr-i-Khāfif-i-maḥbūb-i-maqṣūd*, (3) *Baḥr-i-Ramāl-i-musaddas-i-maqṣūd*, and (4) *Baḥr-i-Ramāl-i-musaddas-i-maḥbūb-i-maqṣūd*.

'Alā'u-d-daulah. He snatched it from me, and, tearing out the leaf containing an account of himself, tore it to pieces, just as the book of his life was torn to pieces.¹ I also, in those days when I had not repented of such vain conceits, composed the opening couplet of an ode in four metres, a mere piece of trash which is not worthy of mention. I hope that the generous recording angels have blotted it from the record of my deeds with the water of forgetfulness.

CXXIV. MIR MUHSIN RIZAVI OF MASHHAD.²

He sometimes exercises his mind with poetry, and as a poet stands in the same class as Mir Maḥmūd the *Munshi*, but is rather superior to him.³ The following verses are by Muhsin :— 324

"I do not desire her to be kind to me before strangers,
For I fear lest a stranger should see her and be captivated by her."

"One of stature like the cypress and with a mouth like a
rose-bud has stolen my heart,
In the flower of my youth she has disgraced me before the
world."

"O thou, the plant of whose graceful form is fresh with
the water of life,

The cypress is overcome with shame before thy stature."

I prefer the word *shādāb* ('well-watered') to *Khurram*, ('fresh') in the first hemistich.

¹ 'The book of his life' is a figurative expression. The author means to say that Faiṣi destroyed the leaf as utterly as his body was afterwards destroyed by death. His reason for doing so seems to have been that he was ashamed of his childish essay in poetry of several metres.

² Rizavi is not mentioned as a poet in the *Āin* or in the *Tabaqāt*. He was sent on an embassy to the Dakan, from which he returned early in 1574. Vide vol. ii, text, p. 171.

³ The author uses a very vague expression here. Its literal translation is, 'He is in the same world (or category) as Mir Maḥmūd the *Munshi*,' but more so. Whether the words 'but more so' mean 'rather better' or 'rather worse' depends entirely on Badā'uni's estimate of Mir Maḥmūd's verse at the time when the sentence was penned.

The following is an enigma by him on the word *rūḥ* ('the soul') :—

"O thou whose wavy locks waylay souls whom thou chidest,
O thou, the painful longing for whom pours balm on broken
hearts,

Is it the reflection of thy lip that is seen in water,
Or is it a rose-petal fallen into a cup of wine?"

The following is another enigma, on the name of Ḥusain
Shāh :—

"How pleasant to me is the habitation in my eyes of that
moonlike beauty!

How pleasant is the acceptable aspect of her moonlike face!
Muḥsin has placed his head on her feet,
For her face like the sun, and yet like the moon, is pleasant."¹

CXXV. MAJLĪ.²

325 He was Qāsim *Khān* of Badakhshān, one of the well-known *Amirs* of the emperor Humāyūn. He was well acquainted with the art of poetry and wrote poetry well. He wrote a *magṇavī* of six thousand couplets in imitation of the *Yūsuf-u-Zulāikḥā* (of *Jāmi*)³ from which the following few couplets descriptive of the beloved are extracted :—

"The priceless jewelled band which bound her hair
Has fallen on her neck, feeling its own worthlessness beside
her hair.

She has not hung earrings of bright rubies in her ears
For there are hung distracted hearts.

Fortune, of its great favour, has not adorned

The neck of her dress with pearls like her teeth;

For as an ornament of the bosom of her goodly dress

Drops of blood fall from her face.⁴

¹ I have not attempted to solve these enigmas. The task would be both difficult and unprofitable.

² This poet is casually mentioned on p. 314 of the text in vol. ii, but I can find no mention of him elsewhere.

³ *Vide* p. 347, note 6.

⁴ Apparently from the hearts hung in her ears.

When gold saw itself spurned by her feet
 It fell in showers round her feet like fine muslin.
 The whiteness of her neck, like a camphor candle,
 Rises from the bosom of her dress like a cord of light.
 The whiteness of her arm exceeds that of silver,¹
 Her fore-arm is as a chaplet of roses hung on jasmine
 From those two sweet chaplets of hers
 Her sleeves are filled with jasmine.
 Her palm is as though she had taken a rose-petal in her hand.
 Each finger is like the bud of a lily set upon it.
 Her breast and shoulders, which deprive the mind of sense,
 Seem to have taken a harvest of roses into their embrace.
 As I am making entries in the register of her beauty (I
 may say)
 That the pure whiteness of her bosom exceeds that of milk;
 Her two nipples of incomparable beauty.
 Are as bubbles on the surface of milk.
 Her waist transcends the bounds of description
 For here the utmost delicacy is to be seen."

He has also written a poem *Jailā-u-Majnun* of which this couplet of his is quoted :-

"An old man of an honourable tribe
 Whose beard is like a white rose a yard in length."

The following quatrain, he used to say, occurred to his mind in a dream :—

"O breeze, bring me some news from the street of my beloved !
 Bring to my dying body good news of my life,
 It is hard for me to arrive there.
 Do me this favour and betake thyself thither swiftly."

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"The cup-sickness of the wine of grief has made me heavy-headed;
 Come, cup-bearer, and free me from the griefs of the world."

¹ Literally 'has broken the fore-arm of (i.e. 'has overcome') silver.'

"Cup-bearer, how long shall we dilate on
What we have suffered from fate?
Fill the cup, that we may for an hour free our hearts of
grief."

Towards the end of his life he gave up the profession of arms, resigned his appointment, and retired into the corner of seclusion. How well would it have been with him had he also given up the writing of poetry! His death occurred in Agra, in A.H. 979 (A.D. 1571-72).

CXXVI. MIRZĀDA 'ALĪ KHĀN.²

He was the son of Muhtaram Beg, one of the well-known *Amirs* of the emperor Humāyūn. He was a man of pleasing qualities, and was fond of poetry, and sometimes wrote it. The following couplet is his:—

"In the evening when thou throwest the veil from thy face
The sun, unable to bear the dazzling sight, sets."

He was slain in Kashmīr in A.H. 996³ (A.D. 1588) in the battle in which the imperial forces under Qāsim Khān, *Mir-i-Baḡr*,⁴ were defeated in a night attack made by Ya'qūb, the son of Yūsuf Khān of Kashmīr.

¹ The author is not casting aspersions on Mauji's verses, but is regretting that he did not give up a pursuit which is regarded by strict Muslims as a vain, if not unlawful, occupation.

² Mirzāda 'Alī Khān was a commander of nine hundred. He served in the expedition in Mālwa against 'Abdu'llāh Khān Uzbek in the ninth year, and in the seventeenth year in the war in Gujarāt under the Khān-i-Kalān. Two years later he commanded an expedition against Qāsim Khān Kāsū in Bihār. In the twenty-third year he accompanied Shāhbāz Khān in the war against Rānā Partāb. He then served in Bihār under the Khān-i-A'zam and in Bengal under Shāhbāz Khān. In A.D. 1585 he was present in the fight with Qutlū near Bardwān. In 1586 he was ordered to join Qāsim Khān, who was on his way to Kashmīr. *Vide Ain-i-Akbari*, i, 443.

³ Mr. Blochmann says (*Ain*, i, 443) that he was killed in A.H. 995 (A.D. 1587) in a fight in which the Kashmīris defeated an imperial detachment under Sayyid 'Abdu'llāh Khān. I do not know what authority there is for this statement, but we can hardly refuse to accept as correct the statement of Badā'uni, who was apparently a personal friend of the poet, and mentions his death in three passages, here, and in vol. ii, (text) pp. 354, 369.

⁴ A commander of three thousand, and one of Akbar's chief *amirs*. He

CXXVII. MU'IZZĪ OF HIRĀT.¹

He was a Ṭabāṭabā'ī² Sayyid, and as a boy was educated with Kāmārān Mirzā.³ He was for nearly fifty years in India, and it was in Hindūstān that he departed this life in the year A.H. 982 (A.D. 1574-75). The following two couplets are his:—

“How long, O sky, wilt thou keep me whirling around like 327
a mote in a sunbeam?
How long wilt thou keep me in exile and destitute?”

“I said, ‘with a sigh I will drive out grief from my heart.’
My grief is not lessened by sighs. Ah! What shall I
do?”

CXXVIII. MURĀDĪ OF ASTARĀBĀD.⁴

He was of the Sayyids of Astarābād. He came to Hindūstān and died in A.H. 979 (A.D. 1571-72). He is remembered by many verses which he has left, a few of which are the following:—

“She showed her face from behind the curtain. Ah, this is
indeed the dawn!
This is the perfection of God's omnipotence in his handi-
work.
Not even on one night has the star of my desire risen in
thy face;
This is indeed my ill fate and my evil fortune.
See that thou hanker not after delight of the heart, and
ease
In the dust-bin of this world, for this is the house of toil.

conquered Kashmīr and in the thirty-fourth year was made governor of Kābul. He was murdered in A.D. 1593-94 by a young man who pretended to be a son of Mirzā Shāhrukh. Vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, 879.

¹ Mu'izzī is not mentioned as poet in the *Ain*, nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

² That is to say, a Sayyid descended from Ismā'īl bin Ibrāhīm, great-grandson of 'Alī, who was called *Ṭabṭabā* on account of his pronouncing the letter ج like ط.

³ Younger brother of Humāyūn, and uncle of Akbar.

⁴ Murādi is mentioned as a poet neither in the *Ain*, nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

Yesterday Murādi passed away to the dust and his love
said,

'This is one who has been killed in the path of love by the
stone of cruelty.

O flood of grief, wash not from my eyes the dust of his
road,

For it is to me a memorial of one who, (while he lived),
was as the dust under my feet.'"

"It was the blackness¹ of her locks which was all the foun-
dation of my faith,

I am no true Musalmān if I turn my face away from her.

326 Though the dog of thy street is more highly regarded
than I,

Yet I am not a whit behind him in the path of fidelity."

"The lovely ones, who have made their ringlets ornaments
around their faces,

Have taken the people in these snares."

"Absent from that rosy-faced one, my heart is contracted
like a rosebud,

A madman am I, smitten with love's madness, fighting with
shadows."

"When fate drew that line of dusky down on my love's face,
It drew beside it the line of my dependence on her."

CXXIX. MUḤṢIḤI OF BUKHĀRĀ.²

He came originally from Marv. Some men regard him, for his

کُفَر (kufr) literally 'infidelity.'

¹ Muḥṣiḥi is mentioned in the *Āin* (i, 583) but no account of him is given. According to the *Haft Iqlīm* he was born and died at Bukhārā. Badāʾunī's statement that he came originally from Marv may possibly mean no more than that his ancestors came from that place. Dīghistāni says that he was *Malikū-sh-Shawʿar* or poet-laureate under 'Abdū-'Alāh Khān the Uzbek, King

qaṣīdahs, as the Salmān ¹ of the age, but this is a great mistake, for his conceits suffer, to an extraordinary degree, from the defects common to the poets of Transoxiana, and are all frigid. He came twice to Hindūstān and left the country again. The following are some of his most pointed verses:—

“Since all the cash that Majnūn had to show for his life was
his grief for his beloved,
May God pardon him in consideration of this cash, for he
loved much.”

“For loving I have found myself much blamed,
I thought love an easy matter, but it proved to be difficult.” ²

“Since the meadow each night has lit in the garden the lamp
of the rose.

The tulip’s petal has burst into flame and both the petal
and the black scar on it have been consumed.”

He had a subtle tongue in satire, and one of his witty antireas was this fragment, which he composed on the occasion of his last visit to India:—

“The land of Ind is a sugar-field,
Its parrots all sell sugar,
Its black Hindūs are like flies
In their turbans and long coats.” ³

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of Bukhārā Sprenger says that he was born in A.H. 945 (A.D. 1538-39) and that his second *diwān* was collected in A.H. 983 (A.D. 1575-76). From the *Akbarnāma* it appears that he was presented to Akbar at Pāk Patan in A.D. 1578. He died in A.D. 1586.

¹ The great poet Salmān of Sīwā, who died A.D. 1307-08.

² Cf. Hāfiḡ, ... *که عشق آسان نمود بول ولی افتاد مشکلها* ‘For love appeared easy at first, but difficulties soon arose.

³ The text is apparently corrupt here. It has *نکرچه* (*nagāca*), a word which is neither Hindūstānī nor Persian. Mr. Blochmann, in the *Āin* (I, 583), reads *نکروچه* (*fakāucia*), a word certainly not in common use, but explained on p. 88 of the *Āin* as meaning the long coat commonly worn in India, usually known as *چپکن* (*capkan*). The meaning of the last verse is that the turban and the long skirts of the coat are like the large head and straight wings of the fly. This fragment is quoted, in a mutilated condition, by

CXXX. MAILI OF HIRĀT.¹

His name was Mirzā Qulī. He left a *divān* and was a master of poetical style. His taste in poetry was such that if he had lived till now most of the raw poetasters of to-day would have grown sick of trafficking in verse, and from the time in which he flourished until now none of our later versifiers can be mentioned beside him. He was for many years in the service of Naurang Khān,² and wrote several brilliant encomiastic odes on him. It is said that on account of some suspicion against him something was at last, by order of Naurang Khān, put into his cup, and that he was thus sent from the world. His death took place in Mālwa. The following verses are by him :—

Abū-l-Faṣl, in the *Āin* (*loc. cit.*). Abū-l-Faṣl transfers the simile from the Hindūs, whom he liked, to the learned among orthodox Muslims, whom he disliked. *Vide* Mr. Blochmann's note (*Āin*, *loc. cit.*). Mr. Blochmann remarks that the first couplet of the fragment is a parody on (he should have said 'was suggested by') a couplet in the well-known *ghazal* which Hāfiz (ode 158, Jarrett's edition) sent to Ghiyāṣ-dīn, Sulṭān of Bengal :—

شکر شکن شوند همه طوطیان هند زین قند پارسی که بینکاله میرند

"The parrots of Ind will be tasting the sweets
Of this Persian sugar now sent to Bengal."

Mughṣiqī seems to have been a diligent student of Hāfiz.

¹ Maili is thus described in the *Tabaqāt*: 'Mirzā Qulī, Mailī, was for years in the service of Naurang Khān, who was one of the *amīr*s attached to the emperor's exalted family. He has written a *divān* of *ghazals* and *qafī-dahs*. In the *Āin* he is thus mentioned, 'His name was Mirzā Qulī. He was of Turkish extraction and lived in the society of gay people.' The year in which he came to India is variously given as A.H. 979 (A.D. 1571-72) and A.H. 983 (A.D. 1575-76). The *Ātashkade-yi-Āgarī* says he was brought up in Mashhad. According to Dāghistānī he belonged to the Jalkīr clan, lived under Tahmāsp, and was in the service of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mirzā, after whose death he went to India. He is much praised for his poetry; the author of the *Ātashkade* says that he was one of his favourite poets.

² Naurang Khān was the son of Quṭb-d-dīn Khān, the youngest brother of Shams-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān Ataga. He served under Mirzā, Khān-khānān in Gujarāt in A.H. 993 (A.D. 1584), and received a *jāgīr* in Mālwa and subsequently in Gujarāt. Mr. Blochmann (*Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 334) says that he died in A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590-91), but, according to the *Tabaqāt*, where he is styled a commander of four thousand, he was governor of Jūnagadh in A.H. 1001 (A.D. 1592-94).

"Thou surely knowest that love for thee does not depart
with life
That thou walkest thus proudly over the dust of those killed
(by love)."

"Thou art neither my friend nor a stranger, and I know not
What name is given to such intercourse as this."

"My heart is restless within my body which has been slain
by love ;
I know not what more it expects from my beloved,
It describes as ' proving ' the cruelty which it suffers from
thee,
And by this artifice persuades itself to patience for a while."

"My life is about to leave me and I am well pleased with
this, for my heart
Has now some hope of a remedy for its many years of
pain."

"In thy absence I do not die, lest thy heart should say
' This weakling who has not experienced my cruelty could
not endure my absence for a day or two.' "

"Although she came to ask how I fared I died,
In jealous wonder as to who it was from whom she asked
the way to my house."

"I die and have pity for those who live, for thou
Art accustomed to committing such cruelty as thou hast
done unto me."

Some people read *raḡḡ* ('jealousy') for *raḡm* ('pity') in this
last couplet. The distinction between the two is for such as have
a nice discrimination in the matter of words.

The following verses also are by him :—

" I, with my wounded heart, am a half-dead victim of the
chase, whom
The hunter in his pity quickly slays."

" My beloved desires my death for her ease, and I
With shame bear the burden of my weary life."

" I have made thee, as my beloved, a byword, and
I rejoice
In thy shame, for thou now wilt cast no glances on men."

" What ill fortune is Maili's, to experience nothing but
cruelty at her hands !
She is but a child, who cannot distinguish between cruelty
and fidelity."¹

" I am alone with my broken heart, and I gladly entrust it
to thee :
Of what use will it be to me, that I should keep it ?
O my enemy ! I am at my last breath, give her to me for a
moment
That I may restore her to thee with a hundred thousand
pangs."

" In spite of her slights I would not arise at once from her
feast
For if I remain I hope to be glad for a moment at least :
After long years I am sitting, on some pretence, at her
feast
331 And she speaks to me of my rival, hoping that I will
leave."

¹ There is a difference of one letter only between the two Persian words.
جفا (ja/ā) 'cruelty,' and وفا (va/ā) 'fidelity.'

Come not to ask how I fare, since there is no hope of my recovery.

The desire to see me die is no sign of love.

So ardently do I desire speech with thee

That I cannot keep silence, despite my wretched plight

Thou art with my rival and Maili pretends to ignore it,

With an ignorance which is not less than a hundred regretful glances."¹

"I feign to be free from my longing for her,

That this wile of love may make her less scornful of me."

"A hundred times have I been grieved by her and again made peace with her,

But that moon-like beauty recks not whether I be at peace or at war with her."

"What has happened that thou passest by Maili with fierce shyness ?

Perchance thou art in fresh pursuit of other game."

"O Maili, that one with the wonder-working breath of 'Isf²' comes to thy pillow.

One who had been dead for a hundred years

Would rise up in joy at her coming."

"I expected thee, faithless as thou art, to abide by thy compact,

In the great simplicity of my heart I expected this."

¹ This last couplet is not in the text, but is in both MSS. It completes the ode. The couplet runs as follows :—

تو با رقیبی و میلی نفاقلی دارد نفاقلی که کم از صد نگاه حسرت نیست

² عیسی ('Isf) is the name given by Musalmāns to our Lord, whose miracles of raising the dead to life they attribute to His breath, vide p. 224 and note.

"If anybody has brought about a meeting between my love
and me
Her anger with me has certainly made him ashamed of
what he has done for me.
The good news of a meeting with her, which the stranger
in ridicule gave me,
Has made me, in my simplicity, expectant of its fulfilment."

"So long as there remains between us, even in secret, any
talk of 'me and thee'
A stranger is at our feast, sitting between thee and me.¹
Thou through modesty enterest not into speech, and I, in
bashfulness, refrain

332 .Wondering how the jealous wretchers represent what we
would say."

"She came upon me by accident, and pretended that she had
remembered her promise;
She hung her head, and pretended that she did so in
modesty."

In the following verse he has imitated the compiler of the
Muntakhab.²

"The sky desired to vex the people, and consequently
Availed itself of the ill-will of her who torments us."

CXXXI. MALIK OF QUM.³

He was supposed to be the king of words. He lived the life
of a *darvish* in the Dakan,⁴ and his eyes were seldom free from

¹ This couplet, which is carelessly omitted from MS. (B), deals with the favourite theme of the absolute oneness of the lover and the beloved.

² I do not know to what *Muntakhab*, or Selection, Badi'oni here refers. It is not likely to be this work, for whenever he casually mentions any poetry that he may have written he adds an expression of regret for having written it.

³ Malik, not being a poet of Akbar's court, is not mentioned in the *Ain* or in the *Tabaqat*.

⁴ *Scil.* the kingdom of Ahmednagar.

tears. It is said that at the time of the massacre¹ of the foreigners by the Dakanis he followed the direction of those foreigners who inhabit the land of non-existence. The following verses are extracted from his works :—

“The edge of the sword of testimony has brushed away the
dust of dissension,
Fire-worshipper, Christian, and Muslim are all killed by
one dagger.”

“The inmost parts of the cold-hearted are cut to pieces,
And salt is then sprinkled on the wounds in their hearts.”

“Thou, with thy sweet smile, art balm to wounded hearts,
But thy eyelashes are a sharp lancet to the liver²
The wine of love is not suited to the capacity of intellect,³
Thou that pretendest to knowledge art no tiger of our
forest.”

“The cloud of the eye waters thy narcissus,⁴
The sight of thee arouses no suspicion of cruelty.”

“The sword of her cruelty drips with blood, I fear that 333
Malik
Will go in search of his reward to the house of the slayer.”

“The treasury of my imagination is so full of the treasure
of the thought of reunion with her that my eyes will not
close.”

“When the army of well-being⁵ comes impudently against
thee, O Malik,

¹ Vide p. 373, note 1.

² One of the seats of the affections, according to oriental belief.

³ The text has عشق, which does not make sense. Both MSS. have عقل, which reading I have followed.

⁴ The eye of the beloved is compared with a narcissus.

⁵ i.e. of complacency and freedom from love.

Saddle the horse of strife and hurl thyself against the
centre¹ of the army."

"How long will one expect the fulfilment of promises from
every deceiver?

One has one's eye on the door and one's ear open for the
footfall of every comer.

Enemies gladly give this much ease to one's pain,
But woe be to him who expects fidelity from them."

"What breeze has been dressing thy head
That thy hyacinthine locks are scattered over the rose of
thy cheek?

Eternity without beginning is sworn to thy moon-like face.

Eternity without end is attached to thy waving locks.

Sugar melts at the sight of thy smiling face,

Salt is attracted by thy sweet smile of love.

The temple bell is melody to the bead-tellers

In that land where the idol is lord."

I saw the complete copy of Malik's works which Shaikh Faizi brought from the Dakan. All his poetry is after the fashion of that of the poets of this age and he has not departed from their set forms. No odour of love, of sympathy, or of any fresh subject **334** has touched his verse, and therefore I have confined myself to quoting these brief extracts. To what extent he understood the set terms used in poetry may be estimated from the following couplet, which is the opening couplet of his *divān*² :—

"O Thou whose praise is the ladder to all discourses,
The mention of whom is the pulpit of all assemblies!"

¹ There is a double *entendre* here. قلب (*qalb*) means both 'heart' and 'the centre of an army.'

² Badāoni is hard to please. He blames Malik for introducing no fresh matter into his poetry, and then blames him for using an uncommon, if not original, simile. It must be remembered that Malik was almost certainly a Shāfai.

His rhymes are a delight to his enemies, not to mention the complete lack of dignity in his diction. In my humble opinion the following couplet is the best poetry he has written :—

“I stepped aside to take a thorn from my foot,
And her litter vanished from my sight.
For one moment I was negligent and it travelled a hundred
years' journey¹ from me.”

CXXXII. MUDĀMĪ OF BADAKHSHĀN.²

He had good taste in poetry. He was for some time in the service of Mirzā ‘Azīz Kāka.³ The following couplet is his :—

“My heart, thou sayest that a hundred discords have arisen
on account of that graceful figure and lofty stature
(of hers) ;

Thou sayest truly: from that one of lofty stature I have
experienced many calamities.”

Many have written verses on this theme, but they have travelled round about one another without progressing, and their verses are insipid. One writes as follows :—

“Thou sayest that calamity and strife have arisen in the
world from her footsteps.⁴

Thou sayest truly. Verily calamities are from above.”⁵

Another has written⁶ :—

“Thou sayest that tumults have arisen on all sides in the
city on account of thy graceful figure.

¹ The text reads *صد ساله* which does not make sense, as there is no substantive to be qualified by the adjectival expression *صد ساله*. I think the correct reading must be *صد ساله*, and I have translated accordingly.

² Mudāmi is mentioned neither in the *Ain* nor in the *Tubaqat*.

³ *Ibid* p. 388, note 1.

⁴ *قدم* (*qadam*) means ‘a footstep.’ The text has, and the metre requires, *قدم* (*qadam*), a word which does not exist in Persian. The letter *ج* has been doubled by poetical license.

⁵ There is a *double entendre* here which cannot be reproduced in translation. *بالا* means both ‘on high’ and ‘the graceful figure and lofty stature’ of a beautiful woman.

⁶ The text omits *له* both here and before the preceding couplet, though

Thou sayest truly. Thou hast a wonderful¹ figure, my
moon-like beauty."

One might say that all these poems are the tumults that are
to arise at the last day.

(The following verses are by Mudāmi) :—

"My colour is sometimes as the flame of a candle in an orange-
coloured lantern,
Or perchance like an autumn leaf blown on to the tulip
from the north."

335 "When the account of his grief was finished,
He sealed it by dropping on it a tear."

CXXXIII. MULLĀ MAQSŪD OF QAZVIN.

He was one of the jovial poets of the age. He left a *diwan*,
properly arranged in alphabetical order. The following verses
are by him :—

"In the condition of fidelity the dog of thy street has submit-
ted to me.
Success has become subservient to me and the world wags
in accordance with my desire,
All lovers have their glances fixed on thy beauty.
O king of beauty, thy face is my full moon."

"I planted in my heart the plant of desire for her,
But this rose-cutting has yielded me nothing but grief."

"I had some hope that I might one day hold her ringlets in
my hand.

it appears in both MSS. and serves to show that the two couplets are by
others than Mudāmi, as they evidently are.

¹ There is again a pun here, which cannot be reproduced in translation.
The word *قيامت* (*qiyāmat*) which literally means 'resurrection' or 'the day
of resurrection' is used twice, first in the sense of 'tumults' and secondly
in an adjectival sense,—'wonderful'

² Mullā Maqsūd is not mentioned either in the *Ann* or in the *Tabaqāt*, as a
poet.

Alas, that my precious life has been wasted in this hopeless
desire ! ”

He also wrote the following *qaṣīdah* in imitation of *Khwāja* Salmān, and tacked on to it² the name of Qāzī Yahyā of Qazvin, the grandfather of Naqib *Khān*³ :—

“ Once more the sky shivers with December's cold,
The sun has veiled his head in clouds fearing the wrath of
the thunderbolt ;
The sky once more rains arrows (of hail and snow) on the
earth ;
The earth has made water itself a breastplate against the
arrow of Sagittarius ;
The sea-monster, fearing the biting blasts of December,
Has placed on his head a helmet of bubbles hard as iron
Once more, by reason of the abundance of snow and the 336
intensity of the cold,
The earth has fallen a-trembling like a sea of mercury.

¹ Literally ‘twisted’ This is another untranslatable *double entendre*. The word has reference to the embracing locks of the beloved.

² Literally, ‘has added as a tail, or fringe’ The author means that Mullā Naṣrud, having written his ode, added a few couplets as an encomium on Qāzī Yahyā, probably with the object of obtaining a reward.

³ Vide p. 148, note 3 His grandfather, Mir Yahyā, was a well-known theologian and philosopher, who had acquired such extraordinary proficiency in the knowledge of history that he was acquainted with the date of every event which had occurred from the establishment of the Muhammadan religion to his own time He was at first patronized by Shāh Tahmāsp-i-Safavi and was treated with such distinction that his enemies poisoned his patron's mind against him by representing that he and his son, Mir ‘Abdu-l-Laṭīf, were the leading men among the *Sunnīs* of Qazvin The king ordered Mir Yahyā and his sons to be imprisoned in Isfahān, and Mir Yahyā accompanied the king's messenger thither and died there after one year and nine months, in A.H. 982 (A.D. 1554-55) at the age of 77 He was the author of a historical compendium, the *Lubbu'l-Tawārikh*, composed in A.D. 1541 Mir ‘Abdu-l-Laṭīf, the father of Naqib *Khān*, fled to Gūlān and afterwards, at the invitation of Humāyūn, went to Hindustān, and arrived at court with his family just after Akbar had ascended the throne He was appointed preceptor to Akbar His son, Naqib *Khān*, rose to be a commander of nine hundred in Akbar's, and fifteen hundred in Jahāngīr's, reign Vide *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 417.

The dark surface of the earth is whitened, covered with an army of snow.

No black spot is to be found in the heart of the world,
For the surface of the earth is so contracted
That the crow can find no place for his foot thereon.¹

On the lawns of the garden, instead of blossoms and verdure,

In the ice and the snow which have fallen only ermines² are to be found.

Once more trembling has fallen on the trees in the meadow.
Like me have they become thus restless from lack of livelihood.³

In this cold air my body quivers like a willow,
In its weakness it is sometimes at fever heat, sometimes in agony.

This morning a voice from heaven conveyed good news to my ear.

Saying, 'How long wilt thou suffer torments from the hardships of these days?

Take refuge from the tyranny of vicissitudes at that threshold

Which is as high as the threshold of the sky,

The threshold of the trustee of the sacred law, an account of a particle of whose virtues

Would not be contained in a hundred volumes or in a thousand books,

Like 'Alī and like Muḥammad in his qualities, Yaḥyā by name;

Since his perfection is manifest why should I distinguish him by titles?''

Mullā Maqṣūd died in Agra in A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569-70). His father, Mullā Faḡlu-'llāh, also was one of those who deserve the

¹ i.e. the ground is so cold that the crow fears to alight on it.

² The poet here uses two words *منجاب* (*sinjab*) and *قائم* (*qadum*), both of which mean 'ermine.' The ermine is compared with the whiteness of the snow.

³ There is another untranslatable *double entendre* here. The word which I have translated by 'lack of livelihood' literally means 'leaflessness.'

title of man, and was held in reverence. He wrote the following 337 fragment:—

“Fazlī! Enfold not thyself in the robe of existence as a
bud is enfolded in its sheath,
Wrinkle not thy forehead and trail not thy skirt in blood;
Be like the full-blown rose, and like the cypress
Be free from the griefs of this world and humble not thy-
self before the base sky.

CXXXIV. MIHNATI OF HİŞAR.¹

He was moderately fond of study and was in the college at Dihli. He was afterwards, by the emperor's order, appointed *qāḍī* of Sirhind,² and received his poetical name of Mihnati from the emperor. In Sirhind he passed away from this house of toil,³ the world.

The following verses are by him:—

“I found in my path the print of her foot,
Why should I not press my cheek against it?
I have found her place.”

“The folk have lost their hearts in meditating on her waist,
slender as a hair;
I too, among them, have lost my broken heart.”

CXXXV. MÜSAWI OF MASHHAD.⁴

His descent is indicated by his poetical name. He had a poetical turn of mind. The following verses are his:—

¹ Mihnati is not mentioned as a poet either in the *Āin* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*. Hîşar is Hîşar Firîza, chief town of the *sarkār* of the same name in the *şûba* of Dihli, now the headquarters of the Hîşar District in the Panjāb.

² Chief town of the *sarkār* of the same name in the *şûba* of Dihli, now in the Patāla State, in the Panjāb.

³ This phrase has reference to Mihnati's *taḥalluṣ* which is formed by the addition of the *yā-yi-nisbat* from the word *محنة* (*mihnat*) 'toil.'

⁴ Müsawi is not mentioned as a poet in the *Āin* or the *Ṭabaqāt*. From what Radioni says of him here it is clear that he was one of the Müsawi Sayyids of Mashhad, who trace their descent to 'Alī Mūsā Rîzā, the eighth Imam of the *Shī'ahs*.

"I know that in secret your glances are cast on me in my affliction,
I know that thy pretended neglect of me is due only to fear of strangers." —

"Her eyes draw me in my affliction to perform her behests ;
She casts towards me a glance suffused with wrath."¹

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CXXXVI. KHWĀJA MU'AZZAM.²

He was the maternal uncle of the emperor, and was one of the sons of his holiness Shāikh Jām (may his tomb be hallowed). He was afflicted with insanity and mania to an extraordinary degree, so that he murdered his wife without any cause and was put to death on that charge in A.H. 971 (A.D. 1563-64),³ as has been mentioned in the record of the reign.⁴ The following chronogram has been found for the date of that event :—

"The great Khwāja, by name Mu'azzam,
Slew his wife, and was himself slain
By the wrath of the emperor, Jalāl-i-din Akbar."

¹ This is the gist of the second hemistich of the couplet, but the hemistich does not consist of a complete sentence and it would appear that Badāoni should have supplied the rest in by quoting further.

² *Vide* vol ii, text, p. 71. Badāoni, though he admits that Khwāja Mu'azzam deserved punishment, seems to blame Akbar for punishing him, and says that Mu'azzam always suffered on account of his near relationship to the emperor, quoting Arabic verses to the following effect :—

"Near relations are like scorpions in the harm which they do,
Be not deceived by either paternal or maternal uncle,
For grief is increased by the paternal uncle,
While the maternal uncle is destitute of all good qualities."

³ *Vide* note above. Badāoni says (*loc. cit.*) 'on the day on which the emperor went to his house to give him advice and to warn him against the repetition of certain unbecoming actions which he had committed, the Khwāja, becoming aware of his approach, and either having doubts regarding his intentions or being attacked by one of those fits of madness to which he had long been subject, slew his wife. As he had thus become deserving of punishment, the emperor had him kicked and beaten and then had him ducked in water several times, and sent him to Gwāliyar, and in that prison he was freed from the bondage of his evil nature, and went to his reward.' This passage in vol. ii leaves it doubtful whether Mu'azzam died a natural or a violent death, but the passage above is quite explicit.

When I asked of him the year of his death
 That man of auspicious qualities said, while he still lived,
 'Without the world-illuminating face of that lovely one
 I suffered at length by the greater martyrdom'.¹

This chronogram appears to have been composed by Mir 'Alā'u-d-daulah, the author of the *Tazkiratu-ṣṣhāh*.² The following opening couplet was composed by Khwāja Mu'azzam:—

"It is impossible for me, my soul, to recount to thee my
 heart's anguish,
 I suffer from this anguish to an extent which cannot be
 told."

In quoting this opening couplet of the Khwāja's I have simply followed Mir 'Alā'u-d-daulah. Otherwise, in spite of the following opening couplet by a master of poetry, I should have said that the Khwāja's couplet was mere trash. The couplet of the master³ is as follows:—

"Since I heard that I could call thy ruby lip my soul
 A fire which I cannot describe has stricken my heart."

CXXXVII. MAUZŪN.⁴

He is the son of *Shaiḫ* Pir of Āgra, who wrote seven scripts well, and whom I met in Peshāwar in the reign of Salīm⁵ Shāh. His son also was a capable youth and passably proficient in the 330 art of composing enigmas and in penmanship. He also played chess, both two-handed and four-handed, well. These few verses are quoted as an example of his style:—

"What profit is mine from the many colours of the flowers
 of spring

¹ شهادتم اکبر But the sum of the letters is 973, not 971. It is possible that Mu'azzam was two years in Gwāliyār before he died or was put to death.

² *Vide* p. 239 and note 1.

³ These words مطلع استاد ابن است are not in the text. I supply them from the MSS.

⁴ Maüzūn is not mentioned, either in the *Āin* or in the *Tabaqat*, as a poet.

⁵ Islām or, by *imālah*, as here, Islīm, otherwise Salīm Shāh Śūr, son and successor of Shīr Shāh Śār. *Vide* vol. i (trans. Ranking), p. 484 *et passim*.

Since my heart in thy absence finds no solace in any colour;
 Even those who bear witness to the grief which, in my
 misery, I suffer, are afflicted with grief;
 They are my blood-red tears, my pale cheeks, and my
 wakeful eyes."
 "O thou, from whose cheek the moonlight has borrowed its
 brightness,
 And in envy of whose beauty the sun burns!"

—
 "Each arrow that thou shootest, my moonlike beauty with
 bow-like eyebrow,
 Is as deeply embedded in my bones as the marrow of them.
 The arrow which that beauty with bow-like eyebrows has
 shot at any heart
 Has been a salve to its hidden wounds."

CXXXVIII. MUḤAMMAD YUSUF.¹

He was a handsome man who was born in Kābul and brought up in Hindūstān. In penmanship he was the pupil of Ashraf Khān. He died in Gujarāt at the time of the siege of Sūrat² in A.H. 980 (A.D. 1572-73) in the prime of his youth. Ashraf Khān composed a hemistich which formed a chronogram giving the date of his death, and Mir 'Alā'u-d-daulah completed the stanza, as follows:—

340 "Muḥammad Yūsuf, that residence of beauty,
 Went from the world shedding tears from his eyes.
 An honoured man gave this chronogram for the date of his
 death.
 'Where is Yūsuf of Egypt, O ye honoured ones?' " 3

¹ Muḥammad Yūsuf is not mentioned in the *Āin* or in the *Ṭabaqāt* as a poet.
² Vide vol. ii (text), p. 143.

³ The reference is to the patriarch Joseph. There is something wrong about the chronogram. The whole hemistich is کجا شد یوسف مصرای عز بزان which gives the date 1164. Omitting the last two words the total is 1008, and omitting these and also the first word the total is 984,—still four years too many.

This rhyming of *ma'rūf* and *majhūl* is very strange.¹ The following ode, 'The Master of the House,' is by the above-mentioned Muḥammad Yūsuf :—

"Happy is he who has taken up his abode in the wine-shop,
And is seated by the tun with a cup and a measure,
It is he who has given to the beloved her languishing
glances heavy with wine.

I am drunk with the languishing glances of those two
narcissus-like eyes.

The owl found no well-peopled spot in this transitory world
And hence chose for its dwelling the corner of a ruin.

I said (to my love), 'Take up thy abode in my eyes,' but
she answered coquettishly,

'Does anybody build a house in a channel through which
floods flow ?'

The comb has disordered thy locks,

May the hand of him who made that comb for thy locks
be broken."

The following couplet is by him :—

"In thy absence I attempted in vain to take rest,

Disappointed by thy absence I took such rest as I could."

CXXXIX. MANĠARI OF SAMARQAND.²

He is a pleasing poet. He was at Agra in the service of Bairam Khān and designed an epic Book of Kings,³ and completed the versification of several of the incidents to be included in it, **341**

¹ The rhyme to which Badāonī objects is that of عزیزان ('*azīzān*) with مجنون, which latter word was pronounced in his day, and, by natives of India, is still pronounced *rīzān*. The *ma'rūf* sound is 'r,' the *majhūl* 'š.' Although the Persians have long abandoned the *majhūl* sounds and would now pronounce the latter word *rīzān* it is still considered inelegant, if not incorrect to rhyme a vocable which was always *ma'rūf* with one which was anciently *majhūl*, though the rhyme is perfectly good, both to the ear and to the eye. This defect in rhyme is called *هز* (*hasv*).

² Manġari is not mentioned in the *Āin* or in the *Tabaqāt*.

³ *کتاب الملک* (*Shāhnāma*), i.e. a poem on the model of Firdausi's great epic, the *Shāhnāma*.

particularly the battle against Sikandar Sūr,¹ which contained an account of the valour of Muḥammad Husain Khān.² He presented it to the Khān at Patyālī³, and the Khān made some corrections in it and told him the whole story of the fight in proper order, from beginning to end. Manzari in one night, as it was the Khān's wish, corrected those three or four hundred couplets and read them at his *levée* the next morning, and received a notable reward. The following couplet occurs in that poem:—

"The sound of his trumpet deafened the sky.

The chief was perplexed by his sudden attack."

The following opening couplet by him is very well known, and is often illuminated⁴:—

"In thy absence I am always destitute,

I am one who never enters thy thoughts."

The following *ghazal* is by him:—

"See the down growing on the moonlike cheek of that
lovely silver-bodied one.

Both down and cheek are signs of the disturbances of the
age of the moon.⁵

See a chain of dark ambergris drawn across the face of the
moon;

See a ringletlike violets on a cheek like a moist rose-petal;

See her heart-ravishing eyes and her lashes that shoot
arrows,

See perils upon perils in the road of love."

This last couplet is the best. As for the rest it is evident that he toiled hard at them to no purpose but to weary our ears.

¹ *Vide* vol. i (trans. Ranking), p. 542 *et passim*.

² *Vide* p. 6, note 4.

³ On the Ganges, in the estate of Muḥammad Husain Khān.

⁴ i.e. illuminated on cardboard, as a wall decoration.

⁵ Each of the seven planets Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, the sun and the moon, as reckoned by the Musalmāns, was to have an age or cycle. These cycles have all been completed except the last, that of the moon, which began with the creation of Adam. It is the worst of all the cycles and has been and is to be a period of bloodshed and tumults.

CXL. MUDĀMĪ OF HAMADĀN.¹

In Hindūstān he was known as Ḥaidarī, and he wrote good *qaṣīdahs* in praise of Mīr Muḥammad, Khān-i-Kalān.² His 342 discourtesy led him constantly into quarrels with everybody, and on this account he suffered much molestation.

The following verses are by him :—

“Majnūn did not know that a lover is disgraced in the world,
I am disgraced by love and devoted to being a lover.”

“The new moon of ‘Id appears like a key
To open the lock of the wine-shop of the cupbearer on the
evening of ‘Id.”

“The lovely one with the green veil³ has once more appeared
from behind the curtain,
The bud laughs like the dawn, and the sun appears.”

“I have on my breast, from my beloved’s sword,
Lines⁴ like those ruled on paper with a ruler.”

CXLI. MUQĪMĪ OF SANZAVĀR.⁵

He was in the service of the Khān-i-A‘zam.⁶ He had a jovial disposition. After the conquest of Gujarāt he returned to his own country. The following verses are by him :—

“Happy is he whom she rates as her dog!
Although I am not so rated she sometimes thinks on me.”

“We are lovers, and the end of the street of calamity is our
refuge,
The world is full of the turmoil and din of our shouts.”

¹ Mudāmī is not mentioned as a poet in the *Ain* or in the *Tabaqāt*.

² Elder brother of Ataga Khān, vide p. 308, note 2

³ The spring.

⁴ Literally *alifs*.

⁵ Muqīmī is not mentioned as a poet in the *Ain* or in the *Tabaqāt*.

⁶ Mirzā ‘Aziz Kūka. Vide p. 388 and note 2.

We dwell wherever grief and toil are heaviest,
 Our place is wherever affliction and anguish are greatest.
 Despite all the misery which we endure in our grief for her
 She who is anxious concerning our hereafter desires our
 death.

343 We wander in the desert of grief for her, and the only shade
 that we have
 Is that of our black lot which accompanies us in such days
 as these.
 Thou didst say to Muqimi coquettishly, 'I care for nobody.'
 Aye, aye; with thy beauty how shouldst thou care for me?"

CXLII. ——— 1

He was the son of Qāzī Abū-l-Ma'ālī of the place of pilgrimage.¹
 He was a melancholy youth who had adopted the *Saḥfī* doctrine of
 annihilation² and was after the fashion of his father. He died
 of haemorrhoids in Lāhor.

He composed an opening couplet in imitation of an opening
 couplet by Shāikh Sa'dī (may his tomb be hallowed).

(Shāikh Sa'dī's couplet).

"Infidels, what do you expect from a lifeless graven image?
 Worship awhile that Idol which has life."

(The poet's couplet).

"The dead are envious when thou stretchest out thy hand
 for thy sword

Saying, 'Death by that sword is the privilege of him who
 is alive!'"

¹ No name or *ṭakhalluṣ* is entered here, either in the MSS. or in the text. The passages which follow are printed in the text as a continuation of the life of Muqīmī, but they clearly refer to another poet, of whom I can unfortunately find no mention in any book to which I have access.

² Vide p. 210. The 'place of pilgrimage' seems to have been Bukhārā, so called probably because it was the burial-place of Sayyid Jalāl, seventh descendant of Imām 'Alī Naqī Alhādī.

³ Vide p. 42 and note 1.

CXLIH. MAHWI.¹

Shortly after his arrival in Hindūstān he was in the service of the Khānkhānān, son of Bairam Khān, and then went on a pilgrimage to the glorious city of Makkah. In the composition of quatrains he has no equal. The following quatrains are his :—

“ So long as the ringlet falls over the moonlike face,
 So long as the down on the cheek is as an army to the king
 of beauty.
 Even if my house is built of bricks from the sun
 The days of me in my wretchedness will pass in black
 misery.”

“ Once I knew not sorrow of the soul and the heart,
 Once I knew not what it was to weep tears of fire;
 Now thou hast left neither name nor trace of me,
 O love! I did not know that thou wert thus.”

344

Maḥwi, who has wandered far from the street of wisdom,
 Has become a greater wanderer than a thousand Majnims.
 I saw from afar that lost one, wandering far from thee,
 In a wilderness where the wind entered, into his blood.”

¹ The name of this poet was Mir Muḥṣī. He is thus described in the *Tabaqāt*: “ He is a free-hearted and accomplished man. He arrived in Gujārāt and entered the service of Mirzā Khān the Khānkhānān, and, helped and encouraged by him, set forth on a pilgrimage to the Hijāz.” In the *Āin* (i, 595) he is thus described, “ Maḥwi of Hamadān. His name is Muḥṣī. He tries to change the four mud walls of this worldly life into stone walls, and is intoxicated with the scent of freedom.” According to the *Maʿādir-i-Raḥīmī* he was born in Asadābād (Hamadān) and went, when twelve years old, to Ardabil, where he studied for four years at the *Āstāna-yi-Ṣafāviyya*. From youth he was remarkable for his contentment and piety. He spent twenty years at holy places, chiefly at Najaf, Mashhad, Karbalā, and Hirāt. He embarked at Bandar Jarūn for India, and after leaving the Khānkhānān's service went back to 'Irāq, where the author of the *Maʿādir* saw him at Kāshān. He visited Najaf and Karbalā and returned to Hamadān, where he died in A.H. 1016 (A.D. 1607-08). It will be observed that the *Maʿādir* says nothing of his pilgrimage to Makkah. According to the *Āṭashkade-yi-Āqurī* he is often called Nighāpūrī, because he was long in that town.

CXLIV. MAZHARI OF KASHMIR.¹

He has composed a *divān*. He now holds a post in the imperial service in his own country. The quality of his poetry may be estimated from the following couplets, which are, however, a very small selection :—

“The good fortune of thy beauty has prospered thy affairs,
Else thou wouldst not have known how to manage affairs
successfully.”

There is also this opening couplet by a master of poetry (from which Mazhari's couplet is evidently copied).

“Thou hast not understood what a firm covenant is,
Thou hast not understood what it is to be constant.”

(The following verses are by Mazhari):—

“May I be a sacrifice for that mirror which the enslaver of
my heart
Keeps in her room, turned towards the rose-walks of the
garden.”

“Mazhar, be in the world as those that have no share in it,
And as for the rose, be, like the nightingale, satisfied with
singing to it.

Satisfy thyself with the beauty of the world by looking on it,
Be, like the strangers, a guest who is content to gaze.”

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CXLV. SHAIKH MUHAMMAD OF DIHLI.²

He was unique in this age for his high lineage and his acquired

¹ Mazhari is thus described in the *Āin* (i, 584), ‘He made poems from his early youth, and lived long in ‘Irāq. From living with good people he acquired excellent habits.’ Dāghistāni says that in ‘Irāq he was in company with Muḥtaṣam and Wahshī. After his return to India he was employed by Akbar as Mir Bahri of Kashmir, which was evidently the employment to which Badāoni refers. He had turned Shī‘ah, and, as his father was a Sunni, they used to abuse each other. His poems are said to contain several satires on his father. Mazhari died in A.H. 1018 (A.D. 1609-10). The poet cannot be the Mazhari mentioned in vol. ii (text), p. 292, or Badāoni would have written more warmly of him here.

² I have not found elsewhere any mention of Shaikh Muḥammad of Dihli.

and inherited accomplishments. After many years of such acquaintance as can exist between men at a distance from one another, I was so fortunate as to have a chance meeting with him in the neighbourhood of the town of Bāri¹ in the year in which the victorious army set out for the conquest of the fortress of Citor; but owing to the shortness of the time at our disposal our interview and conversation, in spite of the great desire which I had to prolong them, did not last an hour, and he went on and I returned, but when I first set eyes on him I became aware of the nobility of his character. Although, considering his dignity, this mention of him among a string of poets is scarcely gracious, yet, as he sometimes amused himself with poetry, this opening couplet is quoted as a memorial of him :—

“If, in the day of my grief for thee, I should choose to exercise patience,
Since I have no choice in the matter say what I should do.”

CXLVI. NUVIDI OF TURRAT.²

He composed a *divān*, and also a *tarji'-band*³ satirizing Kucik Beg, the accountant of Bairam Khān, the letters of which a hundred storms like that which occurred in the days of Noah would not wash from the pages of this age. The following few couplets are by him⁴ :—

“O thou, in whose glorious days time glories,
Khān, son of a Khān, chief, and high officer of kings,
Bairām !

¹ A pargana town in the *sarkār* and *gūba* of Agra.

² Nuvidi is not mentioned in the *Āin*, and the only notice of him in the *Tabaqāt* is that he was for a long time at court.

³ A poem composed of strophes, each consisting of any number of couplets from five to eleven. The two hemistiches of the first couplet of each strophe rhyme together and the remaining couplets rhyme with the first. At the end of each strophe is a refrain consisting of one couplet, the two hemistiches of which rhyme together, and which is the same throughout the poem.

⁴ The verses which follow are certainly a satire on Kucik Beg, but they do not seem to be from the *tarji'-band* mentioned, for they are not in the form of a *tarji'-band*.

The steed of perception cannot traverse the valley of thy understanding.

The noose of imagination cannot reach the battlements of the palace of thy glory.

I have a word to say: I will expound it unto the Nawwāb. I have a difficulty: I will represent it to his servants.

Thou hast given the high post of accountant To Kucik Beg. Say for what reason, O boast of mankind. Thou art perhaps ignorant of his reprehensible acts, Although inquiry into the characters of servants is a duty incumbent on governors.

He was an infamous boy, and conceited, a wine-bibbing libertine.

A lad ever hankering after gold, soft, and self-willed.

His business was the service ¹ of Khwāja Amir Beg the *Vazīr*.

Factor to the family of His Highness Mirzā Bahrām.²

Other things are known about him from a certain source.

But I feel ashamed to reveal them before his honour the Khān.

To cut a long story short and to make an end quickly I will come to my tale.

And I will tell a tale regarding that mutilated ³ wretch.

Wherever he has been his conduct has been such

That he has brought upon himself the hatred of all, both gentle and simple.

¹ The word is apparently intended to bear a very ill meaning here.

² The reference is obviously to Mirzā Muzaḥḥar Ḥusain, son of Bahrām Mirzā, son of Shāh Ismaʿīl-i-Safavi. He was a commander of five thousand and had Sambhal in *jāgīr*. The people in his *jāgīr* preferred complaints against his grasping factors, or collectors, and Muzaḥḥar, annoyed at this, applied for leave to go to Makkah. Akbar granted his request, but Muzaḥḥar repented of his resolve, and was reinstated in his *jāgīr*. New complaints were preferred and the *jāgīr* was resumed, Muzaḥḥar receiving an allowance in cash in lieu of it. The poet's object in referring to this is to show that Kucik Beg was educated in a very bad school.

³ بے بندم Steingass gives the meaning of this word as 'out of proportion, but it is clearly intended to bear a much worse meaning here, and I have accordingly translated it more literally.

Oh on thy leprous body,' thus pray to God,
 Both morning and evening, all the inhabitants of the
 heavens,
 May there fall fever, colic, hæmorrhoids, consumption, and
 dropsy,
 Measles, intestinal worms, epilepsy, and delirium.
 Then when thou haltest weak and feeble, seeking a cure,
 May all the physicians prescribe for thee the following diet,
 Simiæ vomitum, decem dierum catuli stercore, 347
 Ursi penem, felis caudam, et stercore sicca quibus calefunt
 hypocausta.
 Happy will that day be when thou art griped by colic, for
 which
 The great physicians will prescribe an enema,
 And the forefoot of an ass, the foot of a camel, the horn of
 a goat.
 The scalp of a bear, the head of a mule, and the teeth of a
 hog.'"

He could also be abusively satirical in prose as the following story will show. One day when weary¹ he was seated on an old felt cushion and said to me before the court, 'Dog, dost thou eat filth before me?' I said, 'Surely it is lawful for any² dog to eat filth before you.' However, as Navidi had but one eye I have closed my eyes to his baseness,³ and if I have recounted his faults it was only because the road was opened to me by the author of the original *Tuzkirah*,⁴ Mir 'Alâ'u-d-daulah; and although the recording of obscene language and the reckoning up of faults is not the custom of the author of this Selection, yet in this instance, with the object of indulging the love of a jest and keeping

¹ *hâle* ١, (*ra-mânda*). The expression may possibly refer to the felt cushion, in which case it will mean, 'cast off.'

² *kuddm* (کودم) is in Persian an interrogative pronoun, but here *Badisoni* clearly uses it, as is sometimes done in India, and always in Afghanistan, as an indefinite pronoun.

³ In India a one-eyed man is supposed to be necessarily and unavoidably base, and therefore, as he cannot help himself, to be to some extent excused.

⁴ *Vide supra* p. 239, no. 1.

up the merriment of the entertainment, I have blindly and exactly copied the passage from the original ; and I hope that the clear-sighted men of this time will regard what they have seen as unseen and what I have done as though it had never been done, and will wink at my fault and my shame, and pass by it and pardon me, for 'Satire in speech is as salt in food' is a proposition accepted by all learned and well-informed men, and although some people, falsifying the text, read, instead of 'Satire,' 'Syntax' ¹ in speech, the *Maqāmāt* ² of Ḥariri clearly show that the first, and not the second, is the correct reading.

The following few verses are from Nuvidi's *diwān*, but I am not certain whether they are by this Nuvidi, or by another ³ poet with the same poetical name :—

" I still have thy arrow, which I have had in my heart for an age,

I still have the plant of desire for thee which I received from thee ;

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I still have the fetter which at the very first

I, poor and distraught,

Received from that Lailā-like beauty with the musky tresses,⁴

Though my eyes have become dim from weeping,

I retain the picture⁵ of thee

In that same form which has ever been reflected in the mirror of my heart.

Take my hand, love, for an age.

My foot has been held in the valley of love's madness in the mire caused by my tears, as it was always held.

I, Nuvidi, still have that heart like a bird struck by the arrow of her glance

¹ By the substitution of *ألف* (*Al-nāḥiyya*) for *هـ* (*al-hājiyya*) which is done by the alteration of one letter and the displacement of one dot.

² The 'assemblies' of Ḥariri, a very famous work in Arabic.

³ Vide *infra* Nos. CLII and CLVIII.

⁴ The text has *شمال* (*shams'il*) 'qualities.' I prefer *سلاسل*, which is the reading of both MSS.

⁵ Literally 'idea.'

Which I had long ago, rolling in dust and blood like a bird
half slain.

Another ode.

" Longing for thy ringlet has made me restless,
I am at death's door. O come to my help !
I could endure thy cruelty all my life, but
Thy sitting with a stranger I cannot endure.
I restrain myself from weeping at the end of thy street
For I fear that the flood of my tears would sweep me away
from the end of thy street.
Not for the twinkling of an eye does the restless longing
for thy ringlet
Permit me to sleep during the night of absence from thee.
Nuvidi, since my heart has become united ¹ with grief for
thee,
The confusion of all material things has left my remem-
brance."

Another ode.

" Though I die miserably from the ceaseless grief which is
mine
I will make to the stranger no complaint of my misery.
If in love's delirium I declared to thee
The grief of my heart, pardon me, in thy mercy.
Nuvidi wished to declare the grief of his heart to thee, 349
But when he saw thy face he forgot his grief."

Another ode.

" Before thy arrow is drawn from my wounded heart
My grief-worn life will leave me a hundred times.
Thy heart-piercing arrow has entered my wounded breast
With ease, but will with difficulty be drawn thence.
To the end of her street I, helpless in my weakness.
Go a hundred times, hoping to see her come out but once.
O Nuvidi, from within thy patched woollen robe
If thou art a Musalmān why does the idolator's sacred
thread appear ? "

¹ This word جمع (*jam'*) might also be translated 'contented.'

A couplet.

"Thou hast no thought for the next world, nor for this,
Nuvidi, I know not how thou art employed."

CXLVII. NISHĀNĪ.¹

He is Maulānā 'Alī Aḥmad, the son of Maulānā Ḥusain Naqshī of Dihlī, the seal-cutter, who was a learned man, saintly in religion, and was the instructor of the eldest prince.² Both father and son attained the greatest proficiency in this art (of seal-cutting), but especially the Maulānā named above ('Alī Aḥmad) whose own engraved seal is the exemplar of the age. Coins of which the dies have been cut by him are taken as talismans and relics to 'Irāq, Khurāsān and Transoxiana. He is endowed with the accomplishments of learning and with such perfections as a man can possess, but this lesser accomplishment and mercenary art (of seal-cutting) has obscured all his great natural gifts, and for this reason he has not received that training and that position
350 in military affairs and in the service of the state to which he is entitled. Had he attained the honourable rank which was his due he would have been in no way inferior to any of the more famous *Amīrs*.³ He is deeply read in astronomy and natural philosophy,

¹ Nishānī is not mentioned in the *Āin* or in the *Tabaqāt* as a poet, but he is mentioned more than once in the *Āin* as an engraver. Abū-l-Faṣl says of him, 'at this day, Maulānā 'Alī Aḥmad of Dihlī, who has not his equal in any country, cuts different kinds of letters in steel in such a manner as equals the copy slips of the most skilful calligraphers. He holds the rank of commander of a hundred,' and again 'Maulānā 'Alī Aḥmad of Dihlī who, according to all calligraphers, stands unsurpassed as a steel engraver, so much so that his engravings are taken as copies. His *nast'liq* is charming, but he writes also other characters well. He learned the trade from his father, Shaikh Ḥusain, studied the manner of Maulānā Maqqūd, and eventually surpassed all.' Vide *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 22, 53.

² Sulṭān Salīm, afterwards the emperor Jahāngīr. Ḥusain was probably his writing master.

³ The meaning of this sentence according to the tenses used by Badfoni is, 'Having attained an honourable rank he is in no way inferior to the famous *Amīrs*,' but I believe that I have accurately rendered the meaning of Badfoni who has just been complaining that 'Alī Aḥmad did not receive the promotion which was his due

is an ardent seeker after knowledge, and is marvellously proficient in all scripts, and in prose composition and orthography he is unrivalled.

Had he been a man of one pursuit many examples of his flowing verse would have been left on the page of time. He sometimes exercises his brilliant intellect and keen perception in the composition of verse, and has chosen a poetical name in consonance with his occupation. Since from the early days of my youth to the time of writing this selection, which is the period of my middle age,¹ or rather of my old age, I have been bound to him, to a greater degree than can be imagined, by the bonds of intimacy, confidence, friendship, and companionship, it is not unfitting that I should quote with appreciation, and at some length,² some of his profitable pieces of verse and prose. The following couplets are from his poems :—

"Until the down grew above thy life-giving lip
Masîḥ alone was there. Now that it has grown Khîr is in
company with Masîḥ."³

"The censor yesterday broke the wine-jar, and poured forth
the fiery water which it contained.
He gave my dust to the wind, and poured my blood on the
dust."

"The wind brought news to my sad heart of my beloved.
Alas, no trust can be placed in the word of the wind."

"Sleep comes on me each night like a robber, my eyes become
moist.

¹ كهولت (kuḥūlat) literally 'laziness,' 'love of ease.'

² I am not quite sure of the correctness of this translation. The two words used are إشباق (ishbāq) and إشباع (ishbāʿ). The latter, which is an Arabic verbal noun in the measure إشباع means 'satiating,' 'filling up,' 'dying.' I think that Badīʿi means by it that he proposes to quote at length.

³ The special characteristic of our Lord, according to Muhammadan belief, has already been mentioned, vide *supra*, p. 224, note 2. The meaning of this couplet is that the lip merely gave life until the down grew above it, after which it gave perpetual life.

But, when sleep sees that my heart still wakes in its grief
for me, sleep quickly flees."

In imitation of this couplet I composed the following :—

" Fired by a hundred hopes I send a messenger to that cruel
one,

I flee to God for refuge from the hour in which he will
return from her without hope."

351 (The following couplet is Nishānī's) :—

" Since my bosom was wounded by the arrow of thy cruelty
I have not treated it with ointment, nor have I dressed the
wound."

At the time when Gujarāt was conquered he engraved a coin-
die for the emperor, and submitted it to him with the following
chronogram :—

" O king! The coinage of Gujarāt is now struck in thy
name,

May the shadow of thy justice be over the head¹ of that
country.

Happy will be that moment when thou wilt ask of me the
date (of its conquest)

And I shall reply, ' May the coinage of Gujarāt be auspi-
cious! ' " 2

The following couplets are also by him :—

" It is a matter of life and death with me, and the beloved
has not come.

My life, which is valuable to me, has become of no account."

" I have a wounded heart and the lovely ones bear salt (wit)
on their lips ;

This wound of mine will not be healed till eternity."

¹ MS. (A) has *تبارک* (*tabārūk*) which neither rhymes nor makes good sense.
MS. (B) has *تبارک* (*rubārāk*) which is nonsense and neither scans nor
rhymes. I have adopted *بناری* (*bi-tārak*), the reading of the text.

² *سکه گهرات مبارک باد*. The sum of the values of the letters is 980.
Gujarāt was formally annexed on Sha'bān 14, A.H. 980 (Dec. 20, 1572) ; vide
vol. II (text), p. 142.

"Outward form and inward truth are not united in every king,
Akbar the emperor is the king both of outward form and
inward truth.

He is the emperor at whose court, when he holds it,
King after king falls down in fear before the doorkeeper's
staff."

"The heart in my bosom is not broken by the stone of calamities

For the glass of my (heart) is made of a diamond."

When the imperial camp was on its way to Kashmīr for the first time¹ and I, having taken leave, went to Basāwar,² my birth-352place, Nishānī wrote the following verses, and sent them to me from that country (Kashmīr). God knows whether he wrote (the same verses) with the same warmth of feeling to several others, and pleased them also, but until another claimant appears I have made the verses my own.

A Maṅnavī.

"Whilst thou art far from me, O moon that illumineest my heart,

I sleep not at night and have no ease during the day,

My tears, rose-red with blood, trickle adown my cheek

Like tulips blooming in a field of saffron;

My eyelashes are tinged with the blood of my heart

Like branches of red coral showing their heads above the ocean.

¹ This was, apparently, the occasion on which Badāonī, in 1577, left the court at Rewāri, having received five months' leave of absence. He overstayed his leave by seven months and was never again received into favour. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 252.

² The text has 'Peshāwār,' which was certainly not Badāonī's birthplace. The correct reading is 'Basāwar.' According to Mr. Blochmann (*Ain-i-Akbarī*, i, 104, note 2), Badāonī was born at Badāon, but this is a mistake. He was born in Toda, but was taken soon after his birth to Basāwar, where he was circumcised (*vide* vol. ii, text, 236), and of which he always speaks as his birthplace.

Owing to thy absence the blood lodged in my heart, every moment.

Rises to my neck like liquid in a bottle ;

Every breath burns with the fire of grief

And at each respiration throws forth from my bosom a flaming banner.

Now my eyes contend with the blood of my heart

And shed, instead of tears, sparks of fire.

These are not eyelashes that encircle my eyes,

They are the soot of my heart's fire around its chimney.

O thou of angelic disposition, from this sad journey

Which has carried the lives of my dear friends away on the breeze

Such languor has become the lot of my body and my heart

That I pay no heed to my body or my heart.

My body is disturbed by the pains of fever,

My heart within it is like fire in a furnace."

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In reply to that boastful poem¹ of Shaikh Faizi's, which begins :—

"Thanks be to God that the love of beautiful ones is my guide.

I am of the religion of Brahmins and of the faith of the fire-worshippers."

He wrote a *qasidah*, from which the following couplets are excerpted :—

"Thanks be to God that I am a follower of the faith of the prophet,

The love of the prophet and of the race of the prophet is my guide.

I am disgusted with Brahmins, prayer-gongs, and Ahri-man,²

I am a denier of the faith of monk, priest, and fire-angel,³

¹ Vide p. 417.

² The Principle of Evil.

³ *Agar* (آگر), the angel who presides over fire.

I believe in the day of resurrection, and in the resurrection
of the dead,

I am hopeful of Paradise, of *Āuris*, and of *Kausar*.¹

O envious one, glance not towards me with contempt

Although in outward semblance I may appear contempt-
ible.

I am a fierce flame, pass not near me.²

Since thou art not the Friend³ set not thy foot on my fire.

Under my seal is the face of the whole earth.

I in this age am like the seal, with my head hidden within
the collar of my robe.⁴

From east to west I am tempered with perfection,

From pole to pole I am the axis of every country.

The convex surface of the sky of excellence, even in the
eyes of my enemy,⁵

Will never fit the concave surface which is bounded by my
ego.

Though I dwell on the earth like an imaginary point

I am still the centre round which the spherical sky
revolves.

The hand of fate has drawn, with the compass of time,

The circles of the seven heavens around my book.

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Although I am less than the fixed point which is the
centre

I am nevertheless more boundless than the circumference.

If my enemy performs a thousand of the magical tricks of
Sāmīrī⁶

¹ A river in Paradise whence all the other rivers derive their source.

² This Hemistiḥ and the one which precedes it have been carelessly
omitted from the text. I have supplied them from the MSS.

³ Abraham, 'the Friend of God.'

⁴ i.e. as a seal has its head hidden in the wax when it is pressed on it.

⁵ The 'enemy' is *Shaiḫ Faḡī*. I have been unable to translate literally
this hemistiḥ and the one which follows it, as a literal translation would
not give the sense, which is that the poet's intellect is more spacious than
the sky.

⁶ A great magician, the maker, according to the Mūsalmins, of the golden
calf which the Israelites worshipped. Vide *Qur'ān* c. xx.

I, like the serpent of the Speaker,¹ will overpower him in a minute."

He wrote the following couplet in praise of the prophet :—

"The seal of thy finality has broken the seals of old
And has introduced in its device a new and fresh design"

The following verses are selected from one of his poems concerning one of the great ones among those of our kind, ingenious in oppression² :—

"How long wilt thou boast saying, 'In magic
I am a Sāmīrī, a Sāmīrī, a Sāmīrī' ?³
Every breath of mine is one of the miracles of 'Isa,
A flame of light from the bush of Moses.⁴
In eloquence I am the phoenix of the age,
The teacher of all the eloquent.
Each breath of mine deprives magic itself of patience (in enduring its inferiority).
Each speech of mine is magic that would deceive angels.
I am the king of the kingdom of omniscience,
I am the wise man of the region of sublime realities ;
I am the jeweller who values the chain of rhetoric,
I am the assayer of the coin of eloquence.
All this am I. To-day, in this contest,
Thou dost but take a flame of fire on thy tongue.
Boast not that thou art the discoverer of spiritual truths.
Thou art no candle, let not the machinery of thy tongue be too well greased.
(O thou who art formed of flame, of jewels of fine water,

¹ **كَلِيم** (*Kalīm*) for **كَلِيمُ اللَّهِ** (*Kalīmu-llāh*) 'the speaker with God' i.e. Moses. The reference is of course to Aaron's rod, Ex. vii, 9, 10. In the *Qur'ān* the rod is said to be that of Moses **فَالْقِيَ قَصَاوُ فَإِنَّا هِيَ تُعْبَانُ مَبِينٌ**

'wherefore he (Moses) cast down his rod, and behold, it became a visible serpent' *Qur'ān* c. vii.

² **Shāikh Faiṣī**.

³ A hemistich from one of Faiṣī's poems.

⁴ The reference is, of course, to the burning bush, Exodus iii, *Qur'ān*. xxvii. 7-13.

The painted ceiling which is in this house
 Has its colours from a stranger's pencil.
 Thy wit is like that of a gardener
 Who lays out his garden with plants taken from others
 The verdure in that garden is from another lawn,
 Each beautiful flower that blooms there is from another
 garden ;
 Each bud of it, though it be lifescherishing,
 Is sprung from the heart's blood of another than thee .
 The unfruitful willow which rears its head
 Has drawn its leaves from that seed already decorated with
 designs of trees.¹
 Its freshness is from no rain which thou hast bestowed on
 it,
 But is from the sweat of the brow of thy friends
 How long wilt thou burn with desire for the money of
 others ?
 How long wilt thou grieve thy eyes to the property of
 others ?
 Collect not the cash of those who foster eloquence,
 Fill not thy pouch with the gold of others.
 Turn thy thoughts from the drink of others,
 Drink water from thine own fountain.
 If thou be Kbizr, where is thy water of life ?
 If thou be sugarcane, where is thy sweet branch ?
 Like a date-palm thou raisest thy head to the sky.
 But thou givest no fruit but dry date-stones.

¹ i.e. Faizī merely sowed the seed which had been raised by others.

The cypress whose head brushes the sky,
 Is void of all flavour of fruit.
 Why all this vaunting of thine own eloquence ?
 Why all this ridicule of a heart-broken one like me ?
 If I from shame open not my mouth
 Do not attribute my silence to folly.
 My breast does not contain a stone as does a ripe date,
 I am like the oyster-shell, full of pearls, but close my
 lips.
 If I release my tongue from its bonds
 The eloquent will refrain from opening their lips.
 Do not cast gibes at me as Satan did at Adam.
 Consider my state and refrain from speech.
 I am a Sāmīrī, and can, by the power of my spells
 And magical power, bring into existence a puppet form.
 I can throw Venus and the moon into turmoil.
 I can throw Hārūt's ¹ magic scroll into his well.
 I am all this,—a magician who is magic's self,
 From whose words magic has been spread abroad.
 I, who am famous for my words of magic,
 Am myself the sky, the moon, and Venus.
 Sāmīris are in every curl of my hair,
 Babylons are in the well of my magic.

¹ Hārūt and Mārūt were two angels who, having expressed their surprise at the wickedness of men, were sent down to Bābil (Babylon) to be subjected to the temptations to which men were exposed. There they learnt the magic of the Babylonians. Zuhrah (the planet Venus), or, according to others, a beautiful female of human kind, appeared before them with a complaint against her husband. Both fell in love with her and attempted to persuade her to admit them to her embraces. She flew up to heaven, and the angels followed her, but were not admitted. On the intercession of a pious man they were permitted to choose whether they would expiate their sin in time or in eternity. They chose the former, and are suspended, head downwards, in a well near Babylon until the day of judgment. If a man desires to learn magic he may go to them and hear their voices, though he cannot see them. This explains the reference to Venus. Nishānī means to say that he is so accomplished as a magician that he has nothing to learn from Hārūt, and could afford to throw the angel's magic scroll back to him in his well.

The wealth which springs from this work is mine, to my **366**
heart's desire,

The coin of this kingdom is struck in my name.

Learn from my speech the beauties of style.

Have no false shame : lay hold of a master's skirt.

He who comes as a true disciple to his master

Gathers in both worlds the treasure of happiness.

Not one line of thy verse is correct.

Thy verses are the laughing-stock of the eloquent.

Although nobody has told thee this to thy face

And nobody rakes up thy faults before thee,

Yet thy detractors, in thy absence,

Delight the meetings of eloquent men ;

When thy verses are quoted among them

They pick out thy errors one by one.

They praise thy poetry to thy face

And curse and abuse thee behind thy back.

Thou art a friend of none and hast none for thy friend.

Thou hast, alas, no bosom friend to sympathize with thee,

To show thee what thy faults are

Or what it is (in thy verse) that thy auditors criticize."

When I was writing this memoir and asked Nishāni for some of his verses as a memorial of him he wrote me the following letter:—

" Having made the jewels of the mines of holy poverty and humility and the gems of the oceans of despondency and restlessness, which the jewellers of the workshop of yearning and the ocean rangers of the handicraft of taste have washed with the limpid water of sincerity and threaded on the string of supplication, a sacrifice to the joy-giving footsteps of that incomparable one of this age, that miracle of the mercy of Providence, whose heart, with its knowledge of hidden mysteries, is as a world-displaying cup¹ to prudent searchers after truth, and the mirror

¹ The reference is to the cup of Jamshīd which, according to Eastern fabulists, represented the whole world. In MS (A) this passage referring to Badāoni's qualities of heart and head is reproduced again in Nishāni's

of whose mind is the astrolabe of the astronomers of the Path, I humbly represent to those who are admitted to his heavenly assembly, that gathering where angels sit, swearing by God and
 367 by the honour of God (He is blessed and exalted!), that by the blessing of the consideration which has been bestowed by that incomparable and unequalled Being on the leisure time of this humble one, by asking him to collect his scattered scribblings, I desire to give a hundred praises for the favour which he has shown to me. I am writing for his servants two fragments, one of prose composition, and the other of *magnavis, et caetera*, and have half finished the work. Please God, I shall pack them up and despatch them to-morrow or the day after. For the present I have sent several couplets from that *magnavi* in the opening couplet of which the hemistich, 'I am a Sāmīrī, a Sāmīrī, a Sāmīrī,'¹ occurs. Pray be pleased to correct it and to set aside what may be fit for reproduction. May you remain in health."

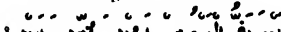
Among his letters was the following regarding the emperor's seal with its die containing the names of his majesty's great ancestors as far as the lord of the (fortunate) conjunction (Timūr), which he wrote and sent to me.²

"O outstripper of the swift runners of the subtleties of sciences in difficulties arising in the assemblies of the noble and the learned. shooter of the arrows of boundless knowledge from the bows of perfections against the globes of the hearts of high and low. striker of the disavowing ordinances with the swords of brilliant proofs, and opener of the doors of the obscurities of truths with the keys of convincing arguments; how art thou in this age, on every day of which people of penetration have known the signification of 'on that day shall a man fly from his brother and his mother and his father?'³ Verily the object of the gaze of the aspirations

third letter to Badāoni, *vide infra*, 492. All the complimentary epithets and similes in this letter are applied to Badāoni. They are even more false than is usual in Indian letters.

¹ *Vide supra* p. 486. s

² The following letter is in Arabic.

³  يوم يفر المرء من أخيه وأبيه
 Qur'an lxxx, 34, 35.

of the people of this age is the defects of others. Verily the brethren of this age are searchers after the faults of others, and they do not regard their own faults; and this is owing to the hardness of their hearts, and the dulness of their hearing, and the dimness of their sight. 'Their hearts and their ears hath God sealed up and over their eyes is a covering.'¹ How, therefore, should they know their own affairs, much less those of their brethren? And they are excused for they are led astray into this error. And tell me of thyself, of thy soul which is angelic in its disposition, in its goodness and purity, and, like the sun, diffusing rays and bright light, incomparable in natural and acquired talents, comprehending the truths both of creation and of creation's God; an epitome of precious and world-wide perfections; may God most High preserve it from all ills which can affect the body and all calamities which can befall the soul, with a perpetual and ineffable protection; and may the raised dust of detriment not settle on the skirt of its perfection. My employment from the 1st Zi-l-Hijjah² to the end of Rabi'u-l-Awwal³ has been the engraving of the seal of the just king, the perfect *Khalifah*⁴ on which are engraved his sublime titles and the names of his exalted ancestors as far as Amir Timūr, the lord of the (fortunate) conjunction.⁵ The seal is wide and round and contains eight circles, one in the middle, and the rest clustered around it."⁶

The following is a copy of a letter which he wrote from Lāhor to Shaikh Umam Ya'qūb of Kashmīr :—

"It is not my heart alone that is the abode of longing for thee.

In desire for thee all the members of my body have become hearts."

¹ Qur'ān ii. 6.

² The twelfth month.

³ The third month.

⁴ Akbar.

⁵ Vide p. 432, note 4.

⁶ The circle in the middle was for Akbar's name, and the seven circles round it were for the names of his ancestors, viz :—

(1) Hūmāyūn, (2) Bābar, (3) 'Umar Shaikh Mirzā, (4) Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Mirzā, (5) Sulṭān Muḥammad Mirzā, (6) Jalālu-d-dīn Mirzān Shāh, (7) Quṭbu-d-dīn Amir Timūr Gurgān, *Shāhib-Qirān*.

Why should I complain of the power¹ of the spells of this old enchanter² sitting on a throne, wearing a patched robe, and dwelling in a lofty temple, who has, by the power of his magical incantations, brought the whole universe, from the fish³ to the moon, into his blue glass bottle, and, having closed the mouth of that bottle with wax from the candle of the moon, has sealed it
 359 with so many thousand seals that the foot of flight has no power to step from within it, and there is no hope of the hand of any helper from without reaching those within?

I have uttered many cries but no one comes to my assistance.

It is as though there were nobody in this turquoise vault.⁴

Perforce, therefore, I remain in the bonds forged for me from eternity, and place my head on the threshold of discipleship. And, since the country and the king are alike in this condition in relation to fate, it is evident that mankind in general, much less a solitary individual, can have but little power to move hand or foot in those bonds, or release himself from duress in its prison; unless it be a perfect religious leader and perfected guide, aided in various ways and by different means by divine guidance and divine inspiration. Such a man⁵ might, striving with the strength of divine assistance, and the aid of boundless struggles and ecstasies, free himself from this most dangerous of places, this most difficult of situations. But, in truth, in these days there is, save that incomparable one of the age, whose nature is endowed with auspicious attributes, angelic qualities, and holy signs of God's handiwork, who is a revelation of the marks of the mercy of Providence (His power is honoured), no perfect knower of God illuminated and adorned by the qualities described above.⁶

¹ I believe the text to be corrupt here. It runs چه نالم از دست شیون نیرنجات, literally 'why should I complain of the hand of the lamentation of the spells, etc.' My translation is conjectural.

² Fate.

³ The fish on which, according to Eastern fabulists, the world rests.

⁴ The sky.

⁵ MS. (A) here inserts the passage mentioned on p. 490 note.

I hope that your holiness will, by your exalted¹ regard, free this hopeless prisoner in the bonds of the body and of outward forms, who is a unit not beyond the pale of human kind, from all bonds contrary to the laws of the prophet and intrusive upon the faith of the chosen one (on him be the most excellent of benedictions and the most perfect of blessings) and that you will sometimes, when you have leisure to think thereon, call him to mind in prayer for his attainment of his outward and inward desires, for his happiness both in things seen and things unseen, and for the accomplishment of his objects both in matters pertaining to the world and in matters pertaining to God; for there can be for him no other means but this of arriving at God and at the firm rope of the manifest religion. He hopes that God (He is praised and exalted), will, of His favour and perfect clemency, protect and guard your holiness, with your dear sons and your honoured friends, from all the snares of the world and misfortunes of the age, and will preserve you over those who love you truly and those who follow you sincerely."

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CXLVIII NASIH²

He was that Jamal Khān, son of Shukh Mangan of Badāon, who has already been mentioned. He was a young man of perfect orthodoxy and well known for the beauty of his form and his disposition. It may be said that love for him was the cause of the author's settling in Badāon. Had he not been transitory as the rose he would have left behind him many examples of his poetry, but death gave him not the opportunity of acquiring accomplishments.

The following verses are his :—

"Hear this well-weighed saying from one who was nurtured on love,

'He who dies of love is better than he who lives without love.'"

مالی according to both MSS. The text has حالي which does not accord so well with the context.

² Vide *supra*, p. note

"My dark-eyed beauty, thou hast smitten me with a wound,
whilst thou wert riding
I take delight in this love, for thou hast mortally wounded
me."

In imitation of that opening couplet by the *Khān-i-Kalān*,¹
which begins—

"In my youth the harvest of my life was neglected in
ignorance."

He wrote—

"Each Sulaimān who did not estimate himself less than an
ant
Has at last gone away, as dust on the wind, and his wisdom
of Sulaimān² has passed away."

CXLIX. *Nihānī*.³

She was but a woman.⁴ She lived in Āgra and was the
mistress⁵ of Mahisti of Hirāt. The following opening couplet
is by her:—

361 "I have found the day of grief and the night of pain to give
little ease,
I have experienced much grief in these days."

Although the poets of the age have all attempted to answer
this couplet none of them has equalled it:—

¹ Vide p. 396, note 1.

² The word used here *سُلَيْمَانِي* (*Sulaimānī*) is not easy to translate. It signifies, for want of a better word, 'Solomonship,' i.e. all the wisdom, majesty, etc., which were associated with Solomon.

³ *Nihān* means 'hidden,' and is formed into a *takhalluṣ* by the addition of the *yā-yi-nisbat*. Poetesses in the East generally assumed some such *takhalluṣ*; e.g. Akbar's second wife, Sulhān Salima Begum, Jahāngir's wife, Nūr Jahān and Aurangzib's daughter, Zibū-n-nisā, all wrote under the *takhalluṣ* of *Mahṣī* ('concealed').

⁴ *ضعيفة* ('weak woman'). The expression does not necessarily mean that she was ailing. It is one of kindly contempt.

⁵ *قرينة*. It may possibly mean 'wife,' or 'near relation,' but I do not think that Badi'oni would apply the term to a wife, and I know of no authority for the latter meaning.

What manhood is this, that cannot cope with a woman?
 Her son, Ja'far by name, is now an *Ahādī* in Kashmīr and
 has been appointed to the service of the *Mir-i-Baḡr*. He
 is an able youth.

CL. NAJĀTĪ OF GILĀN.

He came to Hindūstān and died here. He was proficient in
 poetry, and in the composition of enigmas. The following couplet
 is his :—

“ O thou in whose absence my heart runs through fire, shed-
 ding its blood
 Without thee I am sometimes visible in water (tears),
 sometimes hidden in fire.”

The following couplet is an enigma on the name Abab :—

“ Thy heart has not solved my difficulty.
 Fie upon thy heart, for my heart has become water.”

CLI. MULLĀ NUVIDĪ.¹

He has recently arrived at court, and is in the service of the
Khānkhānān.² The following couplet is his :—

“ That fate which wrote the record of the sins of the wine-
 bibber
 Wrote also in the margin the good news of the Lord's
 pardon.”

CLII. NĀU'Ī.³

He gives himself out to be one of the descendants of his holi-
 ness Shāikh Hājī Muḥammad of Khabūshān, but his conduct be-

¹ Vide *supra* No. CXLVI.

The author of the *Tabaqāt* has evidently confused him with the poet there mentioned, for he attributes to the only Nuvidī whom he mentions the couplet given here, and says of the poet, ‘He was for a long time at the imperial court.’

² Mirzā ‘Abdu-r-Rahim, son of Bairām Khān.

³ Nāu'ī is thus described in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* (i, 606) ‘Nāu'ī of Mashhad is a poet of talent; if sharply spoken to he writes well.’ Mullā Muḥammad Rishā came from Khabūshān, near Mashhad. On his arrival in India, says the *Ma'āziri Rahimi*, he found a patron in Mirzā Yūsuf Khān of Mashhad, but

lies his claim. He is now in the service of the youngest prince.¹

362 The following verses are by him :—

“I am Nau’i the wine-bibber, and after my death
My blisters will fester like the sun.”

“Nau’i’s sorrow arises not from pain and grief
But from the exiguity of his stomach.”

“Again has my desire taken the road,
That road in which even *Khizr* fears to walk,
The flowers of the plains about it are thorns of eyelashes
The stones in that road are the skulls of men.”

CLIII. NİYÂZÎ.²

He was a native of the pleasant city of Najâr, but he comes of a base stock. He was quarrelsome and impudent, and confirmed by his behaviour the general belief regarding the character of poets. He was well skilled in the arts of poetry and prosody, in the composition of enigmas, in history and all other minor branches of knowledge, and has written treatises on these subjects. On the first occasion on which he paid his respects at court to the late emperor he stepped towards him at the levée with his left foot. As his late majesty was very punctilious in such details of etiquette he said, ‘The Mullâ is left-handed,’³ and commanded him

soon afterwards entered the service of the *Khānkhānān*, and stayed with him and prince Dāniyāl at Burhānpūr. For his *Sāqirāma* the *Khānkhānān* gave him an elephant and a present of ten thousand rupees. He also composed several odes in praise of the prince. The *Khizāna-yi-Āmra* says that his *magnavi* entitled *Sūz-u-Guddz* is quite sufficient to establish his fame as a great poet. Nau’i had not arranged his *qasīdahs* and *ghazals* in the form of a *divān* when he died at Burhānpūr in A.H. 1019 (A.D. 1610).

¹ Sultan Dāniyāl.

² Niyāzi is thus described in the *Tabaqāt*. ‘Mullā Niyāzi of Samarqand spent some time in the service of the emperor Humāyūn, and then entered the service of the *Khālīfah* of God (Akbar). He spent most of his life in Thatha. He was well-acquainted with the art of poetry, and wrote books on most arts.’

³ The text has *چپ دست است* with a variant *چپ دست است*. The

to be led out and again brought forward. After the command had been given for him to be seated he began to talk lewdly, obscenely, and foolishly, and fell into an argument with Mullā Bikasī.¹ To Mir 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy the *Ṣadr*,² who took the part of the Mullā he said, 'What shall I do? I am friendless. The face of a friendless man is blackened';³ and when Khwāja Husain of Marv,⁴ on whom rested some slight suspicion of infamy, supported the other two he said, 'Khwāja, what occasion was there for your assistance?'⁵ His late majesty, much vexed and annoyed by this churlish behaviour, rose and left the *darbār*, but, in spite of his annoyance so great was his clemency that he would not consent to Niyāzī's being injured or harassed in return for his evil and beastly conduct. The reason for Niyāzī being turned out of Transoxiana was an ode which he wrote, of which the closing verses run as follows:—

"That is not the crepuscule that appears in the sky; it is my
rosy-coloured wine
I am a debauchee swilling the lees, and the goblet of the
sky is my cup.
Niyāzī has become the king of the age in the king-
dom of eloquence
The name of Jāmi has been obliterated, and that of Niyāzī
is in its place."

It is said that he was one day reciting this ode of his in a gathering at Thatha and there happened to be there a copy of the *divān* of his holiness the *Maulavi*.⁶ It was opened at random and

latter is correct. Niyāzī seems to have committed a serious breach of court etiquette.

¹ Vide p. 268.

² Vide p. 378.

³ *بیکی* (*bi-kasī*) means 'friendless' and *بی‌کسی* (*bi-kasī*) 'friendlessness' or 'a friendless man.' The last sentence of this speech might be translated, 'The face of Bikasī is blackened,' and it was this that Niyāzī intended to convey.

⁴ Vide p. 248.

⁵ This speech suggests a most obscene *double entendre*, having reference to Khwāja Husain's reputation. It may be translated, 'Eunuchs, quae occasio est praebendi teipsum amplexibus eorum'.

⁶ i.e. Jāmi.

on the page at which it opened this opening couplet was written :

"Regard the sky as a cup which is upside down, empty of
the wine of delight

To look for wine from a cup which is upside down is the
mark of a fool."

Niyāzī olim Fusunium poetam in somnio vidit et putavit se in
barbā ejus minxisse. Poeta quidam hos versiculos recitavit,

"Niyāzī Fusunium in somnio vidit.

Et barbā ejus aquā ex amphorā aspersit.

-Si autem minxit Fusunio opprobrio ne tribuatis,

Canis, si minxit in rubo, minxit."

364 The following verses are by Niyāzī :—

"O silver-bodied one, thy locks curl over thy flaming cheek
For when a hair falls on the fire it twists and curls."

"Since I cannot go round the head of that tyrannical beauty,
I bring her image to my sight and ever go round about it."

"It is not from the breeze that her shift is in motion,
The grace of her body has given life to the shift."

He died in Thatha.

CLIV. NĀMĪ.¹

This is the poetical name of Mir Muḥammad Ma'sūm Ṣafavī, the orthodox and noble son of Mir Sayyid Ṣafā'ī, who was one of the great Sayyids and respected elders of the city of Bhakkar.

¹ Mir Muḥammad Ma'sūm is mentioned in the *Tabaqāt* as a pious young man and a friend of the author's. He belonged to a family of Tirmizī Sayyids who, two or three generations before his time had left Tirmiz in Bukhārā and settled in Qandahār, where his ancestors were trustees of the shrine of Bābā Shīr Qalandar. His father settled in Bhakkar and received favours from Sulṭān Maḥmūd. After the death of his father poverty compelled Mir Muḥammad Ma'sūm to leave Bhakkar and he went to Gujarāt where he was introduced to Khwāja Nizām-u-d-dīn Aḥmad, author of the *Tabaqāt*, then *druid* of Gujarāt. He was also introduced to Shihāb Khān, governor of Gujarāt, and was recommended to Akbar for a *manṣab*. He served in Gujarāt in

Mir Muḥammad Ma'sūm is at present enrolled among the *amirs* of the empire, and holds some appointment in the imperial service in Sind and Qandahār. He is very strict in religion, in piety, praise and prayer, and in reading the *Qur'ān*, and somebody once said to him, 'One cannot do without a director in these duties. You should get a director and receive instruction from him, and you can then take your leave of him.' Nāmi replied, "I have at present two or three directors, what need have I of another? My first director was his majesty, for this reason, that when I came¹ from my dear native land to the capital I was so filled with the pride and aspirations of youth, which are the sources of extravagant hopes and desires, that I could not bring myself to consider the acceptance of anything so humble as a commandership of a thousand, or even of two thousand. When I arrived at court I tasted the sticks of the ushers and mace-bearers who keep order, and had to endure insults, and when, after a long period of expectation, his majesty honoured me by bestowing on me a command of twenty men, all my extravagant claims took wings to themselves, and I, recognizing my proper rank and place, resigned myself to God's will, and bowed my head in acquiescence, and was at peace; and there is that proverb, "Although I struggled much to become somebody I became nothing, now I let myself alone in order that I may become whatever I am to become."

A.D. 1554, and was present at the flight of Maisāna, and in the final expedition against Muḥaffar in Kacoh. In the fortieth year he was a commander of two hundred and fifty. Akbar became very fond of him and sent him in 1602 as ambassador to Persia, where he was well received by Shāh 'Abbās. On his return from Persia in 1606 Jahāngir sent him as *amin* to Bhakkar, where he died. It is said that he reached under Akbar the command of a thousand. He was skilled as a composer and tracer of inscriptions. He was best known as a poet and historian. He composed a *divān*, a *maghnawī* entitled *Ma'danu-l-afkār* in the metre of Niẓāmī's *Makhtanu-l-usarā*, the *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, dedicated to his son, and a short medical work called *Mufridd-i-ma'ānūmī*. The *Riyāzu-sh-Shu'arā* and Taqī's *Taḥkīrah* say that he composed a *Khamseh*, viz.:—the *maghnawī* already mentioned, the *Huṣn-u-Nāz* corresponding to Niẓāmī's *Yūsuf-u-Zulaykhā*, the *Parī-pūrat* to the *Lailā-u-majnūn*, and two others in imitation of the *Haft Paikar* and *Sikandarnāma*.

¹ The words from "my first" to "I came" have been most carelessly omitted from the text, though they are in both MSS., and the whole passage is nonsense without them.

"I am not grieved that my affairs have not turned out well
but have turned out ill,

'It will be, it will be' never comes to pass. Say

'Be not,' and see what comes to pass."

No other religious director could possibly have given me better direction than this. My second director was *Mir Abū-l-Qhāṣ* of *Bukhārā*,¹ who in rank and dignity was many degrees greater than I, for until the time when I made his acquaintance, if my horses missed their corn and grass for one day I would be so vexed and angry that I would turn my head away from everybody, and not speak a word to any one; but after I fell into the company of the *Mir* I observed that sometimes, for three or four consecutive days, there was neither corn nor grass in his stables, nor the smoke of any fire in his kitchen, and in spite of this state of things, he was so cheerful, merry, and jovial that no suggestion of his indigence and actual want was conveyed to anybody, and nobody was in a position to talk about his affairs. Wealth and want were always alike to him.

Take refuge from the shocks of fate among those *Sūfīs*

Who grieve for existence and rejoice at non-existence.

366 I then began to console myself by the thought that if times were so hard with this great man and yet made no difference to him, I had a much better reason for being cheerful and happy, seeing that I had not a hundredth part of his state and pomp to keep up. My third director is a slave-girl bestowed upon me by the emperor. *Quam enim, instantibus vel diaboli insidiis vel desideriiis naturalibus, me sentio, sive oculorum micantium sive libidinis indulgentiæ causâ, ad stuprum tractum, statim domum reversus cum eâ rem habeo, unde quiescit cor meum; et, corpore aquâ loto, mundus fio.* And a director has no greater duty than that of restraining a person from unseemly and unbecoming acts.

The *Mir* is a most diligent student and has correct taste in poetry and in the composition of enigmas. He is high-minded and sublime in disposition. He has composed a *divân*, and a *magnaṣī*² in the metre of the *Yūsuf-u-Zulāikḥā* (of *Nizāmī*).

¹ Vide page 183.

² This was the *Huan-u-Náz*.

The following few couplets are productions of his brilliant imagination :—

"How sweet it is to think that when I am beside myself with love thou wilt come to ask my condition.

And I shall explain it at length to thee in the speech in which no tongue has part."

"When she saw my tears she concealed her smile
It is clear that my tears are not without their effect."

"In love there is an intoxication which revives tired lovers.
In absence there is a subtle delight which even union lacks."

"My moon-like beauty gave her message to the messenger
with a laugh.

The trace of that laugh still lingers in the message which she sent."

He sent the following *qaṣīdah* in praise of the prophet from Aḥmadābād to me in Āṭak :—

"The scar of love which has been on my heart from eternity.
Has been changed, by the blessings which even thy absence **367**
can bestow, to naught but pain.

The flood of fire which my heart in its pain heaved up.
Has thrown confusion into the temperament of the earth and
the age.

The remembrance of my grief for thee gives me a taste of
sweet sorrow

The flavour of thy absence from me gives me an idea of the
sweet savour of death.

Happy is he who has set his foot in the path of love.
For he enjoys delights without sight, and a love without arts.
If thou find thy way to the Laboratory of Creation thou shalt
see

Both creation in action and love transformed to deeds.

My disquiet has drawn me from love to madness,

Until at length I have become, through thee, a byword for
madness.

I have poured from my heart so much hot blood that it has
cast

All my life, entirely, and utterly, into a fiery slough.

My love for thee has thrown a thousand knotty difficulties in
my path

But has not yet solved even one of the difficulties caused by
thy absence.

On the one hand the fear of death offers the intoxication of
absence from thee.

On the other the delight of reunion with thee offers me the
fruition of all my hopes.

Though the dead have not risen the tumult of the resurrection
has arisen.

From the fire which has flamed up from my heart.¹

The eyes of a whole world are suffused with blood by that
eyelash of thine.

A whole people is sleeping in dust by reason of that collyrium-
tinged eye of thine.

In both worlds have I lighted the fire of madness.

368 But I have not given in my ode a hint of the secrets of thy
love.

That heart which I had, steeped in the love of thee

Is melted into blood and poured out on my body.

From my grief in thy absence I have at the end of each eye-
lash a cloud which rains sparks.

I have in my breast a hundred heaps of fire which burn in
thy absence.

The eyes of the age have no employment but to gaze upon thee

The eyes of principalities and powers are smitten with love
in thy service.

I desire to be released from the hell of separation from thee

By him who wipes out infidelity, who protects the faith, and
who guides peoples in the right way.

¹ Literally, 'liver.'

The king of Najaf, 'Ali, the saint, the king who passes not
away¹

He it is whom the cash of all the prophets has gained for the
world.

He is the moon from whom the sun receives his light,

He is a lion beneath whose feet the lion of the heavens lies in
the mire.

His protection has thrown up a fortress around the people of
the world

From which, except by death and by the gate of death, no one
can pass.

If the arm of the sky should feel, even in a dream, the strength
of thy grasps, it would pluck from its joint² its withered
hand.

When thy majestic shout reaches a mountain range

It reverberates, coiling like a whip lash about the mountain
masses.

If one dot of the *qāf*³ of thy power could be weighed against
Qāf (Caucasus)

The dot would take the place of Qāf, and the scale of *Qāf* 369
would fly up as high as Saturn.

If thy hand should check the reins of eternity without end

It would fall a thousand stages behind eternity without be-
ginning.

The tree of the sky is but one leaf from the garden of
thy power.

The garden of the world is but half a mound from the cul-
tivated area of thy munificence.

Thy age has so sweetened the disposition of the world

That it is no longer possible to distinguish between poison
and honey.

¹ The text has *لأننى*. I believe *لأننى* or *لأننا* to be the correct reading.

² Literally 'root.'

³ The word *قوة* ('power') begins with the letter *قاف* (*qāf*) which has two dots. The poet means to say that one dot from one of the letters of the word denoting 'Ali's power would far outweigh Mount Caucasus.

If thy auspicious glance should fall by chance on an onion.
The world beside it appears less than an onion.

In this thy age thy *Zū-l-faqār*¹ explains to thy enemy and
thy 'Yea, verily' to thy petitioner the meaning of 'Nay'
and 'Yea.'

If through thy mind there pass but the semblance of wrath.
Death trembles like a willow from fear.

The sky of thy might has such width that the sun
Would not wonder could he find shelter behind it as behind
a lofty mountain.

If thy dagger lend its tongue to the sword of discipline
Woe be to the sky with its crooked dealings, its fraud and
its many deceits.

Since eloquence is decked as a bride for thy praise,
I have decked her with striped garments of flowery speech.
Woe to thee Nāmi, and woe to those who shall arise with thee,
When the black book of your acts is opened before you at
the resurrection!

I am hopeful of obtaining a mediator like the sun

370 On that day on which there shall no longer remain any
shadow of hope,

Him who is the rain from the cloud of God's mercy, the cup-
bearer of the Day of Resurrection.

The greatest protection of the faith, and the lord even of
death."

Quatrains.

"One should sit alone with one's self in the assembly,
One should commune ever with one's self,
One should be both the nightingale and the rose of the
meadow.²
One should be distraught with one's own affairs"

¹ The sword of 'Alī.

² i.e. 'One should be both the nightingale which sings to the rose and the
rose which listens to the song.'

"Thou hearest the shout of departure from all
 Thou hearest the cry 'Come on' both before and behind
 All have made a night march to a distant halting place
 Whilst thou hast slept by the road and hearest but the sound
 of the bell."

"O thou who desirest a glimpse of that Face,
 Thou needest eyes other than those in thy head.
 Dost thou wish to miss none of those Glances?
 Thou must have eyes in the heart, and within them yet other
 eyes."

"The love of thee is not to be bought by every buyer
 The price of one hair of thine is this world and the next.
 Thy love is not a rose which blooms in streets and markets,
 Nor is it such musk as is found in the perfumer's shop." **371**

"Those complainest of the defilements of the world.
 Find not fault with others, for thou, too, art one of the throng.
 Preserve thine own skirt from defilement
 Nāmi, for the two or three days which thou hast to spend on
 this midden."

"In loving lovely ones one must accustom one's self to madness,
 One must lead one's soul to the endurance of separation.
 One must become as a bottle filled with blood,
 And then pour one's heart out at one's eyes."

"In our religion thou must ever be constant
 And keep the faith while in the circle of infidelity.
 This is the path of love of our beloved,
 To stand ever with the sacred thread of idolatry round the
 neck, and yet remain a Musalmān."

"A rose-garden of beauty is the cheek of my enslaver.
 When it displays itself before my wounded heart

I weep seas upon seas and worlds upon worlds of blood,
 I blossom with gardens upon gardens and meadows upon
 meadows of roses." —

372 "On the day on which I arise, crying out for grief at her
 absence

The hand of my heart is twisted in the skirt of separation.
 With those tears which are mingled with my heart's blood.
 I shed on my skirt the blood of two thousand hearts." —

"In the ocean of my heart a sea of blood is in turmoil,
 A hundred hells of pain are burning within me.
 I shall strike fire into the structure of the world
 From this madness which burns within me." —

"Seek not a sweetheart lest thy whole heart turn to blood,
 Lest thou be not hers until thou art completely changed.
 Lest thou become distracted, arranged, and mad,
 Lest thou depart completely from the fashion of the age." —

"Although the seekers after His beauty are many
 Not every eye is worthy to catch a glimpse of the Face of the
 Friend;
 Not all idolatry is worthy of the sacred thread,
 Nor is every head worthy of adorning the gibbet." —

373 "Every moment my heart arranges its thoughts of thee,
 And makes a thousand guesses as to where thou art.
 I fear, my love, that the bird of my soul
 Will one day fly from its cage in the desire to be with thee." —

"O thou who hast laden thy camel,
 And hast fallen asleep, forgetful of the march,
 Wake, and set in the road the foot of search,
 For all have gone and thou too art of this caravan."

"To-day the breeze has a scent of fidelity,
As though it knew something of love.
It has thrown my poor mad heart into a turmoil
Perchance it has somewhere found cause to be disturbed."

"At times I weep; at times I cease from weeping,
Lest haply from somewhere I should hear thy voice,
Not for a moment am I free from thoughts of thee,
I sometimes fear that I may forget to draw my next breath."

"The eyes should know the meaning of grief,
The heart's pain should be set forth in weeping.
In the breast should be sparks of fire instead of a heart,
The heart,¹ instead of tears, should be in the eyes."

"Every year, when the rose comes again into the garden. 374
Joy and gladness come into the world :
On the rose's page it is easy to read her faithlessness.
For the nightingale breaks into lamentations."

One quarter of my life was spent in ignorance,
One quarter of it was spent thou knowest how.
One quarter of it was spent in folly and idleness,
And one quarter was spent in grief and repentance."

"My heart is wounded in a hundred ways by grief for thy
absence.
In thy absence I feel that the tumult of the day of resur-
rection is before me.
I draw in my breath, but exhale it not again,
For between my lip and my heart are more than a thousand
hells."

¹ Literally, 'liver.'

"Every tear which I have shed from my eyes
 I have first mixed with the poison of my grief for her
 absence.
 I fear that at the resurrection a hell will arise
 From these tears which I have shed in her absence."

375 "How long wilt thou fill thy heart with wrath on account of
 one thing or another?
 How long wilt thou make thy breast no more than a coffer of
 gold?
 Thy business is not to make thy heart turbid;
 Thy business is to make it as clear as a mirror."

CLV. NAḠIRI OF NISHĀPŪR.¹

In graceful wit and clearness of intellect he is the equal of
 Shikibi of Isfahān. He is now in the service of the Khānkhānān,

¹ In the *Tabaqāt Naḡiri* is thus described, 'Maḷānā Naḡiri is from Nishāpūr and is not devoid of freshness of intellect. He has written many tasteful verses. He was formerly in the service of the Khānkhānān, but now he has gone to Makkah.' Abū-l-Faḡl thus describes him in the *Āin*, 'He possesses poetical talent, and the garden of thought has a door open for him. Outwardly he is a good man, but he also desires plans for the architecture of the heart.'

Muḥammad Ḥusain Naḡiri of Nishāpūr left his home for Kāshān, where he held poetical contests with several poets, such as Fahmī, Ḥātim, and others. He then went to India, where he formed a patron in Mirzā 'Abdur Raḥīm, Khānkhānān. In A.D. 1603-04 he went to Makkah on a pilgrimage, after which he is said to have become very pious. On his return to India he lived at Aḥmadābād in Gujarāt where he died in 1613. Jahāngir says in his *Tūzūk* (p. 91) 'Some time before this (early in A.D. 1611) I had summoned to court Naḡiri of Nishāpūr who is well known for his poems and poetical genius, and at present lives in Gujarāt as a merchant. He now arrived and paid his respects, and presented to me an encomiastic *qaṣīdah* in the model of a *qaṣīdah* of Anvarī's, in return for which I presented him with a thousand rupees, a horse, and a robe of honour.' The *Ma'āḡir-i-Raḥīmī* says that Naḡiri was a skilful goldsmith, and that he died, after having seen his patron in Āgra, in A.H. 1022 (A.D. 1613) at Aḥmadābād, where he lies buried in a mosque which he had built near his house. According to the *Mir'ātul-l-'Ālam* he gave what he had to his friends and the poor. For the couplet written concerning him by the famous poet Šā'ib see (*Āin*, 580 n.).

and is enrolled in that band of poets who are entitled gentlemen of the suite. In imitation of that *qaṣīdah* by Shaiḫ Nizāmi of Ganja (may God rest his soul,) which begins,

"I am king of the kings of learning, by means of the excellence of my grace of language

The earth and the age have taken on themselves the likeness of the sky,"

he wrote the following *qaṣīdah* :—

"I can scarcely contain myself in my excellence when the wive of my songs in its vat

Rends the clothes on my body, when sublime realities seethe within me.

Waylay me not with foolish stories, for, with the fire of high resolve.

I desire to raise ¹ steam from my brain and my eyes throughout the night.

I have become the trusted adviser of those who hasten towards reunion (with the Beloved)

For I never return a boastful answer.

I am the dog of the threshold, but all night I gnaw my collar,
For the desire of hunting seizes me, not the intention of watching."

The following verses also are by him :—

"Although for an age I have girt up my loins in thy service
what rank have I gained ?

I should have become a Brahman had I so often girt myself
with the sacred thread." 376

"I travel on a deadly road, not knowing to what end it may lead.

From what has been said it will appear that Nizāmu-d-din Aḥmad, the author of the *Ṭabaqāt*, who died on November 18, 1594 (vide vol. ii, text, p. 397), some ten years before Naḡirī left for Makkah has anticipated Naḡirī's pilgrimage. It is possible that the short accounts of the poets in the *Ṭabaqāt* received some additions after the death of the author.

¹ The text *haddāf*, but the sense demands *ḥaddāf*.

How shall the foot which has travelled this road ever again
return to one's skirt ? ”

See the effects of my (burning) sigh, which has not yet
reached my lips,

And yet a thousand blisters from my heart are on the tip of
my tongue.”

CLVI. NAVĀ'Ī.

His name was Mir Muḥammad Sharif. His brother was Mir
Qudsi of Karbalā, who wrote the following couplet :—

“ Wonder not if I know not the taste of gladness,
I, Qudsi, have never known gladness in my life.”

Navā'ī came to India and at once entered the service of the
emperor. He has recently died. The following verses are by
him :—

“ I am sitting in a corner, grieving over thy faithlessness
And resigning myself to the hardship of separation from
thee.

For all thy wrath I will not move from my place.

What shall I do ?

For I have no confidence in thy familiarity.

Thou art not, in the way of kindness and fidelity that
candle

At the light of which the eyes light up with joy.”

“ I reached no place, I traversed no road,
But thou didst traverse my heart and reach my heart.”

“ Sit down with friendly glances, and rise not up in wrath,
Thou camest late to inquire for me, rise not soon to go.”

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CLVII. NUVIDI OF NISHĀPŪR.¹

He was a man of considerable attainments, and was highly
regarded as a poet. His death occurred in the city of Ujjain in
the province of Mālwa in A.H. 973 (A.D. 1565-66) while he was on

¹ Vide p. 478

his way to perform the pilgrimage. The following verses are by him :—

"If my rose-coloured tears have marked the ground with
purple stains
They cannot be removed, for these are the flowers of true
love."

"The new moon on the night of 'Īd wished to become the
knocker on thy door ;
It conceived from afar the desire, which was never fulfilled."

"What delight there is in seeing thy face each moment
What joy there is in coming, each moment, to thy street.
Such a bond connects me with thee
That it cannot be cut by a hundred swords.
Nuvidi, what hast thou gained from her ruby lip
Save the biting of the finger of regret."

CLVIII. NAẒM OF TARRĪZ.¹

The lustre of his poetry is vouched for by his trade, which is that of an appraiser of jewels. * He has a mind well adapted to poetry and has composed a *divān*, which is well known.

The following verses are his :—

A quatrain.

"She is a capricious beauty whose lips are full of wiles,
All the clear-sighted are smitten with love's madness by
her ;
Is that a red turban which she has bound on her head ? **378**
Or is it the cord of my soul steeped in blood ? "

"The scar of my love's cruelty, which is on my breast—
Ah, call it not a scar! It has long been dear to me."

"How can I write an account of my condition on the page ?
For the page is at once moistened by my tears."

¹ Naẓmī is not mentioned either in the *Ain* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

The pigeon brought me thy letter and I live. I should have died

Had not that bird of auspicious pinion brought me that letter.

I shall write at length to her of Nazmī's state

But where will that careless cypress-like beauty cast an eye on the letter ? "

"In the bath I saw Parī Khānum with a face like a fairy,
Nay, I saw a spark of fire sitting in the water."

"From thy theft of my heart and thy subsequent avoidance of me it is clear
That the sole object of thy friendship with me was the theft of my heart."

"The down which sprouts on the rose of my beloved's cheek
Is a violet which sprouts on a bed of tulips."

CLIX. VUQŪ'Ī OF NISHĀPŪR.¹

He was a relation of Shihābu-d-dīn Ahmad Khān² and his name was Muhammad Sharif. Alas, that such a noble³ name should be borne by such a vile fellow ! For he was more heretical than any person who, in this brief age, was known by the same

¹ Muhammad Sharif Vuqū'ī belonged, according to the *Ma'dgir-i-Rahim*, to a distinguished family of Sayyids in Nishāpūr. His mother was the sister of Amir Shāhmīr, who had been for a long time Assay-master under Shāh Tahmāsp.

² A relation and friend of Akbar's foster-mother, and one of the leading nobles at Court. He was commander of Dihli from the beginning of Akbar's reign and was instrumental in bringing about the fall of Bairam Khān. He was successively governor of Mālwa, Gujarāt, and Mālwa again, and in A.D. 1576 was made a commander of five thousand. He died at Ujjain in Mālwa in A.D. 1590-91. His wife, Bibū Aghā, was related to Akbar's mother. She died in A.D. 1596-97. Vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, 332; *Badā'uni* vol. ii (text), 36 *et passim*.

³ Sharif means 'noble.'

name¹. He was not a *Basākhwānī* pure and simple nor a *Ṣabāḥī* ² 379 pure and simple, but was betwixt and between these two sects damned by God and cursed by the people, and believed in cycles ³ and held the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, nay, he contended and strove for these doctrines. One day in Bhimbar,⁴ which is a city on the border of the highlands of Kashmir, he came to my lodging in order to ask me to accompany him into Kashmir. He saw some slabs of rock, weighing over thirty-five tons ⁵ each, lying about, and said sorrowfully. 'These unfortunates are awaiting the time when they shall put on human form.' In spite of all these vile beliefs he has written *qaṣīdahs* in praise of the holy *Imāms* (may the acceptance of God be on them all), but these must have been written when he was young. In penmanship, letter-writing and accounts he had wonderful skill, and although he was not studious he had devoted some attention to Arabic works on history and had acquired familiarity with their style. The following few couplets are by him :—

"In order that my lamentations in thy absence may not betray
my secret,

I pray that my weakness may utter no sound in the night of
my sorrow."

"How will shame allow me to raise my head when thou seest
me ?

For my love for thee has made thy name the talk of all
tongues.

¹ Such as *Sharif-i-i*, *Sarmadī* of *Iṣfahān* and *Sharif-i-Amulī* (vide p. 340 both heretics in *Badāonī's* eyes. See also vol ii (text), p. 245

² I have not been able to discover what the distinctive doctrines of the *Ṣabāḥīs* were, but they were evidently regarded by *Badāonī* as vile heretics. For mention of the *Basākhwānīs* vide p. 283 note 4

³ That is to say, the changes of the natural kingdoms, animal, vegetable, and mineral, in various cycles. *Vuqū'i's* remark on the rocks, which follows shortly, indicates the nature of his belief on this point.

⁴ A *pargana* town on a stream of the same name in the *Cinhat Dūāb* in the *Panjab*. The stream flows four miles N.W. of *Gujarāt* and eventually joins the *Jalāliā nālā*, a branch of the *Cināb*.

⁵ The original has 'a thousand *mans* each.' A thousand *mans* are 35½ tons.

The torment of the stranger's hard-heartedness has cast fire
into my heart

*For though thou afflictest him a hundred times he turns not
to thee."*

"Beneath the wound of thy sword I flinch not intentionally ;
It may be that I give thee some knowledge of my
weakness."

"She reminds me of the restlessness which I suffer in her
absence,
One would think that once in the days of my youth she had
asked me how I did." ¹

"For each one of the fair that I see I experience such ecstasies
of love,
That the fire of desire for her leaps into flame in my soul."

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"Every hour thou accusest me of some fresh fault,
As thou seekest only to vex me I wonder not at this."

"I wish not to be questioned at the day of judgment,
For I fear that I should have to tell what I have suffered in
my love for thee "

"Thou vexest none but me, and I am glad
That thou hast such dealings with none but me "

"In the night of absence from thee I suffer grief in a hundred
forms,
In the midst of the sighs and lamentations which my mouth ²
utters."

"One can see from without the burning of my heart in my
body,

¹ The poet means to say that he could hardly venture even to long
his beloved had she not once shown him some slight mark of favour.

² Literally 'head.'

As one sees the flame of a candle in a lamp covered with a shirt.

I fell as one dead when I bade thee farewell,
That thou mightest know that in thy absence I have no desire to live."

The following few couplets are from a *qaṣidah* which he wrote in praise of the Imām Ḥusain (on him be peace):—

"Whenever, from the fierceness of love's fire, I burst into flame like a candle,

The flame ever and anon beats against me like a moth.

Since my love has assured himself of my fidelity and love he employs himself in cruelty.

Would that I had never submitted myself to the violence of a test!

If I should become a partaker of the bounty of thy heart

It will be possible for me to convey a hundred tales in one word.

So common has the content of opulence become in the age of thy magnanimity

That the soulless body turns with loathing from the prospect 381
of life eternal

When the weight of thy commands affects the nature of the wind

Even the light breeze oppresses the earth with the weight of a mountain.

There is no king like me to-day in the kingdom of eloquence,

Whoever doubts this let him test the truth of what I say by this *Bismi'-llāh* ¹ which I utter.

O ye, beloved of the virgin of reality, when my thoughts soar

They display their beauty through the windows of heaven."

From another *qaṣidah*,

"If cruelty is done by thee my heart cheerfully submits to it.

¹ 'In the name of God,' the formula used in beginning any work. The poet represents what he has said as merely an introduction to what is to follow.

It may be that God will yet give thee a feeling heart.
 I die of jealousy when I consider that love for thee
 Gives to each heart which it enters pain eternal,
 By night when I light my heart with thoughts of thee
 The burning glow of my heart is a lamp to the seven
 heavens."

He wrote this *qasidah* in praise of her holiness the lady who is the shining one of paradise and the chief of women, ¹ (may God accept her), but when it came to me in this form I found it to be one of his blasphemous compositions, and I have therefore not considered it right to quote any of the encomiastic couplets. Sharif's death occurred in A.H. 1002 (A.D. 1593-94.). He left many valuable books behind him, but they were lost in the deep sea and found their way to the ocean which surrounds the world.

CLX. VIDĀ'Ī OF HIRĀT.

He was possessed of some attainments. He came to Hindūs-tān and died here. The following verses are his:—

382 "The land of Ind is full of darkness, like the night of separation.

Whoever has come hither regrets and repents it.

Vidā'ī, seek no gain from the land of India, but leave it.

It is gain enough if thou carry thy life in safety from India."

In imitation of the couplet which runs:—

"Happy is that time when, gazing on thy face, I am beside myself.

From time to time I come to myself, and again and again I am beside myself."

He wrote:—

"It is not from wine at thy feast that I am beside myself,
 The cup kisses thy lip, and it is from jealousy that I am beside myself."

¹ Fāṭimah, daughter of Muḥammad and wife of 'Alī.

CLXI. VĪQĪ'Ī OF HIRĪT.¹

His name is Ibn 'Alī, and he was in the emperor's service. .
The following verses are by him:—

"Thy brow is not furrowed from coquetry.

The ocean of thy beauty is rising in billows, and this is the
reason of those furrows.

Thou art still intoxicated with the wine of coquetry

As is evident, my dark beauty, from thy arrogance.

Why, like the candle, should I bring the fire of my heart to
my tongue?

Since its fire is clearly to be seen in the fiery sighs which I
heave.

What need is there of the new moon on the night of 'Id

To thee, from the opening in whose sleeve the new moon is
apparent?"

"Her two ruby lips have between them the water of life. 383

True it is that whenever two who are friends to the death
come together there is ever a life between them."²

"As no dust settles on the mirror so my heart is vexed by
nobody.

For I have ceased to hope for manhood from the people of
this age."

"Happy is that state of intoxication which leads me enrap-
tured to thee

And is so deep that I cannot be removed from thy street."

¹ The *Tabaqāt* mentions Ibn 'Alī under the *takhalluṣ* of Vāqī'ī but gives no information regarding him. The one couplet of his there quoted is not quoted here, so that it cannot be determined whether the Vāqī'ī of the *Tabaqāt* is the Vāqī'ī here mentioned; but Vāqī'ī is not improbably a copyist's error for Vāqī'ī.

² i.e. whenever two such friends meet there is always between them the thought that each is prepared to give his life for the other.

"In my unrest I am ever seized by the desire of visiting the
street of that moonlike beauty.
But the thought of her infidelities arrests me by the
way."

"Her ringlet trembles on her cheek with the zephyr of my
sigh
As the smoke of the candle trembles in the passing breeze."

CLXII. VASFI.

His name is Mir 'Abdu-'Ilāh¹ and he is an excellent penman. He is the pupil of Shāh Ghiyāṣ and Maulānā Rāqimī, and writes seven scripts. He is enrolled among the *aḥādīs*. Through his mother he is related to Mirzā Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad. He sometimes turns his attention to poetry. The following verses are his:—

"Now that I have experienced the sweetness of love's
sorrow
I enjoy a thousand bursts of weeping for every laugh of
mine."

A quatrain.

"Where is love? For my inner self is dark as the darkest
night:
The secrets of God are hidden from my understanding.
It may be that love will lead me to them, but, if not,
Then is the end of my journey far indeed from my lame
efforts."

Another quatrain.

"If a poet form the intention of eulogizing thy greatness,
His thoughts are imprisoned in his mind by the weightiness
of the subject.
In thy reign strife has so disappeared from our midst
That the flame sympathizes with the cotton in its con-
stancy."²

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¹ Mir 'Abdu-'Ilāh is mentioned in the *Āin* (i, 103) as one of the renowned calligraphers of the age.

² i. e. even the flame of the candle sympathizes with the wick.

CLXIII. VAŞLI.

He was a facetious and jovial man. Leaving 'Irāq he went on a pilgrimage to the Hījāz and thence travelled for India by sea. The sailors ran the ship into a whirlpool and disappeared in the sea of annihilation, but he, reaching the shore of safety, entered the dominions of (Ibrāhīm) Qutb Shāh¹ of the Dakan. There he engaged in a wrestling bout with one of the wrestlers of that country, and threw him. The wrestler's comrades, actuated by envy and rancour, put some poison into Vaşli's cup. The catastrophe of his death occurred in A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569-70). The following verses are quoted as a memorial of him:—

“ My heart goes warily along its road, and I fear
That some sorrow is following it.”

“ My darling, thou art become so harsh-tempered
That no one can surpass thee in harshness of temper.”

CLXIV. VUQŪFI OF HIRĀT.

He was originally known as Mir Wa'iz ('the preacher') and was a native of Badakhshān. He held stirring meetings for preaching. The following verses are his:—

“ Though my head become the dust of thy path and be carried **335**
away on the breeze
It is impossible that the thought of thy face should leave my
memory.”

“ My heart is disturbed, as are thy tresses in the breeze;
Thou hast not undone even the smallest² knot in my string
of difficulties.”

¹ Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh (A.D. 1550-1580) was the fourth king of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty of Golkonda. *Vide Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, by Major T. W. Haig, pp. 61, 217, 238.

² There is a play upon words here which cannot be reproduced in a translation. The words *سرسره* ('end of a hair') are used to describe anything very small.

"All at once I have become the whirlwind of the valley of
grief,
On account of my evil passions I am become a vagabond in
the world."

"The tale of my grief and woe has passed all bounds,
Love has come upon me and has made me his own from head
to foot."

CLXV. VAFĀ'Ī OF IṢFAHĀN.¹

He was for some time in Kashmīr, and then come to Lāhor and
was with Zain Khān Kūka.² The following verses are his:—

"Knock at the door of the heart in the middle of the night,
for when the day appears

, All other doors are opened, but this door is shut."

"The real dearth of fidelity is this, that the lovely ones of this
age.

Set out the well-spread table and then drink the heart's
blood of the guest."

CLXVI. HAMDAMĪ.

He is Mirzā Barkhurdār,³ who has the title of Khān-i-'Ālan.

¹ According to the *Ātishkade-yi-Azari* Vafā'ī belonged to the 'Imūdiyyah Kurds, and was brought up at Iṣfahān. His quatrains are good. Dīghistānī calls him a Turk and says that he was at first an ironer of clothes. From a defect in one of his eyes he was called *Vafā'ī-yi-kūr*, or the blind Vafā'. Dīghistānī adds that his impudent flattery was proverbial. In the *Āini* (i, 592) he is thus described. 'He possesses sparks of taste. He wandered for some time in the desert of retirement, but has now put the mantle of worldliness on his shoulders.'

² Vide p. 327.

³ Mirzā Barkhurdār was, in the fortieth year of Akbar's reign, a commander of two hundred and fifty. His father had been killed in a fight with the Bihār rebel Dulpāt, who was afterwards caught and kept in prison till the 44th year, when, on payment of a heavy *piḡḡdash* he was allowed to return to his home. Barkhurdār, however, who wished to avenge the death of his father, laid wait for him, but Dulpāt managed to escape. Akbar was much annoyed with Barkhurdār and imprisoned him. He was released after the accession of Jahāngir, and in 1611 accompanied an embassy to

He is the son of Hamdam Beg¹ who was one of the famous *amirs* of his late majesty. Hamdami is well known for his bravery and his goodness of disposition. He used to occupy himself with poetry. The following couplet is his :—

“See my heart, which has on every part of it a fresh scar
caused by love’s madness;
It is an ocean of grief and everywhere in it there is a 386
whirlpool of blood.”

In imitation of that *ghazal* of Āṣafi’s, which begins :—

“My slayer closes her eyes at my dying gasps
Until my heart longs with regret to catch her gaze.”

He wrote, by the emperor’s order, the following :—

“The arrow of that slayer came and passed through my
heart,
And the scar remains on my heart till the day of resurrec-
tion.”

Shaiḡh Faiṣi, at the time when this *ghazal* was under discussion at Āgra, wrote the following :—

“Place thy foot on it (my heart),² “O slayer, as I gasp in
death,
That thus I may have an opportunity of kissing thy foot.”

At this time (Faiṣi) produced many *ghazals* of this sort from his *diwān* and dressed them up to suit the emperor’s taste.³

Persia. The embassy returned in 1620 and Barkhardār was made a commander of five thousand. On Shāhjuḡhān’s accession he was made governor of Bihār and a commander of six thousand, but was very soon removed from Bihār. In 1632 he was pensioned off as he was old and given to opium, and received an annual pension of one *lakḡ* of rupees. He died a natural death at Āgra. *Vide Āin-i-Akbari*, i. 512

¹ According to the *Āin-i-Akbari* (i, 465) Barkhardār’s father was ‘Abdu-r-Rahmān Dūldai. Hamdam Beg was apparently his title. Dūldai is the name of a branch of the Barlās tribe.

² I am not satisfied with the reading of this verse. I believe that the text is corrupt or that some context is required to convey the exact meaning, or that it is an example of Faiṣi’s peculiar Persian.³

³ The subject of this sentence is not expressed. The sentence may refer to Hamdami, but its contemptuous tone suggests that Faiṣi is indicated.

CLXVII. HAJRĪ.¹

He is descended from his holiness Shaikh Jām, (may God hallow his tomb). He was very pious, chaste, and pure, and had an angelic disposition. He has compiled a *divān* consisting of five thousand couplets. The following verses are some of the products of his genius:—

A quatrain.

“O Rose to whose skirt no hand can reach
We love Thy name and are intoxicated by Thy perfume!
This is the marvel, that Thou art present and yet absent²
from our midst
387 Thou art invisible, yet all that is visible is from Thee!”

An ode.

“It is the singer of the morning, joy-diffusing, that awakens
desire in our hearts
The nightingale of early morn is welcomed as an intimate to
the assembly of the Rose.
Become by the height of love's good fortune the *humā*³ of the
lote-tree of Paradise
For the garden and the scenery of this village (the world)
oppress, the spirits.
Wash thy mouth with the water of repentance from the dregs
of thy sins,
For thy life has been spent in transgression and the time for
restraint has come.
Put on the breastplate of worship, for, ambushed by thy
life's way,
The robber of thy time stands to meet thee,
With his blood-shedding sword in his hand.

¹ This poet is not mentioned in the *Āin* or in the *Tabaqāt*. Mr. Blochmann, referring, on p. 622 of vol. i of the *Āin*, to another poet bearing the same *akhalluq*, styles him ‘Hajrī.’ I prefer to connect the *akhalluq* with *حجر* (*hajr*) rather than with *هجرة* (*hijrat*).

² i.e. invisible. This quatrain is *Sāfi-istic*—The ‘Rose’ is God.

³ Vide p. 311 note 2. In this ode again the ‘Rose’ is God.

Make not this inn with two doors a palace for thine
abiding

For strife makes rents in its walls and the wind of death is
keen.

Hasan Hajri in beauty of verse and in the way of perfection
Is the disciple of the wise man of Shirāz and of the saint of
Tabriz." ¹

"Sweet is the season of winter, especially in the spring-time
of youth
If the rose of joy blossoms from the cup of wine."

"Happy was that night when the street of the tavern was our
resting place,
And the splendour of the cup-bearer's form was the lamp of
the assembly.
The breeze of re-union with the Beloved gave us fresh life,
Or it would have been difficult to live under the hand of
separation."

"In the morning, the time for the rose and the splendour of
the tulip,
The voice of the ringdove brought subtle truths to our ears." 388

"My lodging is in the street of disgrace,
Its door is removed and its wall is mined."

"Yesterday I had a desire for the holy temple and made my
way to the rose-garden,
I went and walked around ² my loved one's lodging."

¹ 'The saint of Tabriz' is *Manlānī Julūlu-d-dīn-i-Rūmī*. The identity
of 'the wise man of Shirāz' is not so certain. He may have been *Sa'dī* or
Hāfiz, probably the latter.

² *Ṣawf* the ceremonial circumambulation performed around the *Ka'bah*
at *Makkah*.

"The rose, perchance, came to the rose-garden from beneath
my beloved's arm
For it has the sweet perfume of her shift."

"Whose spell-casting eyes have once more fluttered my heart?
Whose ringlets, diffusing ambergris, have once more become
the chain for my madness of love?"

"I fear that my hard-hearted love will wreck the affairs of my
soul.
Oh, may nobody have a love so hard-hearted as mine!"

"Who am I, fallen in the dust at her door? A helpless one,
A hopeless one, a friendless one, a destitute one."

"Ah, vagrant heart, thou hast chosen thy place in the dust at
her door!
Thou hast found a good place for thyself."

"If thou desirest faithful friends,
I swear by thy fidelity that none is more faithful than I."

"Desirous of being with thee for an age I have sought to be
with thee,
When I found that I could not be with thee I accustomed
myself to thy absence."

CLXVIIJ. HĀSHIM.

He was that Muḥammad Hāshim who was mentioned¹ in
connection with Bairām Khān, the Khānkhānān. He was 389
brother's son to Maulānā Shāh Muḥammad Unsi.² He wrote

¹ Vide vol. ii (text), p. 41, where Hāshim is mentioned as having sold to
Bairām Khān for 60,000 *tankas*, a sum afterwards increased to 100,000
tankas, an ode which Bairām afterwards palmed off as his own. Hāshim
is there described as 'Hāshimi of Qandahār.'

² Possibly Maulānā Shāh Muḥammad of Shāhābād, one of Akbar's trans-
lators. Vide *Āin-i-Akbari*, i, 106, 540 and *Badāoni*, Vol. ii, text 595, 596-
where he is described as a man of depraved mind.

poetry sometimes under the name of Samā'i and sometimes under that of Vāfi, but at last settled on the poetical name (Hāshim) which is now given to him. He had most excellent taste in poetry. The following verses are his :—

"O turtle-dove, whatever thou bewailest in the garden
Thou must surely be thinking on her cypress-like form.
Like a sparrow I am caught in thy snare,
And thou neither slayest nor releasest me."

"I wander in the garden, when thy face is not before me,
shedding tears of the colour of tulips,
I sit beneath each rose and tears of blood stream from my
eyes.
In my grief for thee I am filled with blood as a flask is
filled with wine, and I desire
To pour out at thy banquet-like wine the blood with which I
am filled.
I shed not tears from my eyes except on the dust at thy
door;
How shall I pour forth my honour in the dust at every
door?
Remembering her wheat-coloured face I sow in the plot of
desire
The grains of my tears which are the seeds of love's
madness.

I, Hāshim, like the wine-flask, shed every moment red tears,
while I sigh like an organ thinking on her wine-coloured
lip."

"It is not thy mole, O silver-bodied one, that casts its reflec-
tion in the wine,
It is the pupil of my eye, drowned in my heart's blood "

A quatrain.

"O thou whose ringlets are the fetters of my love-sick heart,
I am distracted by those two ringlets like ambergris in colour 390
and perfume.

'Thou didst say 'Die then of the pain of love for me ;'

It is an age since I have been dying of this love."

It has been said before that the *Khānkhānān*, Bairam *Khān* bought one of his *ghazals* for a *lākh* of *tankas*. The ode was that which began.

"Who am I ? one who has dropped from his hand the reins of his heart.

And has fallen by the hands of his heart in the road of grief."

His death occurred in the city of Lāhor, in A.H. 972 (A.D. 1564-65).

Conclusion.

This is the account of some of those poets, most of whom were contemporary with the author and were writing during the time in which he was writing, and whose *divans* are current in this age and are circulated as examples. As for those who have leapt from the net of this memoir and are here neither described nor indicated by casual mention, I make them over to those who shall hereafter set foot in the plain of existence, for this series (of poets) is as endless as the *Kurhān-i-Taṭbīq*¹, and to comprehend them all within the limits of one age, or one short space of time is beyond the limits (of any capacity) and beyond the extremity (of its powers).

A māṣnavī.

"Two couplets one day seared my heart,
As the singer was chanting them to his guitar
Many Junes, Decembers, and Aprils
Will come after we have become dust and bricks,
While those who are now invisible to me
Will come and pass over my dust."

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Praise be to God! My pen, in its atrabiliousness, has, like a madman, dealt drily and coolly with everybody, and has poured out from the cup of its heart every drop of black bile which it

¹ I take this to be the name of a book. The words mean 'the demonstration of comparison.'

had in its spot of original sin¹ and given forth from the columns² of its fingers all that came to its tongue, so that (I am not sure) what those who come after we will say when, in their search for treasure³ they have hastened⁴ in the tracks of the crows' feet of this impudent (pen),⁵ or what answer I shall give in respect of all my idle gossip. I fear that in accordance with the saying, 'Thou shalt be treated as thou hast treated others' they will deal with me as I have dealt with these poets.

"Thou hast called me a promise-breaker, but I fear

That this accusation will be laid to thy charge on the day of resurrection."

But there is here a subtle distinction if the discriminating neglect it not, and it is this, that I have apportioned eulogy and execration according to the canon of the unmistakable sacred law and have bestowed praise and blame in accordance with my zeal for the faith, and my case is similar to that of the boor who entered a company seated at table and began to eat without any regard to the others, and collected all the dishes round himself. One of the company said, 'Sir, who are you, and why do you thus intrude upon us?' He replied, 'I am a Turk, and I am a servant of the *dārogha*,⁶ and I am hungry.' But if others, besides myself, should be jealous for the faith I shall not resent their criticism; may, rather, my life be a sacrifice for those people who shall apprise me of my faults. But if they be not jealous for the faith let them hang their heads and hold their peace; for in truth the bird of my pen, with its sharp bill and its sublime

¹ سويدا (*suraidā*) the black spot of original sin which the Musalmāns believe to be in every heart.

² جداول 'ruled columns.'

³ The text has کجکار and MS. (A) has کنجکا of neither of which can I make sense. کنجکار the reading of MS. (B), given as a variant in the text, is correct.

⁴ The text has ویدد. The variant دويدد given in the text on the authority of MS. (B) is correct.

⁵ زان پاي کي کلا. The letter 3 at the end of کلا is not in the text.

⁶ Prefect of a town or village. In India, a police officer.

figit, is in the position of that beast ¹ which shall come forth as the first sign of the Judgment Day, for it stamps on the fore-
392 heads of the circumstances of the folk of this last age the words 'this one is a Muslim,' or 'this one is an infidel,' exalting some to God's mercy and setting apart others as accursed, and the saying of the prophet (may God bless and assoil him,) is clear on this point, 'O God, I have not blessed in my prayers any but him whom Thou hast blessed, and I have not cursed in my cursings any but him whom Thou hast cursed.' It is related that that chief of the prophets (may God bless and assoil him while the sun and the moon shall rise) invoked curses on the polytheistic Arabs and on the chiefs of the Quraysh, and particularly on one mentioned by name, for a whole month after he had been slandered ² by the wicked, and said, 'O God, curse the infidels, who stray from Thy way, who make Thy prophet a liar, and who slay Thy saints. Thou art Lord of this world and the next. O God, preserve me in safety, and join me to the pious!' And, since the end is but a return to the beginning, there is, in these days when the faith is exiled (for 'the faith appears as a stranger, and verily, it has become as it appears') every occasion for the constant recital of the following prayer, 'O God, assist him who assists the religion of Muḥammad and forsake him who forsakes the faith of Muḥammad!'

The author of the *Mirṣād al-'Ibād* ³ four hundred years ago uttered his complaint and said:—

"O kings of the earth, hasten, all of you,

That you may catch the perfume which is all that is left of the faith!

¹ دابة الارض, the beast which, according to the Muslimāns, is to come forth as the first sign of the coming Judgment Day, touching the believers with the staff of Moses and marking the faces of the infidels with the seal of Solomon.

² The text has قذرت. MS. (A) has قترت, which appears to be the correct reading.

³ I regret that I have been unable to find mention of this book, or of the name of its author. The meaning of the title is 'a highway for (God's) servants.'

Islām has gone from your hands, and ye heed it not :

Infidelity has captured the world, and ye sleep !”

Forsaking the custom of authors, who have in respect of each of their works, of whatever sort, a hundred hopes of favour from the age and from the people of the age, and, having dedicated a work to somebody, make it a means of being admitted to the intimacy of kings, of begging for rewards, and of attaining their objects I, without desire or expectation (of material gain but) seeking aid from God, trusting in Him, and firmly laying hold of **393** the skirt of his universal favour and his bounty well-known in bygone times, have placed these, my first fruits, on the dish of speech merely for the sake of virtuosos among those to come, who may be desirous of, and anxious for, information regarding our times, that haply its flavour may please the palates of their souls, and also that some relish from the morsels on the table of their favour may become the lot of the palate of the compiler of the work, who is, as it were, their gardener.

If thou drink wine, pour a draught out on the ground,

Fear not that sin which carries some gain to others.¹

I shall now explain what it was that originally led me to collect these fragments.² Since a complete revolution, both in legislation and in manners, greater than any of which there is any record for the past thousand years, has taken place in these days, and every writer who has had the ability to record events and to write two connected sentences has, for the sake of flattering the people of this age, or for fear of them, or by reason of his ignorance of matters of faith, or of his distance from court, or for his own selfish ends, concealed the truth, and, having bartered his faith for worldly profit, and right guidance for error, has adorned falsehood with the semblance of truth, and distorted and embellished infidelity and pernicious trash until they have appeared to be laud-

¹ i.e. 'pour a draught on the ground that those who are dead and turned to dust may benefit by it.' The conceit is a favourite one among Persian poets and occurs in the 'tomb-song' of Hāfiḡ (ode 439, Jarrett's edition), and frequently in the quatrains of 'Umar-i-Khayyām.

² Literally 'putsheds.'

able, confirming the truth of the verse, 'These are they who have purchased error at the price of true direction: but their traffic hath not been gainful,'¹ I am convinced that the people of succeeding generations who shall see their false fables and all their unprofitable prolixity will, in accordance with the saying, 'he who hears dispenses with the solution of his difficulties,' with another class of men, regretful not in the least, be perplexed, and will expect and await (something else), and therefore, that the veil may be drawn aside, it is incumbent on me, who am acquainted with some, at least, of the affairs narrated, 394 and have even been intimately connected with these transactions, to place on record what I have seen and what I have heard, for my evidence regarding these things is that of an eye-witness who is certain of what he relates, and does not spring from mere supposition and guess-work ('and when can that which is heard resemble that which is seen?') in order that, on the one hand, my record may be an expiation of the writings,² past and present, which I have been compelled and directed to undertake, and, on the other, right may be proved to be on the side of the Muslim's and mercy may be shown to me.

'Perchance some pious man may one day put up a prayer for mercy for this poor wretch.'

And when I examine the matter well I perceive that this rough draft, and other rough drafts like it, have all the merits of fair copies, for, in conformity with the couplet.

Reduce a word at once to writing.

For words slip suddenly from one's memory,

Something, at least, of what the author knows whether by having seen occurrences or by having heard of them, is (at once) entered in them and reduced to writing. At the same time, to efface such scribblings as literary compositions can, to do no more

¹ *Qur'ân*, ii, 15. *أُولَئِكَ الَّذِينَ اشْتَرَوُا الضَّلَالَةَ بِالْهَدَىٰ ۖ فَهُمْ يُبَعَثُونَ تَجَارَ تَهُمُ*

² Badi'oni here refers to the works undertaken by him under the orders of Akbar, viz. :—the translation of the *Mahābhārata* and the compilation of parts of the *Tārīkh-i-Alfi*, (vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, 104, 199, and Badi'oni, in text), 320, 399.

than justice, be nothing but mere boasting and vaunting, which are repugnant to refined natures, and so far am I from vain-glory and pride in this matter that I am ashamed of them, and if I should attempt any lofty flights regarding them this base coin of mine, this worthless and contemptible merchandise, my faulty and inappreciated style, is sufficient to refute and falsify my claim.

In these matters nobody knows me as well as I know myself.

A Story by way of Moral.

A fox said to a camel, 'O uncle,
Tell me truly whence you come.'

The camel replied, 'Lo, I come from the bath

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Where I have bathed my limbs in water hot and cold.'

The fox said, 'You have fine proof of what you say,

For both your forelegs and your hindlegs are very dirty.'

It is now high time for me to raise the hand of supplication to the court of that Providence who lacks nothing and who cherishes his servants, and to ask of Him that which shall be most expedient for me, although His glorious majesty is fettered by no expediency. I shall therefore conclude with the following supplications, which are free from all spaciousness and elaboration, and are (therefore) not far from the assurance of a favourable answer.

Supplications.

O King, look upon us with the eye of acceptance and mercy! O Lord of all things, visible and invisible, compose us in the seeking of Thy will, and remove from our way, and from the way of all Muslims, all disunion, disquiet, and perplexity! Bestow Thy pardon and forgiveness on us in our time. Let Thy gracious favour and guidance both impel and lead us. Deliver us not up into the hands of our own disunion and leave us not to ourselves, neither entrust us with ourselves, but preserve us from our own wickedness, and bring our affairs and those of all Muslims to a happy conclusion in Thy pardon and acceptances. Pardon what we have done in the past and preserve us from what we would do in the future.

Whatever Thou bestowest on Thy servant, bestow on him
faith,

Bestow on him adherence to Thy will.

Forsake us not in Thy wrath; let us not be occupied with any
but Thee. Displace us not from Thy remembrance. If Thou
shouldst question us we have no answer ready, if Thou art angry
we have no strength to abide it. From Thy servant proceed
faults and lapses, and from Thee all pardon and mercy.
O Ancient of Days that changest not, and Glorious one without
peer! O Hidden and Omniscient God, Thou that hearest and
seest, that hast no need of description or explanation, our faults
396 are many, and Thou knowest and seest us: grant unto us a good
end, let us die Muslims, and join us to the pious; and bless and
asoil Muhammad and the race of Muhammad, and all Thy
prophets and apostles.

Look on me as though I were entirely free from disobedience.
Consider not mine offences, consider Thy mercy.

Ward off from me all the evils of the age,
Keep me afar from every evil that there is,
So direct for me all worldly affairs and religious matters,
That I may be free from want in both worlds.
By Thy favour Thou keepest me in safety
From the calamities and tumults of these latter days.
Thou accomplishest the desires of Thy poor servant,
Thou makest me a partaker of worldly and spiritual bless-
ings.

Deliver me not helpless into the hands of mine own lusts,
But grant me protection from my dominant lusts.

Send me not as a beggar before any one,
My begging is at Thy door and no other.
Give me a portion of lawful gain,
Give me a corner apart from the worldly.
Pardon and veil my sin,
For it is Thou that veilest and pardonest sins.
Grant me knowledge of Thine eternal bounty,
Free me from ignorance and error.

Preserve me from companionship with the unworthy
 Cause me to meet with a pious and sympathetic friend.
 Set my face on the road towards Thee,
 Free me from all else but Thee.
 Accomplish not my desire in any object
 The end of which will bring me shame.
 No one but Thee knows what is for my good,
 Thou knowest my loss and my profit.
 Enrich me with the treasure of contentment,
 Give me ease in the joy of serving Thee.
 Incline me not to objects of this world,
 Make my heart cold to such desires.
 So accustom me to thoughts of Thee
 That I may think on no other but Thee.
 Open before me the door of knowledge of Thee
 And in that privy chamber impart Thy secrets to me.
 Give me a cup from the flagon of love
 And grant me, from that wine, a new intoxication.
 So fashion my inclinations to the world to come
 That I may no more desire the things of this world.
 Though death shall rend my upper garment
 Let not the dust of this world settle on my lower garment.
 When the sword of death cleaves my life,
 When 'Azāzil¹ shall resolve to accept the faith,
 Of Thy mercy cast one glance towards me,
 Open in my face the door of Thy favour.
 Declare to me the glad tidings of Thy gracious forgiveness.
 That I may have rest in the sleep of death.
 Grant unto me such power that, in that perplexity,
 My cross-examination² may be easy to me.

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¹ Satan.

² After a corpse is laid in the grave it is visited by Munkir and Nakir, two black livid angels, of a terrible appearance, who order the dead person to sit upright and examine him as to his faith. If he answer rightly they suffer the body to rest in peace and it is refreshed by the air of Paradise, but if not they beat him on the temples with iron maces. They then press the earth on the corpse, which is tormented till the day of resurrection.

When the people of this world set their faces towards the resurrection,

And raise their heads in bewilderment from the dust.

Captured, by their evil fate, in disobedience

Their faces blackened with shame for their sins,

When, in that confusion, in the heat of the Resurrection Day,

The rocks shall become water from the fierceness of the sun's rays,

When there shall not be, in all that plain full of grief

Any refuge but the shadow of the Most High,

Of Thy bounty, O Creator, Lord of many claims,

Cast the shadow of Thy favour on my head!

When the balance of justice is brought into the midst

And the deficiency and excess of all shall be made apparent,

When I shall have in my company mountains of sin,

Beside which the mountains shall seem no larger than a blade of grass,

It is not impossible to Thine illimitable mercy

To weigh down the scale of my obedience:

In that place of fear and confusion

When the records of each one's acts shall fly open

And my record shall be so black

That it will be impossible to enter any fresh sin therein,

Wash my record with the cloud of Thy clemency.

And, by that washing, raise me to honour:

When the fire of hell shall leap forth as a banner

To draw to itself all the people of the world

Pour, of Thy grace, some water on my fire

And bring me forth purified from that fire.

When over hell the narrow bridge¹ shall appear

¹ **الصراط** (*as-sirāt*) the bridge over the midst of hell, which is here graphically described, must be passed by all after the Judgment. Muhammad and his Muslims will, with God's aid, pass rapidly over its path, narrower and sharper than the edge of a knife, but the unbelievers, following them, will lose their footing, and fall through the briars, which hedge it in on either side, into the flames of hell.

And the people shall raise a shout for joy,¹
 That bridge, long as the dark nights of separation,
 Soul-melting as the sighs from lovers' hearts,
 Narrower than a hair,
 Darker than the smoke of the night of separation,
 Sharper than a sharp cutting sword,
 Shooting forth tongues of flame like hell fire,
 If Thou take me not by the hand, woe is me,
 For the nethermost pit of hell will be my place!
 I bring no goods with me but hope,
 O God, make me not hopeless of forgiveness!

Praise be to God, and thanks, that after all this smearing of myself with the smoke of the midnight lamp and all this fever of the brain I have gained freedom from this hasty work. Ah, how much distraction have I not suffered at the hands of these troubled times, before this valuable coin of time (to complete my work) and this priceless jewel (the work itself) was obtained.

Please God this work will, for a while, be preserved from the treachery of lack of preservation,² of faithlessness, or of evil guardianship, and will thus be safeguarded from the picking and stealing of the ignorant cutpurses of this age, and, being con-

¹ (شاد). Joy does not, at first sight, appear to be an emotion suitable to the occasion. The meaning may be either that men will be overjoyed to see that hell is bridged at all, or that the devils in hell will rejoice to see that the bridge is so perilous.

² Badāonī here declares his intention of keeping this work, the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārikh*, a secret. His anxiety that it should not become known during his life-time will be easily understood by anybody who has read it. He designed it to be a counterblast, in the interests of Islām, to the writings of Abū-l-Faḡl and his elder brother Faḡī, who had borne the chief part in leading Akbar into the paths of religious speculation and had so far succeeded in leading him away from orthodoxy as almost to persuade him that he was God. According to a statement in the *Mir'ātu-l-'Ālam* the book was made public during the reign of Juhāngīr, who showed his displeasure by disbelieving the statement of Badāonī's children that they had not known of its existence. Badāonī's work was certainly not known in A.H. 1025 (A.D. 1616), the tenth year of Juhāngīr's reign, in which year the *Ma'dghir-i-Raḥīmī* was written, whose author complains of the want of a history besides the *Tabaqāt* and the *Akbar-nāma*.

stantly hidden under the protection of God's guardianship, will receive the ornament of acceptance, and no damage will reach it from the evil eyes of squinting (rogues) of varying degrees,¹ and the hands of impotent (foes) will fail to reach the skirt of the beauty of this creature of my wit, and whoever is not admitted to the knowledge of its secret will remain disappointed.

A thousand thanks to the God of the world.

For that I have entrusted my jewel to one who can appraise jewels.

It was the intention of my languid and secretive² heart and my wearied mind to gather together the "*Key to the History of Kashmir*,"³ and the histories of the Kings of Gujarāt, Bengal and Sind, with an account of the wonders of India, and to have them bound together in one volume with this, but that stuff did not match this, for silk must be joined with silk. Therefore, on Friday, the twenty-third of the month *Jamādī'u-s-Sani* A.H. 1004 (March 5, A.D. 1595) I shortened the rope of prolixity and contented myself with writing this much. I composed the following verses with the object of giving, in an enigma, the date of its completion:—

Thanks be to God, by whose clemency this Selection⁴ has arrived at completion

When I sought the date of it from my heart (my heart) replied

(It is) a selection which has no second.

Praise be to God whose assistance has enabled me to complete it, and blessings and peace be on the best of mankind, our lord

¹ Badāoni here does not hesitate to attack the highest.

² The text here has *سائر* (*sāfir*) 'a butcher,' or 'butcherly,' which makes no sense. MS. (A) has *سائر* (*sāfir*) which I have translated. Badāoni apparently refers again to his intention of keeping his book a secret.

³ This was, apparently, the History of Kashmir, based on that of Mullā Shāh Muḥammad of Shāhābād, which Badāoni, by Akbar's order, compiled in A.D. 1591. *Ide* vol. ii, text, p. 374.

⁴ The letters of the word *بنتخاب* ('selection') have the following values, $1 + 50 + 400 + 600 + 1 + 2 = 1054$. If we subtract the value of the second letter, 50, we obtain the date 1004.

Muhammad, and on his family, and on his great companions, till the Day of Resurrection.

THE END.

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TO

MUNTAKHABU-T-TAWĀRIKH

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ERRATA.

- P. 19, note 1, l. 20. For 'Farishtu' read 'Firishta.'
- P. 43, note 4, l. 3. For 'Panipat' read 'Pānipat.'
- P. 45, note 2, l. 3. For 'Iyaltamish' read 'Itutismish.'
- Do. do. l. 5. For 'Farishta' read 'Firishta.'
- P. 82, l. 9. For 'Rizwān' read 'Rizwān.'
- P. 86, l. 3. After 'year' insert 'H.'
- P. 94, l. 4. *Dele* 'and.'
- P. 109, note 3, l. 1. For 'utūm' read 'utūm.'
- P. 115, l. 16. Between 'work' and 'Mir' insert 'of.'
- Do. l. 26. For 'My' read 'Thy.'
- P. 125, note 2, l. 1. For 'Tāwawis' read 'Tāwāwis.'
- P. 130, ll. 1, 26. } For 'Abdu-u-nabī' read 'Abdu-n-
- P. 131, ll. 12, 21, and n. 4, l. 6. } nabī.'
- P. 139, note 3. For 'test' read 'text.'
- P. 147, note 1, l. 3. For 'Steps to prophethood' read 'Degrees in
'prophet-hood.'
- P. 169, note 3. For مَنَقَابِلَيْنِ read مَنَقَابِلَيْنِ.
- P. 173, note 1, l. 1. For 'Dihī' read 'Dihī.'
- P. 178, note 1, l. 4. For 'Shāh' read 'Khān.'
- P. 198, l. 19. For 'qaṣidāh' read 'qaṣidāh.'
- P. 210, note 6, l. 4 (on p. 211). For 'approbrious' read 'opprobrious.'
- P. 216, note 2, l. 2. For 'Bijāpūr' read 'Bijāpūr.'
- P. 217, l. 2. For 'Rākū' read 'Kākū.'
- P. 239, l. 4. For 'Tagkirāh' read 'Tagkirah.'
- P. 240, note 3, l. 2. For 'Badoānī' read 'Badāonī.'
- P. 241, l. 16. For 'Ka'bāh' read 'Ka'bah.'
- P. 246, last line. For 'Ṣubūhī' read 'Ṣabūhī.'
- P. 249, note 1, l. 1. For 'sleeps' read 'sleep.'
- P. 262, note 1, l. 4. For 'Shāmlā' read 'Shāmlū.'
- P. 283, note 4, l. 6. For 'Taimūr' read 'Timūr.'
- P. 300, l. 14. For 'lives' read 'lines.'
- P. 318, note 2, l. 14. For 'takhaluṣ' read 'takhalluṣ.'
- P. 339, note 1, l. 8. For 'bighas' read 'bighas.'
- P. 348, note 2, ll. 1 and 2. For 'conservation' read 'conversation.'
- P. 362, l. 14. For 'Aqīl' read 'Āqīl.'
- P. 376. For note 3 substitute 'The poem by Jāmi.'

P. 405, note 3. For 'magians' read 'Magians.'

P. 408, l. 24. For 'Fusūnī' read 'Fusūnī.'

P. 425, note 5, l. 1. For 'Salsaimān' read 'Sulaimān.'

P. 436, l. 1. For 'Shīrār' read 'Shīrāz.'

P. 473, l. 17. For 'Majnīms' read 'Majnūns.'

Do. note 1, l. 9. For 'Ša/āviyya' read 'Ša/aviyya.'

P. 493, l. 19. For 'Naṣiḥī' read 'Naṣiḥī.'

Do. note 2. Insert "397" after 'p.' and *dele* "note."

P. 495, note 3, l. 2 (on p. 496). For 'Sāqirāma' read 'Sāqināma.'

P. 530, l. 19. For 'Muslinis' read 'Muslims.'

LIST OF HISTORICAL WORKS TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH FROM PERSIAN AND ARABIC

PUBLISHED IN
THE BIBLIOTHECA INDICA.

Work No. 61.

(Completed.)

1. AIN-I-AKBARI.

Author: Abū'l-Faḍl 'Allāmi.

Translators: H. Blochmann (Vol. I) and H. S. Jarrett (Vols. II-III).

18 fascicles (Vol. I, fascs. I-VII; Vol. II, fascs. I-V and Index; and Vol. III, fascs. I-V). (1868-1894.)

Price: Vol. I, fascs. I, 3-6; Vol. II, fascs. I-V; Vol. III, fascs. I, II and IV, Rs. 2-8-0 each; Vol. I fasc. VII (with one plate), Rs. 2-14-0; Vol. I, fasc. II (with 14 plates), Rs. 6-8-0.

Vol. I, fascs. I-IV sold out. Only limited number of other fascicles available.

(Fascicles not all available.)

N.B.—A reprint of Vol. I is in preparation.

Work No. 138.

(Text completed.)

2. AKBAR-NĀMA.

Author: Abū'l-Faḍl 'Allāmi.

Translator: H. Beveridge.

28 fascicles (including Indexes to Vols. I and II). Vol. I, fascs. I-VIII; Vol. II, fascs. I-VII; and Vol. III, fascs. I-XIII. (1897-1921.)

Price: Vol. II, fasc. I and Vol. III, fasc. XIII, Rs. 2-8-0 each. Other fascicles Rs. 1-4-0 each. Total, Rs. 37-8-0.

(Fascicles all available.)

N.B.—Index to Vol. III completing the work, in the Press.

Work No. 97.

(Completed.)

3. MUNTAKHABU'T-TAWĀRIKH.

Author: 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badā'uni.

Translators: G. S. A. Ranking (Vol. I); W. H. Lowe (Vol. II); T. W. Haig (Vol. III).

19 fascicles: Vol. I, fascs. I-VII and $\frac{1}{2}$ Index fascicles; Vol. II, fascs. I-V and 1 Index; Vol. III, fascs. I-V, including Index. (1895-1925.)

Price : per single fasc. Vol. III, fascs. I, II, and V, Re. 1-0-0 each ; fasc. III, Rs. 3-0-0 ; fasc. IV, Rs. 2-0-0 ; remaining fascicles of Vols. I and II Re. 1-0-0 each. Vol. I, complete, Rs. 9-0-0 ; Vol. II, complete, new edition, Rs. 7-8-0 ; Vol. II, complete, old edition, Rs. 6-0-0 ; Vol. III, complete, Rs. 6-0-0. Total, Rs. 21-0-0 with old Edition of Vol. II, or Rs. 22-8-0 with new Edition of Vol. II.

A very limited number of copies of Vol. II, First Edition, (complete, 6 fascicles at Re. 1-0-0 each) is available.

N.B.—A reprint of Vol. II has been issued in 1924 as a single fascicle.
Price: Rs. 7-8-0. *(Fascicles all available.)*

Work No. 202.

(In progress.)

4. MA'ĀTHIRU'L-UMARĀ.

Author: Shāh-Nawāz Khān.

Translator: H. Beveridge.

3 double fascicles issued (1911–1914).

Price: Rs. 2-8-0, per issue. Total, Rs. 7-8-0.

(Fascicles all available.)

N.B.—The work is technically “in progress” that is, discontinuation has not been decided on. Practically, progress has been in suspense since 1914.

Work No. 154.

(Completed.)

5. RIYĀDU'S-SALĀTIN. (A History of Bengal.)

Author: Ghulām Husayn Salīm.

Translator: 'Abdu's-Salām.

5 fascicles. (1902–1904.)

Price: Fasc. IV, Rs. 2-0-0 ; other fascicles, Re. 1-0-0 each.

Total, Rs. 6-0-0.

(Fascicles all available.)

Work No. 225.

(In progress.)

6. TABAQĀT-I-AKBARI.

Author: Khwāja Nizām'u'd-Dīn Aḥmad.

Translator: B. De.

1 fasc. issued (1913).

Price: Rs. 3-0-0.

(Fascicle available.)

N.B.—The work is technically “in progress,” that is, discontinuation has not been decided on. Practically, progress has been in suspense since 1913.

Work No. 78.

(Completed.)

7. TABAQĀT-I-NĀSIRI.

Author: Minhāj-i-Sirāj Jūzjānī.

Translator: H. G. Raverty.

14 fascicles and Index (1873-1897.)

Price: Vol. I, fascs. I-VIII in 4 issues, Rs. 2-0-0 each, and

Vol. II, fascs. I-VI in 3 issues, Rs. 3-0-0 each issue,

Index, Rs. 3-0-0. Total, Rs. 20-0-0.

(Fascicles all available.)

Work No. 87.

(Completed.)

8. HISTORY OF THE CALIPHS (TA'RIKHU'L-KHULAFĀ').

Author: Jalālu'd-Dīn as-Suyūfī.

Translator: H. S. Jarrett.

6 fascicles. (1880-1881.)

Price: Fascs. I-V, Re. 1-4-0 each; fasc. VI, Rs. 2-8-0.

Total, Rs. 8-12-0.

(Fascicles all available.)

Work No. 126.

(Discontinued.)

9. TŪZUK-I-JAHĀNGIRI.

Author: Mu'tamad Khān.

Translator: W. H. Lowe.

1 fasc. issued (1889)

Price: Re. 1-0-0.

(Fascicle available.)

(Progress statement revised to 1st January, 1925.)

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